

*Presented
to*

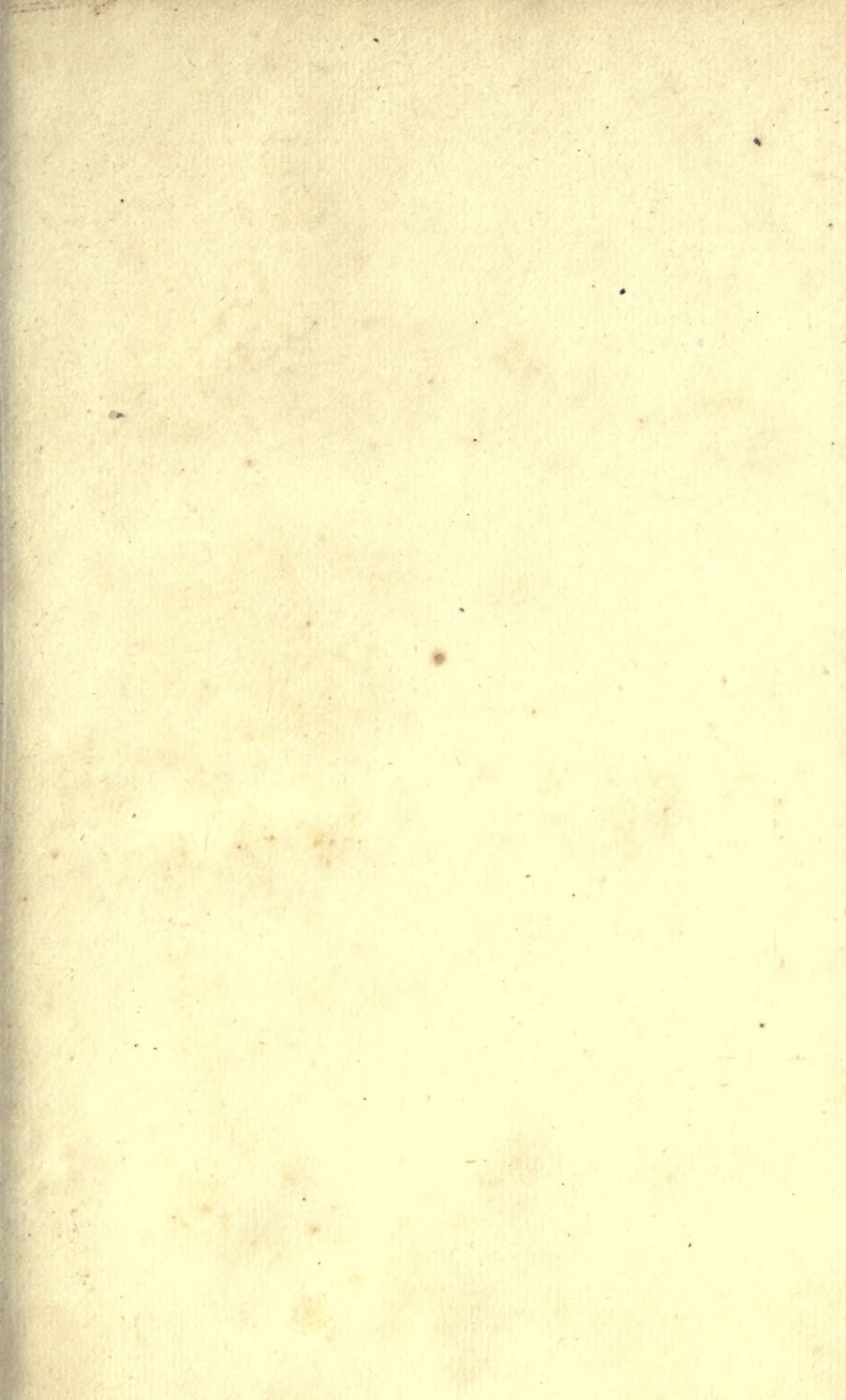
THE INSTITUTE
OF HISTORICAL
RESEARCH

by

Sir Henry Lambert.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation







P
L
E
F

THE
FOREIGN
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. XXVIII.

PUBLISHED IN

OCTOBER, M. DCCC. XLI.

AND

JANUARY, M. DCCC. XLII.

LONDON : CHAPMAN AND HALL, 186, STRAND.

J. MENZIES, EDINBURGH.—S. J. MACHEN, DUBLIN.

1842.



869918

32595



CONTENTS

OF

No. LV.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—Massmann—Roman Tablets of great Antiquity.....	1
II.—Sybel—History of the First Crusade	22
III.—Hügel—Travels in Cashmere	45
IV.—Rüppell—Travels in Abyssinia	64
V.—The Women of Italy—by the Countess Pepoli	91
VI.—Kohl—Travels in Southern Russia	116
VII.—Sweden as it is ; Moral, Political and Statistical	143
VIII.—Bruce Whyte—History of the Romance Languages and of their Literature from their Origin to the Fourteenth Century	173
IX.—The European Convention of July, 1841	190
Music Abroad and at Home	232
Miscellaneous Literary Notices.—Germany, South Australia, Sweden and Miscellaneous	246
List of the principal New Works published on the Continent from July to September, 1841, inclusive.....	250

CONTENTS

OF

No. LVI.

	PAGE.
ART. I.—Egyptian Hieroglyphics and Grammar	263
II.—History of the Dukes of Burgundy.....	287
III.—Roepell's History of Poland.....	306
IV.—The Works of William von Humboldt	334
V.—Count Litta's Celebrated Italian Families	362
VI.—Pictures and Sketches of St. Petersburg	398
VII.—Sweden as it is	434
VIII.—Modern Art in Germany	455
IX.—Relations of Foreign Powers with the present Conserva- tive Cabinet	469
X.—XV.—Critical Sketches	494
Miscellaneous Literary Notices, Statistics, &c.	499
List of Works recently published on the Continent	506

APPENDIX

LIST

1	1. General Introduction
2	2. The History of the Appendix
3	3. The Appendix in the Middle Ages
4	4. The Appendix in the Renaissance
5	5. The Appendix in the 17th Century
6	6. The Appendix in the 18th Century
7	7. The Appendix in the 19th Century
8	8. The Appendix in the 20th Century
9	9. The Appendix in the 21st Century
10	10. Conclusion

A D D R E S S.

THE COPYRIGHT and STOCK of the **Foreign Quarterly Review** having recently passed into the hands of the present Publishers, it has been thought expedient to put forth a Statement of the character it has hitherto maintained, together with the Plans at present contemplated to insure its future success. The FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW is the exclusive Vehicle for Continental Information. Other Quarterly Reviews of high and unquestioned merits exist; but their articles are mainly confined to Home Literature, a subject of immense extent, and amply sufficient to fill their columns. With such Reviews there may be an incidental notice of a Foreign Work of high merit; but it is not possible, even with their acknowledged power, to keep their attention equally well directed to Foreign and Home subjects. The immense extent of research which is exhibited by the FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW in every Number in a single branch of Literature,—Language, will sufficiently prove this assertion. From its commencement it has taken up this unoccupied field, and has retained in it a complete supremacy. No portion of the World has escaped observation. The singular Customs, Habits, Languages, Manners, Morals, and Religious Usages of Nations have all been investigated, and have attracted observation to its contents, not from Great Britain alone, but also from

numerous parts of the Continent. It will be the object of the present Publishers, to retain all those exclusive sources of information at present possessed from the numerous correspondents of the Review in all parts of the World, to open in conjunction with them fresh channels, and to infuse into its pages such a general circulation of all points of interest and variety as shall render it an agreeable, popular, and scientific Publication. No cost will be spared to secure contributions from gentlemen, who occupy the highest literary positions at Home and Abroad; and to procure from them such articles as may, at the same time, both suit the taste of the British Public, and contribute to International Instruction. However difficult the combination may appear, the present Publishers confidently anticipate that they shall succeed in an attempt to make the FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW both generally readable and popular, and at the same time the Standard Authority for Continental Information.

Time will of course be required to mature their schemes, and to get their plans into action; but the Conductors of the Review trust, while they preserve all valuable existing features, to indicate from Number to Number, a spirit equal to the rising exigencies of the age, and to demonstrate to the candid and judicious, that every effort is making to secure and retain the highest degree of excellence, and to induce them to augur favourably of the ultimate issue.

186, STRAND, *January 1st*, 1842.

THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Libellus Aurarius sive Tabulæ Ceratæ et antiquissimæ et unicæ Romanæ in Fodina Auraria apud Abrudbanyam, opidulum Transsylvanum, nuper repertæ, quas nunc primus enucleavit, depinxit, edidit J. F. Massman.* (The Golden Book, or Waxen Tablets both of high Antiquity and the *only* Roman Tablets extant, recently discovered in a Gold Mine at Abrudbanya, a Village in Transylvania, which are now for the first Time explained, described and edited by J. F. Massman.) Leipsic. 1841.


WE consider, whatever success may attend our efforts, that we should grossly neglect to discharge the duty incumbent on us as Foreign Reviewers, were we to permit the English public, through this journal, its only pure medium of information on such topics, to remain in ignorance of the immense archæological discoveries that are daily taking place among the scholars of the continent, and those of Germany especially. The English scholars may flatter themselves that they are maintaining the reputation of Porson and Elmsley and others in classical lore, but however unpleasant the task, we must undeceive them, and plainly tell them, that, while they are stationary, Niebuhr, Herman, Wachsmuth, Müller and Böckh have been enriching the world with views of the highest originality, the profoundest scholarship and the most accurate research. If ancient relics are to be explained and illustrated, a German professor is sought out for that object; if a series of ancient historians have been for some unaccountable reason thrown out of circulation, a German suggests their publication, and a German edits them; if theology is to be viewed in connection with modern science, a German sets about the difficult task; if statistics are required of the state of Europe, the Germans produce matters of higher eminence and utility than any thing on which Dr. Bowring can alight; and Von Raumer's Italy is worth a million of his official reports, and is infinitely less costly. England not only does nothing, but even neglects to avail herself of what is done; for, saving Heeren's Manual, Böckh's

Athens (his "Urkunden über das Seewesen des Attischen Staates" has not yet been translated, though an exact account from ancient marbles of the Athenian navy in the time of Demosthenes), Thirlwall's Greece, who has availed himself of the German sources to such an extent as to make that history the only history of Greece for a scholar, though it already requires, from the immense extent of discovery since its compilation, rewriting—with these exceptions, England has not even been sufficiently industrious to get up what Germany has written. Fynes Clinton's *Fasti* forms possibly our only quotation; as for Dr. Arnold's lucubrations, whether on Roman history or Thucydides, they only demonstrate him incurably wrong in criticism as well as casuistry and politics. Were we disposed to point out how offensively this master of Rugby acts to all persons who profess different political opinions to his own, were we to show the insolence with which this pedagogue drives out from Rugby all candidates for admission of the conservative class, as far as their parents are concerned, we could do so easily; for an instance has recently come under our immediate cognizance, where a Tory peer was prevented from placing his son there, and only found in the gentle and classical amenity of the master of Harrow a counterpoise for the plebeian insolence of this demagogue priest. Now politics form no bar to advancement in Germany, nor does any one dare, save a Whigling pedant, to try such a game in the gentle society of literature and art, which maintains its integrity and independence clear from all attempts to smother intellect in the child because the parent may be opposed to us in politics. Porson, Parr and Burney were respected as scholars, were treated as scholars, but were never rudely insulted by those of opposite opinions to themselves. Schelling was well treated by his king, though opposed to many notions of that sovereign. Paley and Watson, whose early opinions were certainly of extreme liberalism, were promoted and placed at the full height that their respective merits claimed. But we pass from politics to what to us is far sweeter, the curious argument of the work before us, which has been edited with great care and astonishing accuracy. It contains an account of the only waxen Roman tablets that have survived the ravages of time. It was begun in the year 1835, but from various causes, and principally from the time the author bestowed on his work "*Die gothischen Urkunden von Neapel und Arezzo*," he only completed the preface to his book on the last day of 1840. The accidents to which the precious and unique remains submitted to our notice have been subjected, the fragility of the material and its astonishing duration, render this

discovery one of surpassing interest and almost incredible felicity. They completely confirm the almost prophetic remark of Spangenberg: "It is extremely probable that smaller letters were in ancient use, forming a kind of current hand on the *waxen tablets*, the *papyri* and the *parchment*;" so that the interest of the discovery becomes the greater from the analogy of the common character with the current which is here shown. The subject-matter of the tablets, independent of general interest, is also of high utility as illustrative of Roman law, and the condition also of those provinces of Dacia bordering on the Danube, in which history relates that the Getæ were aborigines, that the Sarmatians mingled there in fierce conflict with the Sclavonians and Scythians, that the Germans proved the strongest, that the Greeks were miners; and lastly, the oppressive Romans spoliators. The tablets contain besides Roman and Greek appellations, two German, and probably one Sclavonian name. Due heed has consequently been paid by Herr Massman to the contemporary history of these nations. He fixes the antiquity of the tablets at A. D. 167. The originals rest in the museum at Pest, which belongs to Nicolas Jankowich de Wadass. The author has also, by way of additional illustration of the current hand, appended to his work a transcript of a papyrus found at Philæ, which is in the museum of Egyptian antiquities at Leyden.

He candidly confesses his own inability to work up the book into its present compendious form in Latin, and acknowledges his obligations in this respect to Valentine Siebel for giving the work currency in that language among the literati of Europe. In the study of the Gothic he had in great measure forgotten his classical acquirements. The inscription of the larger tablet, with probably Dacian characters, he owns had puzzled to little purpose Grotefend, the late O. Müller, and others. It appears that Transsylvania contains vast treasures of the same character with the tablets. At Vienna there are helmets with Etrurian characters, found in Styria, most beautiful golden vases, carved ⁱⁿ ~~thin~~, although of narrow neck and great content, and certainly not blown. Herr Arnett, the conservator, is shortly about to favour the literary world with the publication of these treasures from the same land with our tablets. We trust this notice will direct the attention of English travellers to this as yet unexplored country of classic treasures. We shall now enter more at large into our author's account of the tablets. It appears that in the autumn of 1835, N. Jankowich de Wadass, while travelling in Hungary, came to the university of Munich, having two triptychs or tablets, one of fir, the other of beech, which he showed to

our author and Schmeller. The tablets formed of cleft beech, harder of cleavage, are joined together, and indicate the surface of the interior and exterior to have been polished by friction; the fir, on the contrary, are of ruder form, and cut up in a most simple style, so that the plate of the one may unite very closely with the joints of the other; and it is quite manifest that the plates were cut out of one and the same mass and connected. Each of the triptychs, as this name indicates, is formed of three wooden tablets of the size of small 8vo., so that it could be conveniently inserted in the pocket. The two exterior tablets of each triptych show wooden surfaces, which formed the protection and covering of the interior writing; the surfaces in the interior of the tablets are hollowed in, leaving a projecting wooden margin, and in this hollowed interior are covered with wax, which has turned black from age. The plan of the third middle tablet is similar, with the exception that it is hollowed on both sides, and covered with wax on each. Of the tablets in question, the fir tablets are in the best preservation. The wax in both triptychs is not thickly spread, or rather is worn away by time. At first on the beechen it appears thin, and here and there loosened as the stylus* of the writer, doubtless iron, penetrated with its sharp point heavier and deeper into the wood under the wax, and in some places the faint traces of writing occasion no small difficulty to the decipherer. In the fir tablets, if after our fashion turned from the left, the upper wax of the middle table is divided into two unequal parts by a groove, which seems to have been designed for the reception of styli, since it is deep and large enough for that purpose.

For the same object the other triptych shows on the margin of the middle tablet a grooved channel curved downwards, which appears to have been used to hold the stylus, with which the ancients were not only accustomed to deepen their characters and alter them, but also when inverted† to efface them. This channel in the margin or front of the tablets is of this shape  by which structure care seems to have been taken that the stylus should not escape from its sheath. In addition to this, each of the three tablets is bored or pierced through to the surface of the opposite margin, so that from the hinder portion it

* The stylus (στῦλος, γραφεῖον, γράφιον) used for the waxen tablets was formed of wood and iron, and likewise of bone, ivory, and silver. Suetonius describes Cæsar as wounding Casca with an iron stylus.—Cæs. cap. 82. The stylus for the brazen tablets is called γλύφιον, γλυφεῖον, cælum, celtes, scalprum.

† "Stylum vertere." Cf. Hor. Sat. I. 18, X. 72; Ovid, IX. 520, &c.

might be held together in a book or tightened for the preservation of the writing, with a triple flaxen thread or metal tie. Thus much on the form. The discovery of the tablets took place in the following manner : the beechen triptych was found in 1807, in the Torockkoiensian mines, which are distant from Abrudbanya, a village of Transsylvania, three or four miles : the fir in Abrudbanya, in the excavation of a gold mine not worked for some time previous by reason of the large quantity of sulphurous water with which it had filled. This was in 1790 ; and the condition of this latter gives internal evidence of the truth of this statement. Traces of the sulphurous stream are evident on the margin and corners of the tablets ; and had it not been for their complete inhumation, these delicate memorials of past time, these characters graven on this frail material, wax, probably had never reached us. How many secrets yet untold does earth keep closed up in her breast ! How many memorials of a by-gone time may she yet unfold ! But let us proceed to the writing itself. On the first glance over the beechen tablets in the first wax, a person will easily recognize some Greek characters : these are succeeded by a longer series of letters, which exhibit unusual forms. The fir triptych, which is entirely filled with letters, syllables, words, all connected into an obvious series, and sealed with sevenfold seal of secrecy, could not be explained by the best skilled in marbles, papyri, &c. at Pest, Prague, Paris, &c., where Jankowich carried them, nor before he came to Munich had any person either understood the shape of the letters, which some affirmed to be Mæsogothic, nor disclosed their sense. They did not however escape the penetration of Herr Massman, who from the instant he saw them, formed the hope of achieving this "difficile opus." From the brief stay, however, which the possessor of the tablets made at Munich, he could not give so much consideration to the Greek inscriptions as he desired. Three or four hours formed the entire portion of time he could devote to them before they quitted his hands. But on these hereafter. For the present we shall proceed to the fir tablets, which our author pronounces to be *Latin*. At first the tablets appeared to him a confused mass ; gradually the words developed themselves ; first, *Scriptum . . factum . . positus id quod* ; next *Jukum . . Valerius* ; and after one day's labour, the whole protocol in just, pure and perfect Latin was apparent to him. "We have then," says our author, "an instrument before us, perfect in its commencement, dated, with the name of the emperor and the consul under whom it was executed, clearly made out. A document of Roman law, of the best form, of classic value, dug up in Dacia." What may

be said to increase the value of the discovery is, that the writing is double; the same words re-copied. It is in four tablets. Our author discovered the sense by reading it in the Hebrew fashion, from right to left. The order of words begins in the third tablet or fourth wax, and ends in the third wax, in one tenor, with no breaks, so that the ancient *tabellarius* seems to have opened his tablets at the last wax. Contrary to our practice, the second inscription does not begin on the first wax, but on the second table, and terminates on the first. Why two copies of the same sense occur in one and the same triptych does not appear; but it is assuredly fortunate for us, since the lacunæ of one may be restored from the other. This circumstance has also enabled our author to examine the form of the letters more closely, and to draw some useful hints from the proper names, which contain sometimes uncial-or capital letters, at others specimens of the more current or cursive hand or common writing. The inscription, as deciphered by our author, is as follows:

“§ 22.* *Descriptum et recognitum factum ex libello qui propositus erat Alb. majori ad stationem Resculi. in quo scriptum erat id, quod i(nfra) s(criptum) est.*

“*Artemidorus Apollonii (filius), magister Collegii Jovis Cerneni, et Valerius Niconis(f.) et Offas Menofili, quaestores Collegii ejusdem—posito hoc libello publice testantur*

ex Collegio s(upra) s(cripto), ubi erant hom(ines) LIIII, ex eis non plus rema(n)sisse [ad] Alb. quam quod h(omines) X(II ?);

Julium Julii (f.) quoque commagistrum suum ex die magisterii sui non accessisse ad Alburnum, neque in Collegio; seque eis qui praesentes fuerunt, rationem reddidisse; et si quid eorum (h)abuerat, reddidisset sive funeribus; et cautionem suam, in qua eis caverat, recepisset; modoque autem neque funeraticiis sufficerent neque loculum (h)aberet, neque quisquam tam magno tempore diebus, quibus legi continetur, convenire voluerint aut conferre funeraticia sive munera;

seque idcirco per hunc libellum publice testantur, ut si quis defunctus fuerit, ne putet se Collegium (h)abere aut ab eis aliquem petitionem funeris (h)abiturum.

Propositus Alb(.) majori. V. (ante) Idus Febr(uarias).

Imp. L AVR VER III et QVADRATO CS.

Actum Alb(.) majori.”

Such being the inscription, our author proceeds to offer a few observations on the exordium and subscription of this libellus. Next on the era of its composition; thirdly, on the writing; lastly, on the subject-matter, which conduces eminently, in his opinion,

* The above inscription is given in our own Roman character for the use of those scholars who may wish to obtain the sense independent of the labour of getting up the cursive hand.

to the elucidation of many points of geography, history and mythology. The Libellus in question was evidently designed, as appears from the inscription, to indicate matters at the station or office of one Resculus, who was evidently a Tabellarius, or rather Tabellio. These public scribes* the Roman emperors had fixed in the various provinces and cities of their empire, as well as in Rome, that parties might consult them and hand over to them their petitions, and inscribe for them donations, transactions, wills. The significance of the word *Statio* remains next to be determined. We first have this used as a haven; 2dly, as a cattle receptacle; 3dly, fixed points at the courses or games; 4thly, a gossiping place in the market or at a well for female servants; 5thly, a watching post for the soldier; 6thly, also to indicate those spots in which the publicans were situated, and from whence they got together the revenues; lastly, it is used for the home or office of the Tabellio and lawyer (*juris-peritus*). These, the Tabelliones especially, seem to have held at Rome certain stations, at which they were constantly present, to furnish information. Gellius has this passage, which we extract at length. "*Cum ex angulis secretisque librorum ac magistrorum in medium hominum et in lucem fori prodissem, quæsitum esse memini in plerisque Romæ stationibus jus publice docentium aut respondentium, an quæstor populi Romani ad prætorem in jus venire posset.*"—N. A. xiii. 13. Inscriptions furnish constantly "*Statio marmorum*," "*Statio hæreditarium*," "*Statio vetustissima fabrûm navaliûm Pis.*" The Liber Marini has these words: "*Ego Theodosius a. n. Tabell. urb. Rom. habens stationem in porticu(m) de Subora reg. quart. scriptor hujus chartulæ.*" These coincidences clearly establish the genuine character of the deeply interesting document before us, by showing the keeping of the terms of the exordium with classic usages, to which, in its turn, it will throw light. The following inscription adds to this argument; for three magistrates of a certain college (it states), which appears to have contained fifty-four members, testify that there remained only ten or twelve out of that number, and that no one was willing to meet or to confer "*funeraticia*" or "*munera*" at the legal periods. In addition to this, the com-magister is also reported as absent from Alburnum. The period of the writing is determined in the words "*Propositus Alb. quinto die ante Idus Februarias*," together with "*Act(um) Alb(.) majori Imp(eratore) L AVR VER III et Quadrato C(on)s(ule).*" From these words

* Tabularius, Tabellarius, one who attended to public documents and preserved the archives. Tabellio—This officer had mainly functions relative to wills, or matters covenanted for in public documents.

we further draw the important conclusion that the involuntary worship due to the glory of the past republic was yet kept up, since we have here the emperor wielding the functions of the consul, and another consul named as his colleague. Justinian enjoined by edict, A.D. 537, that whatever matters were written by the Tabelliones for public purposes should be in the following form: "Imperante Divo Augusto, Imperii anno (hoc vel illo)," and that the consuls of the year should be added and the indiction. The style used on these tablets and their commencement, prove them not to be of this low era. The indiction was the plan of Constantine. Numbering by a period of fifteen years, and marking the first indiction at 3 B.C., he proceeded to count his series. The last consul whose name was used (simply as a time mark) was Fl. Basilius, jun., after whose consulate in A.D. 541, counting down twenty-five years to A.D. 566, from this consulate we find that the Emperor Heraclius then abrogated the custom. The naming of the consul therefore gives to our tablets a superior antiquity to this period. The name Quadratus repeatedly occurs on consular inscriptions. Thus in A.D. 93 we have A. Julius Quadratus; the same a second time consul in 105, and again in 142; L. Stadius Quadratus in 167; Titus Numidius—or, according to Muratori and Gruter, (Ummidius)—Quadratus, the son, probably, of the above; and Ummidius Quadratus, probably the son of the last named Titus, and probably Asinius Quadratus, the historian of the Parthian war, was a relative. And the above-named T. Numidius Quadratus, of the year of our Lord 147, was the colleague in the consulate of the Emperor L. Aurelius Verus, then a third time consul, under whose third consulate the Dacian war was ended. This fixes the wonderful antiquity of these waxen relics at the second century. They therefore far exceed in antiquity any existing MS. in Greek, Latin, or Hebrew; and the conclusions that may be established from them, however apparently uninteresting their official contents, are of course of the highest moment. The third consulate of Verus, and the first of Quadratus, his colleague, is also shown in the Supplem. Donat. Murat. The Greek *Fasti Consul.* exhibit Κοδρατον and simply name the Emperor Λουκιον. The full name of this emperor is Lucius Cejonius Ælius Aurelius Commodus Verus Antoninus. His colleague in empire is named Marcus Ælius Antoninus Aurelius Verus, the well known philosopher commonly called Marcus Aurelius. The greater part of the names above written arose from the following circumstances. In A.D. 130 he added the name of Ælius to his previous Lucius Cejonius Commodus, from his adoption as sanc-

tioned by Adrian; Verus and Antoninus were added, from his adoption by Antoninus. Over the course of his life Verus appears to have repeatedly altered his style, as Lucius Aurelius Verus, the name on our tablets, L. Ælius Aurelius Commodus, L. Ælius Aurelius Aug., L. Aurelius Commodus, L. Ælius Verus, L. Ælius Aurelius Verus, Aurelius Verus Commodus, and L. Ælius Imp. Similar changes appear in the style of his brother Marcus, though Marcus Aurelius Verus appears his predominant appellation. Lucius appears to have followed this style of his brother, and whether alone or conjointly, is written Lucius Aurelius Verus.

This well-known style confirms, therefore, the integrity of our Libellus, which may even be traced up clearly to the year previous to the war with the Marcomanni. In the following year L. Aurelius Verus, setting out on that war with Aurelius, died, A. D. 169, in the 42nd year of his age, and in the 11th of his reign. So narrow an escape have our tablets made from utter destruction that they were only written two years before his death. Nothing in wax equals their antiquity. Of tablets in this material we possess some, but of no higher antiquity than A. D. 1301. These relate to the progress of Philip the Fair in Flanders, and are preserved in the ducal museum at Florence. Others, connected with the same journey, are extant in the monastery of St. Germain, which our readers may see in Montfaucon. Various others, of still lower antiquity, are extant; none passing the fifteenth century. In the early centuries St. Willibald is reputed to have composed the life of St. Boniface on waxen tablets, which was afterwards transferred to parchment; and Charlemagne, as Eginhard informs us, kept tablets constantly under his bed-head, which passage we beg leave to point out to M. Jobard, as an additional proof that this monarch could write, as we asserted in F. Q. R. No. 53. His modern biographer, Mr. James, perfectly accords with our view also we perceive. Out of the whole series of years, from the fifteenth century to the second, no tablets but those before us exist. They therefore furnish a most important continuation of the cursive form of Roman characters. It is somewhat singular unquestionably that neither Herculaneum nor Pompeii should as yet have developed tabular inscriptions, but the fact is so. It was left to Transsylvania to develop what the ancient cities of the Roman rule had failed to produce. The enthusiasm of our author may of course be excused as the fortunate discoverer of the method of deciphering these ancient documents. We give his own description.

“Reddunt montium latebræ antiquorum hominum quasi manes resur-

gentes, reddunt luci libellos vetustate venerabiles vereque aureos, proque carbonibus, quos fortasse ille qui invenit e fodina quærebat parvulum lucrum se facturum sperans, inscius eruit thesaurum auro potiozem."

There can be little doubt that the contents of the tablets before us were transferred to brass, and kept as durable memoranda. The "*Tabulæ honestæ justæque missionis*" to the Emeriti contain similar forms to those with which these commence. To these "*Tabulæ missionum*" our author has furnished an immense body of reference, p. 22. The initial form of our tablets—"Descriptum et recognitum"—occurs in nearly all. The use of these terms may be gathered from the following form yet extant on the Smyrnæan marble of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in reply to Sextilius Acutianus, who had supplicated that the sentence of Adrian in his favour should be committed to the public archives: "Imp. Cæsar T. Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Augustus Sextilio Acutiano sententiam Divi patris mei si quid pro sententia dixit, *describere tibi permitto.*" And the Tabellarius added "*Rescripti recogn(ovi).*" The inscription concludes in these words: "Act. VI. Idus April. Romæ Cæsar. Antonino II et Præsente II Cos." The form of the tablets "*honestæ missionis*" was similar to those before us. They were composed of two sheets of brass. Each of these had on the margin certain perforations, where a thread passed through the pierced brass, so that they could be opened or closed like a book. Our tablets have similar. The edict of Nero led to this fashion, who decreed that they should be bored through and held together by flax passed through the orifices. Whether the tablets of Jankowich had iron or brass fastenings is now matter of doubt, as they fell away from the holes in which they were fastened from rust. The recurrence of the inscription on the tablets does not appear easy to explain. But in the "*Tabulæ honestæ missionis*" two similar inscriptions occur; with this difference, however, that the interior inscription is written in the uncial character and occupies each page, the exterior in smaller characters, being contained on a single page. This is the case in all the diptych tablets. The word "*subscripta*," in reference to the names of those parties who received the "*honestæ missio*," must not be taken rigorously as referring to a subscription at the end of the tablets. Our author conjectures that the twofold inscription of our tablets owes its origin to the circumstance that the magistrates, on the removal of the seal from the tablets, could compare the interior and exterior writing, and thereby prevent interpolation. But in our tablets, which are triptychs, or composed of three sheets, all the writing is contained on the interior pages. Plautus (Curcul. 3, 40) shows that the

diptych was composed of four waxen pages: "Mihi isthoc nomini Dum scribo, explevi totas ceras quatuor." And to what purposes were these waxen tablets applied? To friendly correspondence, as a diary, and for various other purposes. In the drawing of wills the waxen tablets were greatly used, as requiring from their softness no preparation. The page is numbered by the wax, as the "first two waxes," or else the "last wax."—Suet. Cæs. 83; Nero, 17. And in wills similarly a person was called *heir* from the first, second, and so on. Double copies of these wills appear to have been constantly made. Thus Cæsar informs us with respect to Ptolemy, king of Egypt: "Tabulas testamenti unas per legatos Romam allatas esse, ut in ærario ponerentur alteras, eodem exemplo, relictas atque obsignatas Alexandriæ prolatas esse."—*Bell. Civil.* 3, 108. In similar manner we learn from Suetonius that the will of Augustus was partly in his own handwriting, partly in that of his liberti.—Aug. 101. Ulpian informs us, that, as a legal instrument, the material of the tablets was not of any consequence, whether wood, paper, parchment, or skin. In fact, under the term *liber* was included (and we beg leave to suggest to the learned editors of the only Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities in our language worthy the name, now publishing by Messrs. Taylor and Walton, an addition to their article thus headed), on the authority of Ulpian, who informs us under this term were classed not only all volumes of paper or parchment, but also of the *tilia* or linden, or of any other skin different from parchment.—Fr. 52, D. xxxii. De legatis in III. Letters of manumission were written on the bark of the *tilia*. A letter also of Pertinax, of the date of A.D. 193, is extant, copied from the *tilia* or marble in these words. "Sententiam quam tulit L. Novius Rufus Leg. Aug. Pr. C. V. C. inter compaganos Rivilarenses et Vol. Faventinam descriptam et propositam pr. Non. Novemb. inluster vir J. S. Rufus Leg. CCCX. decretum ex *tilia* recitavit."—Gruter, p. 209. We have not enumerated the various materials for ancient writing. Montfaucon gives us a specimen of a libellus with leaden leaves.—*Palæogr. Græc.* p. 16, 180. Suetonius (Nero, 20) speaks of a similar libellus. Pausanias, 9, 16, speaks of a copy of Hesiod on plates of lead, which he had seen in Helicon, to which Böckh assigns a very high antiquity. Thin plates of brass and tin were also used for the *liber*. The laws of Solon were cut on wood.

We shall now pass to the form of the characters on the tablets. The learned Lipsius, *De Pronuntiatione Latinâ*, and a crowd of scholars after him, were of opinion that a current hand, distinct from the statuary hand, if we may be allowed the expression, did

not exist among the Romans. The contrary theory, that a current hand did exist, is abundantly proved by these tablets, and that as early as the second century. Spangenberg ventured probably first on the conjecture of the possibility of a current writing simply for expedition. Pliny and Ælian both seem to treat of a minute character distinct from the larger; and there are certainly inscriptions extant, though of late date, where clear traces are observable of a variation from the capital characters into smaller and oblique forms. The MSS. of Ravenna, of the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries, confirm this. Boldetti and Buonarrotti both furnish examples, in V and L, of alterations of the uncial form, which exhibit the perpendicular line in this latter character as nearly horizontal and the right angle formed by the perpendicular with the base as wholly altered, and an acute angle is contained by the two lines thus *l*. The G undergoes also a change, so as to approach very closely to our common letter *g*. F is also remarkably assimilated to our current form *f*. M is still more remarkable for this approximation *m*. R occurs on a coin described in the *Journal des Savans*, 1684, in this form *n*. P, Q and S undergo very singular mutations, which are also very remarkable on our tablets, from which we extract the word *quis*, which is thus written *quif*. An ancient fragment found at Rome in the year 1700, and which may be referred, from the consular suffixes, to A. D. 308 or 309, contains characters of exactly similar current writing to the Libellus before us, and thereby establishes its own genuineness and that of our inscriptions. The characters are not uniquely joined as in our own, but some appear united to others, and again many stand isolated in position. The affinity to our own current hand in both is very remarkable in these letters *pnbde*. An inscription at Milan exhibits a similar conformity. Another on lead, given by Lanzi, *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, ii. tab. 16; iii. p. 656, confirms the same law, and is also remarkable from the circumstance that it must be read from left to right. From this we extract the word *Dicata*, which is thus written *otadid*. An inscription on the statue of a Muse at Florence runs as follows, almost into our own current hand.

opus atucionis akprodilenis

The A in this inscription varies considerably from the more angular, such as *axx*, and assumes a round turn *a*; this

character, and the D, are evidently approximations to our current hand. The style of both these letters varies from our tablets, which represent the D, in the form of the A, described above *Δ*. An inscription of the time of Aurelius is next collated with the tablets; but before we proceed to the comparison we must first note, that the inscriptions delineated by Leon Laborde, (*Voyage de l'Arabie Pétrée*, Paris, 1830), and our countryman, Mr. Grey (*Transactions of the Royal Society*, London, Murray, 1832, i. p. 147), written in unknown Greek and Roman character, are clearly of the current hand, and probably written during the time of Titus by the Roman soldiery while in Judea. The Greek exhibits the angular form of the Latin A *Δ*, and other affinities; and we feel happy in being enabled to point out the key to the deciphering of these inscriptions fully both to our countryman and his distinguished fellow-traveller over the same regions. We now refer to an inscription of the same period nearly as our tablets, extracted from Marini (*Act. Frat. Arval.* i. 263.) The affinities here are very remarkable, and we recommend the careful observation of them to our readers for an excellent praxis in the hand. An inscription found in the codex of a Harmony of the Four Gospels furnishes fresh means of collation of the character. This MS. is curious, since it is dated five years after the last Roman consul, Basilius, of whom we have spoken above. Our indefatigable author has not stopped here, but with the assistance of Thiersch has inspected *pateræ* and potters' ware, and from these the theory in question receives further corroboration. Various Roman bricks confirm most amply our author's argument. These, of course, when they contain inscriptions, furnish the closest resemblance, since the clay and the wax are analogous substances for the stylus. This of course furnishes additional proof. The inscription above alluded to in the time of Aurelian contains also curious specimens of the current hand, and from the large characters in which it is given, is easier collated with other inscriptions than our tablets, which contain many of its forms, but from being given in their own small size, the characters are less determined. We subjoin a table of the twenty-four Roman letters in their forms of current hand:—

A.	Α.Α.Α.	I.	Ι.Ι.Ι.	R.	Ρ.Ρ.Ρ.
B.	Β.Β.Β.	K.	.....	S.	Σ.Σ.Σ.
C.	ϸ.ϸ.ϸ.	L.	Λ.Λ.	T.	Τ.Τ.Τ.
D.	Δ.Δ.Δ.	M.	Μ.Μ.Μ.	U. V.	Υ.Υ.Υ.
E.	Ε.Ε.Ε.	N.	Ν.Ν.Ν.	X.	ΧΧ.
F.	Ϝ.Ϝ.Ϝ.	O.	Ο.Ο.Ο.	Y.	.....
G.	Ϛ.Ϛ.Ϛ.	P.	Π.Π.Π.	Z.	.....
H.	Η.Η.Η.	Q.	Ϡ.Ϡ.Ϡ.		

The letter L in the above table exhibits a singular change from the uncial form in the superior length of the base to the perpendicular. S also is carried considerably above as well as below the line, maintaining a similar character with our *ſ* which we use on the duplication of this letter. The O is frequently annexed to another letter, as *Or*. It is also subjoined *to*. H T and Q exhibit remarkable affinities to our current hand. The E formed by two strokes, *Ε Ε Ε* is a remarkable irregularity both from the Roman uncial and our current form. The V discharges the office of U and V. The J, longer than the I, is found at the end of words, as *Jvlj*, *Collegj*. This *j* never receives any dot or point over it. From the similar character of the B and D in these inscriptions we suspect great confusion has arisen in words into which these characters enter. Our author refers to the donation of Odoacer in proof of this point, where we find such forms as, *Judeatis*, *suscridsit*, *scridsit*, *nodiscum*, &c. With respect to the connexion of letters, the union of vowels with consonants in the writing occurs more frequently than that of consonants with each other. The letters d, f, g, q, m, p, r, t, all admit

this union. Three or four letters frequently occur without any break or separation. We refer our readers to p. 60 of our author's work for an illustration of these forms; this current style, in a table he there gives, possesses, at least, an antiquity as early as Cicero.

On a comparison of the characters in our tablets with those of Pompeii, so obvious a similarity occurs, that it suggested itself instantly to the acute observation of one of our best scholars at the first glance, but his distinguished position does not permit us here to insert his name. Now these bear the date unquestionably of 79 A.D., for at that period Pompeii was submerged and from the walls marked either with a stylus or nail, we gain many specimens of the current hand. Thus, *sustuli* *sustuli*, *viſtaliſ* *vestalis*, exhibit characters the same as on these tablets; the union of V or U with S final as in *ſeueruſ* *Severus*.

Of the singular form of the E, *MONVMI/NTUM* (*monumentum*), furnishes an exemplar. Many more examples exhibiting a conformity of character to our tablets might be adduced, but we must, in mercy to our printer, refer our readers to the work before us for further illustration. Contractions occur but rarely in our tablets:—*Neq(ue)*, *homin*, *hom*, *h*; *Aldur* once in the last line, *Ald* in the middle, for *Alburnum*, which is also found with all its letters. We find also *ss* for *supra scripto*; *act(um)*; *et IMP(eratore)*; *CS* or *Css* for *consulibus*. The letters *i s* probably also imply *i(nfra) s(criptum)*. As to punctuation, there is little or none in these tablets; no commas or other stops appear, and periods or full stops but rarely. The orthography, like the modern Italian, is defective in aspirates as *abere*, *aberet*, *abuerat*, *abiturum*; the contrary to this is often exhibited in ancient inscriptions, where we frequently read aspirates *hac* for *ac*, *have*, *harena*, *holitor*, *Hosiris*, *heæ controversiæ*, &c. I in these tablets seems to be confounded with E, *reddedisſe*, *reddedisſet*; there are also numerous inscriptions in which the same orthographical variety occurs, as in *reddedit*, *posſedet*, &c. E also appears to have as early as this period assumed the present representation of Æ, as in *que* *s*, *presentes*. The letter D is interchanged with T, as *quit*, *qu^{the}*. In *Menofili*, the letter *f* occurs, as in the Italian, for *ph*. Nor must these variations be considered as errors of the librarius, for each copy agrees in the same style of writing. The specimen is unique and perfect of small hand and current-writing; no fault of the librarius or copyist is traceable; no erasure by his own or correction from another hand is apparent; for, though we find in one "*ad statione*" for *stationem*, this is not without ancient authority, since we read on Marbles, "*ardente lucernam, cura agant, pietate redere, post ea uxore,*" &c. An apparent

solecism must also be carefully noted as really no error, for "*legi continetur*," which occurs twice, is forensic Latinity, and it must be noted that "*contineri*" is construed legally with the dative. The style, though forensic, is in pure Latinity, nor are such expressions as "*abere aut abiturum*" to be held as marks of barbaric style, since they were probably the ancient legal style, equivalent to our "*feme sole*," and other legal terms. Coeval inscriptions with our own exhibit similar forms, as in particular that ancient conveyance by Herennius executed in the reign of Severus and Caracalla, A.D. 174, in which, towards the end, we find the words "*dolum huic rei abesse afuturumque*." The word "*cautio*" also occurs in these tablets, a very common juridical expression, for the full sense of which we refer our readers to a work from which we have already quoted, the Dictionary of Roman Antiquities; this word passed into Gothic.

We have the words "*cautionem suam, in qua eis caverat, recepisset*." A "*cautio*" is any writing in which security is provided for a party for money lent. When this instrument is destroyed it is equivalent to the cancelling the debt. We say "*Cavere cautione et cautionem, cavere in re, de re*." A similar legal expression we have in "*rationes ille reddidisse*." If any errors occurred in these details of calculation care was taken to provide a remedy, even after the lapse of twenty years. The word "*proponere*" may be also noticed, which is of common occurrence in edicts, actions, &c. The *curiosa felicitas* of the jurists of Rome, *circa verborum proprietatem*, is carefully preserved. We shall offer a few observations on the words *Magister*, *Quæstores*, *Collegium*. On the first of these we refer our readers to the dictionary cited above for many of its combinations, to which we shall append a few more. *Magister* was a general term among the Romans for numerous offices civil and military, private and public. Our word *Master* has not even yet parted from its ancient associations: thus we have *Masters in Chancery*, *Masters in the Exchequer*, *Master of the Rolls*; and amid the Romans we have, independent of the titles given in the dictionary to which we have alluded, a *magister palatii*, *balnearum*, *gladiatorum*, *census*. The emperors in addition to these offices, which are described in the work we have alluded to, made use of a *magister cognitionum sacrarum*, *dispositionum*, *admissionum*. The republic also had its *magister pagorum*, *decuriarum*, *morum*, *curiæ*, *fani*, *larum*, *sacrorum*, *regis*, *juvenum*; and the office of *magister societatis* was held by the father of *Plancus*, who was *auctor maximarum societatum*, *plurimarum magister*. In similar manner with the *societates* there were *magistri collegiorum*, heads of houses or presidents of colleges. There was the *magister collegii Saliorum*,

collegii fabrûm, aurificum, &c. Our tablets describe Artemidorus as magister collegii, and his office is called magisterium. In similar manner we have the magisterium equitum sacerdotum, morum, &c. These *collegia* were evidently similar in numerous instances to our merchants' guilds or city companies, and were either settled under the senatus consulta or monarchical decrees. Augustus, on discovering the danger resulting to him from many other bodies which met under the appellation of *collegia*, abolished all, saving the *collegia fabrûm, fictorum, &c.* Three members of a college formed a congregation. Many of these colleges contained large numbers; some were restricted in complement, such as the *collegium Æsculapii et Hygiæ*, to sixty men. The one spoken of in our tablets, *collegium Jovis Cerneni*, contained fifty-four. In Pliny's address to Trajan he consults the emperor as to a *collegium fabrorum* of one hundred and fifty. And due care is taken by him that no one should be received into this number but a *faber*, or abuse the purposes of the college to any other end. "*Nec erat difficile custodire tam paucos.*" Trajan was, however, of a different opinion, and did not accede to the petition of the Proconsul. Our author has with great diligence collected, at page 77, every possible existing body of this character in Rome. He has well inspected Muratori, Gruter, &c. and has drawn into one mass every possible institution to which the name "*Collegium*" could be given. These bodies, when incorporated, held their property under the same tenure as the state. They had a common chest, could sue and be sued. Our modern incorporations are clearly traceable to this source. Some of these *magistri* were annual, others quinquennial, others perpetual. Their *sodales* maintained a common worship, sacrifices, seal, device, treasury, temple. They were united in life, and in death they were not divided, possessing a common tomb. Their comrades received a public funeral. The *sportula*, or dole, was distributed at their gates to the people. They had many festal days, some of which evince the strong attachment of the Romans to beautiful nature, as the *Dies Violaris*, when that flower began to bloom, the *Dies Rosæ*, &c. As in our universities, ladies were allowed the privilege of contributing to such institutions, and received the appellation of "*mater collegii.*" A curious endowment of this character by Marcellina we recommend to the consideration of our readers at page 83. In further proof of the genuineness of our tablets and in illustration of their contents we extract a similar document in style and words, "*Descriptio decreti cujusdam Ceretanorum,*" A. D. 113, now at Rome. It runs thus, "*Descriptum et recognitum factum in Pronao ædis Martis ex commentario, quem jussit proferri Cyperius Hostili-*

anus per T. Rustium Lysiponum scribam *in quo scriptum erat id quod infra scriptum est.*" This supplies our letters *is*, or *infra scriptum*. The letters in italics furnish us clearly with powerful marks of the genuine character of our tablets by the recurrence of the words, or their synonymes, which we have distinguished by italics. Various other ancient marbles might easily be cited in corroboration. These tablets exhibit a *senatus consultum* complete in all its parts, month, day, consuls, and emperor. The proper names also furnish additional proof. That of Apollonius is very remarkable, since we learn from Julius Capitolinus that there was a stoic of this name of Chalcedon, who attended M. A. Verus. The genitive "Artemidorus Apollonii (filius), Valerius Niconis, Offas Menofili, Julius Julii," follows the Greek mode in sons of Greeks probably. Artemidorus and Apollonius occur on various inscriptions in Gruter, and the first is also in the Anthology. An Artemidorus is referred to in the conveyance executed by Herennius, of which we have spoken above, A. D. 174; Nico, Νικων; Menophilus, Μηνοφιλος; both common on marbles. There existed also during the reign of A. Severus, a Præses Moesiæ, Menophilus, when the Goths invaded that country. Valerius and Julius sufficiently attest their Roman origin. Offas we shall notice hereafter as we proceed, which we shall now do, to indicate the connexion between the spots where these precious relics were found and the Roman authorities of that period. Abrudbanya is a small village in Transsylvania. The Romans there had assuredly one of their principal gold mines. Four places in Dacia are famous for metals—Abrudbanya, Offenbanya, Körösbanya, Kisbanya. The first alone appears to maintain traces of its ancient character, and the mountaineers still find gold sand in the streams about it, and various pieces of rock containing gold are found. These are brought into Abrudbanya, then broken to pieces with a hammer, the precious metal extracted, its quantity ascertained, and an equivalent given for it. This takes place every Monday, on which day the mountaineers bring it down to Abrudbanya from all quarters. Dacia affords at present but a very inconsiderable quantity of the precious metals, gold and silver; but anciently, if we can credit Pliny, in the time of Nero her mines gave daily fifty pounds of gold, and Hannibal is also reported to have drawn daily from one mine three hundred pounds of silver. Abrudbanya attests by its magnitude what care the Romans had bestowed on this portion of their metallic empire.

The history of Dacia may be very briefly summed up for our present purposes. The inhabitants maintained a gallant conflict against Alexander the Great, as we learn from Strabo and Curtius. At his death, they dismissed Lysimachus, whom they had captured, with the brief advice, that he should hold in recollection

his defeat for his instruction and amendment. Over a long series of years they were a terror to Rome. Cotyson, Boerebista, Dornaneus, and lastly and best known, Decebalus, amid their kings, infused considerable panic into the Roman armies. Domitian bought a truce for twelve years of this latter sovereign, but Trajan gave him war for tribute. Decebalus was unable to withstand the forces of the empire, and Dacia yielded to Trajan. The emperor, however, did not neglect his conquest, and bestowed on it many local and civil benefits. The inhabitants soon lost their original character, and Romenia probably furnishes a trace of their attachment to their civilizing conquerors. St. Bernard conferred on it the appellation of *terra auri*, and Trajan seems to have been equally sensible of the metallic worth of his conquest, and in his vows to Jupiter Stator for the conquest of Dacia he does not forget to return thanks also to Jupiter *Inventor pro detectis Daciæ thesauris*. Gellius tells us that the Forum Trajani was formed ex manubiis, or the money raised from the booty taken from Dacia, N. A. 13, 14; and the column of Trajan attests also the rich value of the spoils from this people. This country was the scene of many persecutions of the Christians, for Adrian and Trajan sent them into it to be hewers of stone, and drawers of water, and excavators in the mines. L. D. Aurelian, the emperor, when he was unable to check the incursions of barbarians on this country, then a Roman province, placed numerous inhabitants from it in Mœsia, which obtained the name of Dacia Ripensis, or Aureliana. Scythians, Goths, Huns, and, lastly, the Hungari, followed each other in rapid incursions into this unhappy country. Trajan had withered their force by numerous colonies drawn from them; five may certainly be counted. The ancient marbles around Abrudbanya give melancholy attestation to its ancient wealth; of these, we extract the following as a specimen:—

“PRO SALUTE DOM. NN. L. SEPT. SEVER. ET M. AUR. ANTONINI ET P. SEPT. GETAE. CAESS. AUGG. CULT(ores) IOVIS DEDIC. VIII. K. AUG. MUCIANO ET FABIANO COSS. COLL. AURAR.”—p. 107.

Of this collegium aurariorum (or aurariarum), we have quæstor and master and sub-master, to whom, perhaps, the Aurarian mines were confided. We shall conclude this article with a few observations on the geography of our tablets. Where then, in the first place, is Alburnum, which is stated as the locality of the college in question? Our author frankly confesses that he had never heard of such a spot in Dacia. The terms too of the writing are singular, “Actum Alb. majori.” Now, Abrudbanya, in its latter portion, *banya*, implies a mine, in the common language

of Hungary; and numerous mining districts, some of which we have quoted above with this termination, *banya*, doubtless derived it from this circumstance; but though this would account for the termination, we have no such word as *Abrud* in Hungarian; and here alone our author fails in the attempt to identify Alburnum with *Abrudbanya*, if indeed the bold conjecture of Cerneni as identical with the Zernensian colony be not another instance. The diligent collation of the language of these countries with ancient tongues, which is at present making great progress, may soon, however, supply even these difficulties. *Offa* is unquestionably our Saxon name of *Offa*; a king of the East Angles of this name existed in 575 A.D., another turned monk in 709, a third was contemporary with Charlemagne in 755; and among high Saxon descendants, *Offa*, *Affa*, *Yffe*, is spoken of as in the direct line from Woden.

Nor is this mixture of names uncommon in Roman monuments; we should be led to expect it from the reason of the case, from the long intimacy and connexion of Britain with Rome, and Herr Massman has confirmed it by numerous instances. The coins constantly found throughout Dacia show that great intercourse had subsisted between the Greeks and that country as well as the Romans. Our author, however, does not touch eight lines of most singular character which occur together with Greek quotations on the waxen tablets, but commends them to hands amply worthy of them,—to Böckh, Franz, Lepsius, Grotefend, simply stating that in his notion they are to be read from right to left; the characters are certainly very remarkable. The prayer, oracle and other inscription appear unconnected, and simply things jotted down at hazard on the tablets.

A few words on Verus, whose name appears on the tablets, may not be deemed irrelevant. He was a mere voluptuary; he passed through life in the indulgence of every vice and appetite that could disgrace nature; a laughing-stock even to the effeminate Syrian. But the unseen scourge of his crimes and luxury was at hand, and with it the deadly pestilence was approaching with rapid strides. It was probably moving by the side of the emperors into Rome; earthquakes involving the fall of many a city, inundations, repeated blasting of crops, the deadly locusts in fierce swarms, were its heralds. Antoninus betook himself to various salutary and pious measures, but war being menaced by the barbarians in numerous directions, the brothers set out to encounter it, but near Aquileia, Verus was seized with a sudden attack of apoplexy in a carriage with his brother. A vein was opened, he was carried to Altinum, remained mute for three days, and then died in the 39th or 40th* year of his age.

* Herr Massmann is not very consistent with himself in this statement, as our readers will perceive by a reference to p. 18 as compared with p. 139. Petavius, Rat. Temp.

Marcus Antoninus set out alone for the war. He appears to have died by the pest at Vienna. It is said that on the seventh day of the attack, his son alone was admitted to see him; but soon dismissed, for fear he should take the disease. His son being thus dismissed, he covered his head as if to sleep, and died on the night following. Thus passed the emperors. Our tablets indicate their own era. The Marcomanni invaded the Roman provinces in 168, having routed 20,000 Romans; they conquered again in 174, invaded Dacia in 178, attacked Pannonia in 252, were repulsed in 304, embraced Christianity in 396. Thus fiercely did Germany fight against Rome, and at last, as Herr Massmann piously observes, Rome was not their conqueror, but Christianity. These tablets, drawn up by the *Tabellio Resculus*, relate evidently to this period of the Roman annals. They show that out of fifty-four members of the college of Jupiter Cernenius, only ten or twelve remained, and probably the college was confused, disturbed, and dissolved in consequence of the great pestilence. We here close our remarks on the most interesting remains of antiquity that have been recently discovered; and although they may not equal in importance the valuable marbles so ably annotated on by Böckh, of the Records of the Athenian Navy, or excite equal interest with the Homer of Mr. Banks or the Oration of Cicero by A. Maio, or the various papyri now unrolling, or possibly what may yet arise from the sight of the lost decads of Livy, or the treatise of Cicero de Gloria, extant in the time of Petrarch, yet do they lend light on the cursive character of Roman writing, that no other document could supply, indicating the various mutations of the language, and filling up a vast gap of desiderata, which were scarce even faintly anticipated, clearing up the inscriptions at Pompeii by analogous characters, and, in one word, diffusing a more exact sense of the language by the close peculiarity of their terms, and by a perfect freedom from any false reading or interpolation. The material of which they are constructed has been wonderfully preserved, and the frail wax retains in perfection the characters from the stylus as fresh in some instances as though executed on the instant. Such are the mutations of time, and such the light the gold mines even of Transsylvania can produce. What then may we not imagine will be yet derived from those eyes into the past, the mummy and Pompeii? We trust we have yet to learn many new views of antiquity; and for ourselves are fully prepared to relinquish all anterior prejudice or confined reading before this teaching from the tomb, this voice from past ages.

says "Sed in ipsa profectione Verus, apoplexia correptus inter Concordiam et Altinum, periit A.C. 171 si undecimum imperii attigit, vel 169; si nonum haud excessit." The year of the death of Verus cannot be exactly determined.

ART. II.—*Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs.* Von Heinrich von Sybel, Doctor der Philosophie und Privatdocenten der Geschichte an der Universität zu Bonn. Düsseldorf, bei J. H. C. Schreiner. 1841.

It was towards the close of the eleventh century (1074), that Gregory the Seventh, perhaps the most remarkable man that ever swayed the pontifical sceptre, first gave the world any official intimation of an approaching crusade.* The character of the man and the circumstances of the time all seemed to favour the project. Engaged as the pope had been, from a period long previous to his accession to the Holy See, in a struggle against the temporal influence exerted within the Church, occupied with the magnificent scheme of erecting a spiritual empire before which all worldly potentates should bow, endowed with a genius whose splendour has never been denied, and acting with a sincerity which can hardly be questioned, his insatiable ambition, and his intolerable arrogance, have nevertheless made it doubtful whether he designed his intended crusade to serve the Church *chiefly* in the East or in the West.

It could hardly have escaped the notice of so penetrating a statesman, how great would be the advantage to the papal power could the ambitious princes of Europe be induced to draw off their turbulent nobles with their disorderly retainers, to the scene of a distant and a *religious* war. Still less could the more important advantages escape him which his plans would derive from the high tone of religious feeling which a war against infidels and on behalf of the Holy City would necessarily excite. Obedience to ecclesiastical authorities, the vital importance of union with the Church and her chief pastors, the supremacy of the throne of St. Peter over all earthly dignities, mediately in temporal and immediately in spiritual matters—such were the lessons which it was the sole object of Gregory's pontificate to teach, and such would be more effectually taught by a crusade than by any operations in western Christendom which the popes could ever hope to effect.

The novelty of the design, the vast ideas of oriental splendour which then prevailed, the discoveries which might be made, the noble field for the display of combined valour and devotion, the extraordinary and enthusiastic manner in which, when the scheme

* Sylvester the Second had previously addressed the Church on the subject, and proposed himself to lead the chivalry of the West, but the proposal met with no sufficient response, nor was the scheme of Gregory brought to maturity during his pontificate.

was at last matured, the appeal of Urban the Second was received, all tend to make the history of the first crusade the most important portion of European mediæval history. It was the first updrawing of the curtain from a scene of gorgeous romance, the commencement of a brilliant æra of war, and chivalry, and diplomacy; it called into display a thousand splendid qualities, and into action a thousand splendid characters, which would otherwise have been occupied and expended in petty provincial warfare; it united and, as it were, fused together the best and most attractive parts of the eastern and western character; it gave a new impulse to poetry and music and architecture, and it poured into Christendom, with a tide which continued for three centuries to flow, all the comparatively ripened civilization of the then more advanced East.

But of this interesting period we have had until lately no well written and faithful history. In England this want struck less forcibly on the mind, because the subsequent glories of Richard Cœur de Lion absorbed the national attention, and the former period lay in comparative obscurity without any attempt being made to illustrate it.

In 1820 however appeared Mills' *History of the Crusades*; and this, though necessarily bestowing but a comparatively short space on the first of these expeditions, is the largest and best connected work treating on the subject which is accessible to the English reader. Yet there are few portions of history of which the contemporaneous accounts are more numerous or more diffuse. Dr. Sybel classes these into, first, letters of individual crusaders, of which a few still exist, and of which some might be made available in the compilation of a history of the period; secondly, letters from princes and popes, among which those of Alexius Comnenus to Robert, Count of Flanders, and those of Urban II. to Alexius, are the most important; and thirdly, the contemporaneous histories and chronicles of the crusade. The first part of Dr. Sybel's work is occupied by an investigation of these sources, and is distinguished by an accuracy and a patient research which leaves little if anything to be desired.

Professor Ranke, in the year 1837, called much attention to an investigation of the sources from which our knowledge of the history of the first crusade is derived. In the course of this investigation it appeared, says Dr. Sybel, that the first books of William of Tyre were a mere *rifacimento* of other and earlier writers, as Albert of Aix, Raimond, and the "*Gesta Francorum*." This however is anything but new to the literary world, for Mills, in his "*History of the Crusades*," frequently speaks of the Archbishop as the copyist of Albert; but with regard to the "*Gesta*

Francorum," we have here for the first time a view taken of that document which entirely alters its position among the histories of the crusade. There are two works called by this name, but Sybel, by referring to the pages of Bongarsius, identifies the one to which he alludes; it is the same of which Mills in his *History*, vol. i. p. 461, says, "It is an improvement of Tudebode," and with this brief notice proceeds to the other. There is however much important matter here left untouched, and we shall therefore proceed to give a few extracts from Dr. Sybel's work, as to the history and value of the "*Gesta Francorum*."

"John Besly, in his Preface to Tudebode, asserts with great confidence that the work entitled '*Gesta Francorum*,' which in former times was used as an authentic and original document, is in fact no more than a plagiarism of the very grossest description, and that as the anonymous compiler had to thank his verbal following of Tudebode for his fame, it was a mere matter of duty to expose his misdoing. He grounds this assertion upon three places, one in which the writer speaks of himself, and two in which he alludes to his deceased brothers."—p. 23.

Besides this it appears that Tudebode spoke *frequently* of himself, and that the anonymous writer has carefully left out all such passages. Now it is to the merest chance that Besly owes the consent of all later writers to this assertion, and it would probably have remained uncontradicted to this time, had not our author been led by the character of some passages in the "*Gesta Francorum*," as well as by the doubts of Professor Ranke, to investigate the subject. A short examination proved to him that Besly was mistaken, and that Winkel and other historians of the crusades had been subject to considerable errors in consequence of taking up the same opinion.

"In the first passage (upon which Besly's assertion is grounded) Tudebode relates an unlucky occurrence which took place during the siege of Jerusalem, and he adds—Tudebode, a priest of Sivray, the author of this history, was present and saw the event. The whole narration to which this assertion refers is wanting in the '*Gesta*,' and I see nothing improbable in the supposition that Tudebode, *having proceeded so far in his copy*, inserted in this place an event of which he was an eye witness. As to his following the army with his brethren it is of course impossible to disprove it, though many difficulties would arise if we endeavour to derive from his account that of the '*Gesta*.' Again, the anonymous author speaks throughout in the first person; Tudebode speaks sometimes in the first, sometimes in the third, and changes back without any apparent motive to the first again."—p. 23.

The priestly character of Tudebode forms a still stronger evidence of the truth of Dr. Sybel's conclusion, for a similar inconsistency prevails in that respect as in his confusion of the first and third persons. The anonymous writer was a knight, and speaks

ever consistently with his knightly character, while Tudebode is perpetually changing his tone and represents his occupation sometimes to be war and sometimes religion, and sometimes a strange (to us at least) mixture of both. This incongruity is easily comprehended if we consider the writer merely as a copyist, but it is totally incomprehensible on any other supposition. Another point which Besly passes over as though it were of small moment, Sybel rightly notices as one of great importance, it is by itself almost sufficient to settle the question of priority. Tudebode has copied many passages verbatim from the book of Raimond of Agiles. Now if the author of the "*Gesta*" had copied Tudebode, it could hardly fail but that some at least of these passages would have found their way into the transcript; yet not one is to be seen, and the very place in which Raimond and the "*Gesta*" are agreed most remarkably upon, affords the most remarkable proof of this fact, for Tudebode, after giving to a certain extent the words of the "*Gesta*," transcribes next several passages from Raimond, and then goes back once more to the words of the "*Gesta*." Our limits will not allow us to follow the doctor through the proofs which he gives in support of his position; passages in which Raimond is evidently wrong are copied into the book of Tudebode, and the inconsistencies of the latter, as well as the internal evidences of the "*Gesta*" and the results of an examination into the *Historia Belli Sacri*, all tend to show that the first "*Gesta*," in the collection of Bongarsius, is the most trustworthy record of the first crusade that has reached our times. We have but little information as to the life of the author.

"We know only that in the year 1096 he went with Bohemund to Amalfi, and remained with his forces till the siege of Antioch by Kerbuga. He served here among the knights, and had the fortune to be concerned in almost every undertaking of consequence. He accompanied Robert of Normandy and Raimond of Thoulouse and Tripoli, and this is the last of his personal adventures that we are able to trace."—p. 26.

His personal character is so beautifully sketched from his own writings by Dr. Sybel that we cannot refrain from laying before our readers a few passages.

"If his personal character be not so clearly indicated as that of Raimond, it is nevertheless sufficiently so to impress us with a sense of his trustworthiness. In the first place he seems evidently penetrated with the universal idea of the holiness of the expedition. He connects it immediately with God's ordination, and in an hundred places speaks of God as their great leader and protector. 'The Almighty God, gracious and merciful, who alloweth not his host to perish, sent us help.' 'So were our enemies overcome through the might of God, and of the Holy Sepulchre.' 'We walked secure among the fields and mountains blessing and praising the Lord.' With such expressions does he begin and end almost every

narration of individual exploits and conflicts. We may indeed say that all this was to be expected, and that an indifference to such subjects among his contemporaries would have spoiled and disturbed the picture; but this enthusiasm is kept within its due bounds, and neither leads to the neglect of temporal affairs, nor does he regard the enemy with the eye of a controversialist."

For 180 pages does Dr. Sybel investigate the sources of the history of the crusade; and though considerable attention had been paid to the subject before, his labours have been rewarded by what, if we cannot call them discoveries, are at least strikingly novel views. Nor are these views hastily taken up; the reader's judgment is carried along with the investigator, and we rise from the perusal of this first part of the volume, impressed with the conviction that a history of the first crusade, in every respect worthy to be credited, has been hitherto a desideratum. One of the most interesting points on which Dr. Sybel has exerted his critical acumen is the origin of the crusade itself, so long attributed to the solitary of Amiens. We shall briefly give an analysis of what our author advances on this topic.

The character and adventures of Peter the Hermit occupy much of the attention of every writer on the Crusades, and it is somewhat curious to notice the inconsistency which they have displayed. Few persons have been more misunderstood than this celebrated individual; the sneers of Gibbon, and the all but adoration of some of the monkish writers, have been alike taken as true. The actions of a sage have been attributed to one described as a weak enthusiast, and the influence of a sovereign to a despised outcast. In one respect however all have been agreed—in whatever mode they chose to represent the man himself, they unanimously attributed to him the first movements of the crusade. That he led to Palestine a vast undisciplined host, nearly all of whom fell a sacrifice to their own vices and follies, is undoubted: that he previously organized a similar but smaller band (if indeed it could be said to be organized at all), under the banner of Walter the Pennyless, otherwise Walter Habenichts, otherwise Gautur de Vaurien (titles all of the same import), has never been denied: that he remained with the army of the crusades till the war was over, and headed such ragamuffins as remained to him, is a matter of history; equally so is it that, previous to the first armament, he preached in various countries. But here we must stop. Dr. Sybel brings together a few facts that throw a strong light on this portion of history. First, let us take the legend properly so called; we will next deal with the romance. Albert and William of Tyre shall be our authorities.

"Deeply grieved on account of the heathenish enormities, he prayed

in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre till he sunk to sleep ; then appeared to him the Saviour in heavenly glory and spake to him, a weak and sinful man. ' Peter, my dearest son, stand up, go to my Patriarch and take from him the letter of my mission. In thine own land thou shalt speak of the misery of the Holy State, and shalt awaken the hearts of those who believe there, that they may purge Jerusalem and rescue the saints out of the hands of the Heathen, for the gates of Paradise are open to him whom I have called and chosen ;' and Peter rose up at dawn and went to the Patriarch to receive the letter of mission, and the Patriarch gave it to him and thanked him exceedingly ; and Peter went his way and prepared for his departure in the greatest anxiety, so he came to Bari, and at last to Rome. There the Pope received with joy and humility the word of calling, and went first to Vercelli and then to Clermont to preach the way of the Lord. And all lands arose and all princes and knights throughout France to set free the Holy Sepulchre. On the 8th of March in the year 1096, Walter the Pennyless, a powerful knight with a mighty following of infantry and eight lances, the first crusader on his way to Jerusalem, passed into the potent kingdom of Hungary."

On this Sybel makes some very valuable remarks, but as we have no space to follow the pennyless knight, we will just *en passant* observe that his host was all before long destroyed. Now to our author's observations :—

"The character of this relation appears not to be mistaken ; it is the history of a wonder, a holy legend, if ever there was such. Christ the Saviour of the world appears and commands a crusade ; he speaks the word and the deed is done. As soon as Peter has mentioned it, the Pope receives it, and announces it to others ; and by the 8th of the following March, without much negotiation, the first crusaders are already in Hungary. It is a creation of God's command through the instrumentality of a weak hermit. The Pope appears only as the third link in the chain, and then in the most unpretending manner."

With this legend are all the histories from Albert of Aix downwards interwoven. Peter, after his interview with the Pope, went from country to country, detailing the miseries of the Christians and the cruelties of the Saracens, urging rich and poor to band together

"Il gran sepolcro liberar di Cristo."

As with one voice, so runs the same strain, the nations responded to his call. *Deus id vult ! Deus id vult !* was the cry, not at the council of Clermont only, but throughout Christendom ; and an armament before the year was out proceeded on its way only to be, as it were, pioneers for one yet mightier and more enthusiastic. Four successive levies took place, which well nigh drained Europe of her vilest as well as of her most fanatical sons ; men, women and children, the old and the young, set out together ; ill-armed, ill-victualled, and not disciplined at all. Before they had left

France, the children were inquiring about every town they came to, whether that were Jerusalem, and the parents were hardly able to answer the question. The commanders of these mobs were successively Walter the Pennyless, Peter the Hermit, Godeschalco and Emicho, the two latter being counts, and about as indifferent characters as the middle ages could produce. Upwards of *a quarter of a million* persons perished in these four expeditions, after exhibiting all the vices and all the brutality that could degrade human nature.

No individual will require any further notice (of those, i. e. who were concerned with these first movements), save Peter himself. And here, when we come to seek for contemporary notices of him and his doings, we find them wonderfully small. Radulph of Caen, who pays him no great respect even at the beginning, leaves him out altogether when Raimond and Bohemond and Robert of Normandy appear on the field. None of the *strictly* contemporaneous writers speak of him otherwise than they do of Walter and Emicho. The English and Italians scarcely heard of him at all; and what they did know was merely that, after having taken upon him to preach a crusade, he led a tumultuous rabble into the Holy Land. Anna Comnena indeed, who calls him Cuckoo Peter, speaks of him as a kind of saint; but then, as Sybel well observes, it must be remembered that Walter the Pennyless had prepared the mind of Alexius to receive him in that capacity, and that vile and ill-disciplined as was the mob which he called the army of Christ, it was nevertheless a formidable neighbour for the peaceful citizens of Constantinople. Peter himself too was a man of family and some dignity, accustomed to the society of the great, and probably convinced that he was in reality called of God to undertake this expedition.

"The Byzantines," observes the doctor, "were already made somewhat acquainted with him, when he approached them with a numerous array. The emperor called Peter to his presence, and learnt from him that he had been in Palestine (what and what kind of visions he had been favoured with was not now the question); that he had preached in all countries the hermit asserted. Of the Pope he said not a syllable—indeed why should he, *for the probability is that he had never seen him*, but according to his own belief had gone on his mission quite secure that he had the authority of a higher Power than that of the preacher before the council of Clermont."—pp. 240, 241.

It is perfectly marvellous how little the earlier historians say about Peter. Fulcher does not even mention his name, and Hugo Flor gives it only among those of the other chiefs. Ekkehard, Robert the Monk, Baldric and Guibert say little more; nor should we in all probability have heard more of him, had it not

been necessary to refresh from time to time the fainting spirits of the Christian warriors by reminding them of the miraculous origin of their enterprise.

The great historian of the first crusade, again, is one whose object was to give as strong a supernatural colouring as possible to the whole series of events which he relates. It is said that when the Duke of Marlborough made some incorrect assertion with respect to a point of English history, and was asked from what historical writer he drew his information, he replied, "From Shakspeare, I never read any other history of England." This is much more the case with the events of the first crusade; the sources of its history are unknown save to scholars. Modern works on the subject have been few and far between, and what ideas readers in general have of that eventful period are derived, not from the "*Gesta Francorum*" or the Archbishop of Tyre, but from the enchanting pages of *Tasso*. Now we find that with every disposition to exalt Peter, with a natural love of the marvellous, and a *necessity* of employing it in the structure of his poem, Tasso makes the hermit but a secondary character; he could not indeed have done otherwise, without too much outraging the recorded history of the times, and taking too much from the probability of his story to be consistent with an epic poem. But we have lingered too long over this discussion, and must pass on with the now assembled croises to the land of their destination. Europe had been purged by the first four levies of her refuse; she now prepared to send forth the noble, the wealthy and the chivalric. Godfrey, the sixth lord of Bouillon, Marquis of Anvers and Duke of Brabant, was in all respects the most considerable of those who took up the cross. For his power, his abilities and his virtues he stood pre-eminent; his learning and his wisdom made him invaluable to the expedition, and it is probable that he was the only commander among the soldiers of the cross whose motives in the enterprise were thoroughly pure. Even Tancred, the "*preux chevalier*," looked as much to personal glory as Bohemond did to power and wealth; and the latter, though he has been leniently treated by Tasso, must be regarded as a rapacious and suspicious as well as an ambitious prince, not incapable of treachery, and characterized by a thorough selfishness. Raimond of Thoulouse, stern and severe, but brave and at times generous—Robert of Normandy, endowed with talents and valour which might have raised him to the highest rank among the princes of his time, but so totally devoid of sound judgment that his other qualifications were useless—Robert Frisco, Count of Flanders, brave like every knight of that day, but a mere soldier—Stephen of Blois and Chartres, the most powerful of the

French barons, whose castles are said to have amounted to more than three hundred in number—Hugh, the Great Earl, as he was emphatically called, brother of the King of France and Count of Vermandois—such were the chiefs under whose command a deluge of well-disciplined troops was poured into the East, there to perish without leaving any solid fruit of their victories and sufferings. Alexius Comnenus sat on the throne of Constantine; and, though the empire of the East was fast decaying, he imagined that its restoration to its pristine glory was a work reserved for himself. But the crafty and disingenuous mind of Alexius was ill calculated for the circumstances of his day; he had to contend with enemies far more mighty, and, if not so cunning, at least as wise as himself. The Turkish and Saracen opponents of the Greek empire were not the barbarous hordes who had overrun the West; they were highly civilized; their capitals were the abodes of art and science and literature. Poetry and music and all the amenities of life were cultivated among them to no common degree; and what was far more effectual to making them formidable opponents, they fought with a religious enthusiasm. Under these circumstances, had Alexius been actuated by an enlightened spirit of policy, he would have aided the chiefs of the crusade and strengthened his own position. They would have repelled *his* enemies and extended his dominions. As it was, he employed himself in sowing fears and jealousies among them; sent help when it was not required, withdrew with his whole army when his appearance might have turned the scale; flattered and cajoled each leader in turn with a view to detach him from the rest, and is more than suspected of having induced the Persian sultan to interfere and send forces to the relief of Antioch when beleaguered by the Christian army.

At the same time the abilities of the emperor are not to be underrated, nor are the difficulties of his position to be forgotten.

"The narrow circumstances of his treasury," says Dr. Sybel, "were quite inconsistent with a state of warfare. The cultivated condition of this branch of the public service, which was once so characteristic of the old Roman empire, was lost with the lands over which its sway extended, and the defects only of the more ancient system with its hardness and its despotism remained. Measures such as are occasionally resorted to in all times by bad governments were here the rule, not the exception—the coinage was repeatedly debased—metal, both rough and manufactured, was seized upon wherever it was found—extraordinary taxes without hesitation made permanent. From one day and one requisition a respite was only obtained till another—every moment was deemed a gain—and the present pressure allowed no thought for future welfare or future misfortune." "Such was the state of affairs in the year 1092,

four years before the first appearance of the crusaders at Constantinople. 'The times,' says Anna Comnena, 'in which the Roman name ruled from Thule to Meroe were over. Adrianople on the one hand, the Bosphorus on the other, formed the boundaries of the empire. Alexius himself,' she adds, 'had formed the resolution to extend them to the Euphrates and the Adriatic sea; and it must be acknowledged that the very determination, considering the lowness of his then condition, the historical consciousness of his dignity, and the resolve to realize it as far as possible, were at all events likely to prevent its total extinction.'

The condition of the Byzantine government was also in a state of amelioration—the Seljukian dynasty of Rhoum was no longer formidable—the troops of Alexius had obtained some unexpected successes, and the haughty conduct of Hugh, Count of Vermandois, induced the emperor to act in direct hostility to the leaders of the crusade. That he was unwise in this we have already shown; he would better have consulted his own dignity by declining to answer Hugh at all by appealing to the princes of Europe. As it was he threw many obstacles in the way of the Christian princes, and lost the opportunity of turning their arms in such directions as might have forwarded his own patriotic designs. It is impossible to go through the course of events—to notice the bloodshed among the crusaders, the treachery the wiliness that marked the conduct of the Greek sovereign. War was almost ever prevalent between the Latins and the Greeks, the most solemn engagements to peace were violated by the generals of Alexius, and doubtless by the emperor's command; while not unfrequently the Latins urged to fury took fierce vengeance upon their treacherous allies, and made them in turn the subjects of slaughter and plunder. At length the host having escaped not a few dangers, and having lost not a few of their numbers, sat down to besiege Nice in Bithynia, the capital of Rhoum, the Seljukian kingdom. For seven weeks the siege lasted, and at the expiration of that time, when the city could not have resisted much longer, Alexius sent forces and provisions, and at the same time entered into a treaty with the Nicæans to deliver up the city to him; so that when the crusaders were about to make their final attack the banners of the Greek emperor were displayed on the walls, and the city was pronounced his prize. It was with some difficulty the Latin army could be reconciled to this gross breach of faith, for Alexius had distinctly agreed that every captured town should be their own. At length however the entreaties of Godfrey and others prevailed, and the troops marched on towards Antioch. In their way they were much annoyed and much injured by the forces of Saisan, son of Kilidge Arslan, the prince or sultan of the Seljuks, who hung about their rear with

one party, while with another he swept the country of provisions before them—in Phrygia 500 people died in one day from the want of water. In the meantime an excursion was made into Cilicia by Tancred and Baldwin, and Tarsus was taken; and here a melancholy picture is presented of treachery and cruelty by the conduct of the latter chief, conduct which was of itself sufficient to prevent any future union among the crusaders. Baldwin, indeed, seems no longer to have desired such union, for we find him detaching himself from the rest and making war on his own account at Edessa; he was adopted by the Duke Thoros as his own son, and at the death of Thoros, who was slain shortly afterwards, unanimously elected prince. The ceremony of adoption is thus described by Guibert, and it is worthy of note that the wife of Thoros, as well as that prince himself, had to perform it to Baldwin.—“*Intra lineam interulam, quam nos vocamus camisiā, nudum intrare eum faciens, sibi adstrinxit, et deinde omnia osculo libato firmavit. Idem et mulier post modum fecit*”—rather a strange ceremony. Thus did Baldwin become the sovereign of Mesopotamia. But while these transactions took place there, the general host of the crusaders were marching towards Antioch, and after forcing the passage of the Orontes, they sat down before that city on the morning of the 21st of October, 1097. Our description of the city must be greatly abridged from Dr. Sybel, who gives a very elaborate account of its position and defences. Antioch was about four miles in circumference and strongly fortified; in one place the wall was sixty feet high—the city was likewise surrounded by a deep ditch, and on the west the fortifications were rendered still stronger by the river Orontes. Bagi Sijān, the emir, had done all that art could do to render his position impregnable, and a good store of provisions was accumulated within the walls.

“The council of the princes now determined that the assault of the city should take place as early as possible. Some few voices were heard advising delay, but their motives, the approaching bad season, and the expected arrival of the Greek army in the spring, were not able to convince the rest. The order of the attack was next to be settled. It was decided to leave the south and west sides of the city unassailed; on the contrary the gate of St. Paul was to be attacked by the Normans and Northern French, while the northern wall was to be stormed by the troops of Provence and Lotharingia. Bohemond's tents extended accordingly to the foot of the mountain, and near him to the north were the forces of Robert of Normandy with the Counts of Blois and Boulogne, and in general the troops of Northern France. Before the Dog's Gate the Duke Godfrey and Count Robert of Flanders took their station; next to these the Bishop of Puy, and lastly before the Duke's

Gate Count Raymond of Thoulouse. This last had between the river and the city so little room that his tents were pitched on the very bank, and the arrows of the enemy could reach him across the Orontes. From the very first day the Provencals on their side made rafts and boats in order to bridge the stream, and thus make themselves masters of the other shore; and as the Turks thus passed out of the city through the Bridge Gate and over the river, there seldom passed a day without some skirmish on the northern side of the Orontes."

There is some little difficulty in ascertaining the exact positions of the various parties composing the host of the crusaders. Albert of Aix places Godfrey before the Duke's Gate, and Raymond of Thoulouse before the Dog's Gate, and this assertion derives some weight from the remark by the Archbishop of Tyre, that the gate called the Duke's Gate derived its appellation from the title of Godfrey. Other writers are almost unanimous in asserting the contrary, and Dr. Sybel, after much patient investigation, gives the positions as above. The circumstance is only important as affecting the credibility of Albert and consequently of the Archbishop of Tyre. A well digested plan could not be expected, for no two of the besieging chiefs entertained any lasting and well-grounded confidence in each other; and there is scarcely a more melancholy picture in the whole compass of history than that which is presented by the weaknesses, the treachery, and the jealousy of the crusading leaders. Dr. Sybel continues thus:

"We are unable to ascertain the plan of attack adopted by the pilgrims, so much however is certain, that they must, before they led out their troops, have provided for their own safety, and restricted themselves to simply cutting off the means of ingress and egress. The first days passed over in unmingled joy, they were employed in making the necessary arrangements and establishing the forces in the country around. The mere arrival of the host had put a virtual end to the Turkish rule, and called the whole Christian population to arms.* Every district within the emirate of Antioch was taken by parties of Franks, or given up to them by the native Christians—the garrisons had partly thrown themselves into the capital, and partly fallen back upon the adjoining territories."

Radulphus of Caen, speaking of this same event, which affords a remarkable proof of the want of military skill displayed by the leaders, observes, in Latin much less inflated than usual,† "All the fortresses in the district, and those connected with the neighbouring cities surrendered themselves, as much through fear of our army as through the desire to escape from the Turkish yoke,

* Kemaleddin apud Michaud. bibl. iv. p. 5.

† Rad. cap. 59.

which circumstance greatly dispersed our army, for each individual wished as far as possible to consult his own interest, and cared nothing for the common welfare.

"To the great Frankish host," continues Dr. Sybel, "the ultimate consequences of this present fortune were in all respects prejudicial, the number of its effective men was lessened by the continual separation from it of small garrisons, and not the slightest advantage gained *to the whole* by the feeble unanimity of the administration. No care was taken for the supply of provisions, each separate party lived sumptuously in their own quarters, followed their propensity to unbridled extravagance, and meanwhile not a single grain of corn arrived in the camp before Antioch. Here too were measures taken with no greater foresight, they lived so long as their stores lasted in careless luxury from day to day, till they saw themselves reduced to extremities, the country was entirely exhausted, and unmitigated famine stared them in the face."

Three months had thus passed away and there appeared no probability that the city would speedily fall into their hands. The events that followed are of great importance to the historian, because they not only show to what an extent had the perfidious Alexius poisoned the minds of the Christian princes, but cast a strong light also on the motives by which these last were actuated, Godfrey himself, the Pius Æneas of the expedition, is the only one, save Tancred, whose character escapes uninjured. The distresses of the troops became soon extremely severe. All kinds of wholesome food were attainable only by the wealthy, carrion was openly sold and dressed, and William of Malmsbury does not hesitate to say that the flesh of the Saracen dead was in secret greedily devoured.* This much is certain, that Bohemond ordered some Turks to be roasted, and declared that if he found any spies in his camp, he would not only put them to death, but eat them afterwards. But this, though perhaps the most disgusting, was not the worst effect of the famine. One by one the religion, which, in seasons of plenty, had been so strong, began to decline. Peter the Hermit discovered that starving was by no means his vocation, and as Fuller in his *Holy War* quaintly observes, "he found a difference between a voluntary fast in his cell, and a necessary and indispensable famine in a camp, so that being well nigh hunger pinched, this cunning companion, who was a trumpet to sound a march to others, secretly sounded a retreat to himself."† Some writers have taken considerable pains to prove that though Peter thus fled from the camp, he was by no means afraid, but that hunger induced him to desert, which was very probably the case, as no one ever accused Peter of cowardice. William, Viscount of Milan, surnamed the Carpenter, because his blows in battle fell

* Gul, Malms. p. 433.

† Fuller's *Holy War*, book i. cap. 8.

like those of a hammer, was the companion of Peter's flight; his character stood by no means high among his contemporaries; he is even accused of having by oppression and robbery obtained the requisite funds to fit out his followers for Jerusalem. The interesting fugitives had not proceeded far, before they were met by Tancred, who stopped their further departure, and brought them to the tent of Bohemond. Here it is probable they would have received something more than a reprimand, had not Hugh of Vermandois become their advocate with the Italian prince.

"In the meantime Bagi Sijan, the Turkish commander, who was in daily expectation of a decided attack, kept his forces together, but when, after waiting some time, he found the Christians idly scattered through his territories, he began on his side offensive operations, his light troops made sallies almost every hour through the bridge gate on the west and south sides, and thus, without any attempt being made to hinder them, they were indefatigable in harassing the Christian camp, and cutting off all stragglers. Distant about eight miles from the city in the mountains lay Haxim, a fortified place, then celebrated for its pomegranates. Here they established themselves and ravaged the country on all sides."—p.388.

It now became necessary to take some decided measures, and though the crusaders succeeded in warding off the attacks of Bagi Sijan, the famine had its usual effect. Robert, Duke of Normandy, withdrew himself and his forces, Godfrey himself was seized with severe illness, and Taticius* with his Greek troops left under pretence of inducing the emperor to grant a supply of corn. It is needless to say that the wily Greek never returned, and that the corn never arrived. A large supply having been obtained by Robert (who after having been three times entreated to return, at last did so) and Bohemond, for a time the spirits of the crusaders rose; but their store was before long exhausted, and famine again pressed on them as heavily as before. But the season was now more favourable and every day improved the condition of the Christians, and made that of the besieged worse; at last, after a siege of seven months and upwards, during which every species of barbarity and brutality had been exhibited by both parties, the city fell by treachery when the strength of its defenders was almost worn out. Firouz, a renegade, and a great favourite with the veteran governor, Bagi Sijan, delivered up the city by night to the troops of Bohemond, who had previously agreed with the rest of the Christian princes, that if Antioch fell by his agency, he should be acknow-

* Anna Connena gives a much less probable account of this transaction. She says that a report prevailed that the Sultan of Persia was about to succour Bagi Sijan, and that Bohemond told Taticius, that the chiefs believed this succour had been promised through the interest of Alexius, and that Taticius, thinking himself no longer in safety, fled.—*Alex.* p. 252.

ledged as its prince. Very graphically does Dr. Sybel describe the scenes of horror which characterized the sacking of the deserted city.

"In one moment were all the gates overpowered; flight, pursuit and murder filled the streets; on the one side boundless terror, on the other the most savage ferocity; no prisoner was made and no fugitive spared. In a wild chase through the streets the unbelievers were driven to the rocks which bounded the south part of the city, no house, no corner afforded protection, men and women, the infant and the aged perished alike. The native Christians excited the enthusiasm of the pursuers, pointed out to them the richest houses, and the hiding victims, till at last the unbridled thirst for blood turned upon themselves too, and they saved themselves from death only by their loud singing of Christian hymns."—p. 416.

The new principality of Bohemond was not long destined to remain in peace. The Persian succours, of which so much had been said, and so many expectations formed, were indeed on their way, and when the capital was taken, and the emir slain, they appeared to the number of 200,000 men before the walls of the conquered city. Here the crusaders were in turn invested, and perhaps more misery was suffered from famine in this one siege than in all the rest of the crusade; desertion again thinned the ranks, William the Carpenter once more made his escape and this time succeeded, and so many were those who followed his example, that the Archbishop of Tyre indignantly refuses to record their names, saying, "*nomina non tenemus quia deleta de libro vitæ præsentis opere non sunt inserenda.*" The forces of Alexius, which he was himself leading to Antioch, turned back amidst the unconcealed disgust of the enthusiastic warriors, and at Antioch despair took the place of courage, and the soldiers refused to fight at all.

In this desperate state of affairs, the hopes of the crusaders were revived, and soon raised to enthusiasm by a few well timed miraculous appearances, judiciously made to certain priests, promising certain and speedy victory, and pointing out the cause of the late reverses in the excesses committed by the troops of the cross with pagan women. Promises of present as well as ultimate success were not wanting, and the spear which pierced the side of the Saviour was to be given to them as a pledge and a means of the predicted victory. In a few days the host of the Persians was routed and dispersed, their wealth, great almost beyond computation, fell into the hands of the Christians; a victory, one of the most splendid in the annals of nations, had been succeeded by a dignified triumph and a religious festival, and for the first time since the siege of Nice, the Christian warriors acted consistently

with their profession. Sixty-nine thousand Turks had fallen before the walls of Antioch, and the Prince of Tarentum was in peaceable possession of his prize.

Our limits forbid our following Dr. Sybel through his narrative of the events immediately following the taking of Antioch. We must pass over the embassy to Alexius, the destruction of Maara, the capture of Esaz, the discord among the chiefs, the pestilence which raged among the troops, and the dreadful cannibalism which was the fruit of famine. The Franks not only killed and ate their prisoners before Maara, but, as if this were not enough, they opened the graves of the Saracens, who had been buried two weeks before, and made a revolting repast upon the corrupted flesh. Time however passed on, the Turkish emirs sold provisions to the crusaders, and the Latin army was at length fairly on its way to Jerusalem. The treachery of the Count of Thoulouse, of which he had already given some notable specimens, had greatly diminished his authority, and a still further reduction was in store for him. He had been elected keeper of the sacred lance, and the office had been considered as one of great trust as well as sanctity, but now an idea prevailed that the relic was no genuine one, and Peter Barthelemi was unhappily (as he had first been favoured with visions about it) induced by the taunts of Arnold, chaplain to Robert, Duke of Normandy, to offer to prove the genuineness of his lance by undergoing on its behalf the ordeal of fire. The proposal was accepted, for Arnold was a notorious disbeliever, and Barthelemi perished together with his spear in the flames. We must now take some notice of another power, which though in the earlier part of the crusade it had made itself known, was known rather by report and through embassies than in a more direct way. This power was the Caliphate of Egypt.

"The Egyptian government had, after the exchange of ambassadors, which has been already mentioned in the account of the contest with Kerbuga, been now for many months at rest, but when the total destruction of the Seljukian dynasty had been followed by such great distresses of the Franks, Al Afdal might after such events hold the power of either party as by no means formidable. He seized the moment and began an open war on two points at once, through the long projected attack on Jerusalem. According to Oriental custom, he opened the campaign by laying the Frankish ambassadors in irons, and then fell with considerable might upon Palestine, where the Seljukians could only offer a feeble resistance. In the August of 1098, while the Christians were resting at Antioch, the garrison of Jerusalem was, it is said, struck with terror through the appearance of these imprisoned ambassadors, and the city was held in a state of preparation by Iflikar."

No sooner was Al Afdal returned to Egypt than the Christians left Antioch and made incursions into his territories. Gibellum

was the first place that yielded to their arms, and then the vizier, deeming resistance in vain, had recourse to treaty, and sent the Frankish ambassadors, who had been hitherto kept as prisoners, back to the Christian host, together with others on his own part. The promises on the part of the caliph were now tempting; he guaranteed, or rather expressed himself willing to guarantee, that Christians in bodies of three to four hundred might visit the holy city, but warned them that they should be obedient to his sovereignty or dread his wrath. This, however, was not a kind of message likely to be acceptable to an army in a full career of success; nor can we be surprised with the ambassadors being sent back with a message to their master, that before he talked of Jerusalem in a strain of so much confidence he should look to the security of his own capital. Indeed on one occasion, while on their way to Jerusalem, a council was actually held among the crusaders as to whether it would not be advisable to march at once into Egypt and destroy the Saracenic power in its headquarters; nor was this advice otherwise overruled than by representing the length and dangers of the way. The progress from Antioch to Jerusalem was at last finished, and the host of the Latins arrived at Emmaus, from which the holy city was visible: and here who does not remember the beautiful description given by Tasso of that moment when, forgetting all the perils and hardships which had hitherto been their portion—forgetting even the loss of more than eight hundred thousand of their companions—they beheld at last the object of their vows, the termination of their career? Fuller too is touched with the subject: "Discovering the city afar off, it was a pretty sight to behold the harmony in the difference of expressing their joy; how they clothed the same passion with divers gestures, some prostrate, some kneeling, some weeping, all had much ado to manage so great a gladness."

"It had been," says our author, "only at the distance of sixteen miles from the city that a proposition had been made to march into Egypt, and in its own land finally to bring the Egyptian power to the ground; but when the universal impulse was nearly fulfilled and their vows almost accomplished, who could hold them back? The siege of Jerusalem was unanimously resolved upon, and a bishop, one Robert a Norman, appointed over Ramula, the first see established in the Holy Land."

On the 7th of June, 1099, the city was invested. On the northern side were the troops of Robert of Flanders, and his more celebrated namesake of Normandy, together with those of Tancred and Godfrey: on the west were the men of Provence; while on the south and east so formidable was the appearance of the walls, that no attack was made. The number of the besiegers

amounted to about 40,000, but of these only 25,000 were effective soldiers. While the siege was at first rather a blockade than any thing more active, the Christians occupied themselves in seizing upon all the neighbouring places that might be fortified, and wherever the Saracens showed themselves they were conquered and a great number of prisoners were taken. On the thirteenth day of June, six days after the investment (Tudebode erroneously says the second day), the first attack was made on the fortifications.

"On the Mount of Olives dwelt a holy hermit, with whom Tancred had already become acquainted, and he went to the princes and told them how it would happen to them, and how he knew that on the day following, at the ninth hour, God would give Jerusalem into their hands."

The attack was made, but made with great carelessness, and was a signal failure; but the Latins learned prudence from their defeat. From the woods of Sichon they gathered materials for the construction of military engines, and much time was spent in these tedious but necessary preparations. Thirst too invaded the camp, and probably caused as much suffering as hunger had done before Antioch. Immorality prevailed in a similar way, and it was found necessary that Adhemar of Puy, who had died on the way, should appear to one of the priests, and assure him that the drought was caused by the crimes of the army, but that conquest would be the reward of penitence. The people amended; the leaders were unanimous; the machines were finished; and, after one day's unsuccessful attack, the city was taken on the second. As to the particulars of what took place during the siege, what valiant deeds were done, we have but little information.

"So much is certain, that on the 14th of July, 1096, and at the hour when the Lord suffered, Godfrey's Tower (a moveable tower built for the purpose) was brought close to the inner wall. The falling bridge was let down, and Godfrey and Eustace stood among the first on the walls. Almost at the same time had Tancred and Robert of Normandy made a breach in the gate of Stephen, and from both sides the Christians met in the streets. The men of Provence had not yet accomplished the same feat on their side; but, lo! there appeared in the Mount of Olives a knight in bright armour waving his shield over Jerusalem, and then these also succeeded in their conquest."

We would willingly draw the curtain over the scenes that followed. Raymond himself says, were he to speak what he saw he should not be believed. The knights, in the porch of Solomon, were up to the knees of their horses in blood. There is something melancholy in the joys of fanaticism, but its revenge is deadly. Even Godfrey himself set the example of slaughter, and

the only person who at any time during the few days that succeeded the capture objected to bloodshed was Tancred; and he did so, not from any feelings of humanity, but because he had pledged his knightly word that certain prisoners should not be sacrificed. Religion—the religion of the period—was not now forgotten. The army poured its thousands to all the spots consecrated by the Saviour's passion and miracles. Princes put on white robes, and did penance for their misdoings—the multitude vowed to live without sin for the future. Alms were abundantly given by the rich, and each one thought that he could now die in peace, having been permitted to see the holy city in possession of a Christian power. Now too we meet with the last historical mention of Peter the Hermit. The multitude once more remembered with gratitude his almost forgotten preaching, and offered him veneration as the awakener of the feelings of Europe on behalf of the oppressed Jerusalem. The Patriarch, who had just returned from Cyprus, recognized his old friend, and thus closes the account of this variously estimated man. Such were the transactions of the day on which the city was taken.

One of the most interesting periods of the history now opens upon us. Palestine was now in the power of the crusaders, and eight days after the capture of the holy city the chiefs assembled to decide on a form of government, or rather on the choice of a sovereign. During those days every demand, which the religious belief of the Latins made upon them, was obeyed. All the prisoners, women and children as well as men, were put to death; the city was washed, and public thanksgivings offered up. The synagogues were burnt as well as the mosques, and the Jews driven into the flaming structures where they perished. Having thus satisfied the miserable superstition of the day, it appears to have occurred to the assembled Christians that something more was necessary than a mere division of the spoil—*ὅκ ἀγαθὸν πολυ-κοίρανῃ*. The 23d of July was appointed for the foundation of a Christian kingdom in the Holy Land; but another subject was forced upon the council by Arnold the Norman and other priests, who wished first to settle the ecclesiastical constitution. Arnold in fact wanted the patriarchate, and though a man of notoriously profligate manners, flattered himself that his easy patron, Robert, would obtain it for him. But the assembled princes proceeded to the election of a king. The information given to us on this point by Dr. Sybel is very important; we shall follow him in his narration. It was to be expected that the most prominent character among the Christian leaders should be the one on whom the eyes of the rest would be turned as their chief, nor was there one so powerful at that time as Raymond of Thoulouse; to him,

therefore, was the crown offered, but he declined the glittering prize, using the words afterwards used by Godfrey, that he would not wear an earthly crown in that place where the Saviour had been crowned with thorns; but stating that if any other person were elected, and were willing to reign, he would not offer any opposition; nor was there any improbability in this assertion, for his piety was exactly of this external kind. On the other hand it would not be difficult to point out reasons of a more worldly character. Raymond knew thoroughly his adversaries, that they were both numerous and powerful; he had but a slight hold on his Provençal troops, who would endeavour, as he well knew, to frustrate his election. The Count of Thoulouse having thus refused the crown, it was next, according to Henry of Huntingdon, offered to Robert of Normandy, but the testimony of this one writer can hardly be held sufficient to overbalance the silence of all the contemporaneous historians.

“The Duke of Lorraine and Brabant was next applied to, and he expressing his willingness to undertake the proposed charge, was elected, without opposition from the part of any other prince, Protector of the Holy Sepulchre; the royal title and a pompous coronation were waved, according to one authority by the pious wish of the barons, according to the general belief by the humble feeling of the prince himself. The foundation of a Christian kingdom in the Holy Land, surrounded by heathen countries, was then solemnly proclaimed.”—p. 494.

A few weeks of rest were all that could be allowed after the election, for news soon arrived that Al Afdal was making warlike preparations, which, though indeterminate as to their object, were yet exceedingly formidable. It was said that his intentions were to gather together a vast army—to retake Jerusalem and Antioch—to annihilate the Franks—and to lay waste the Holy Land, that no traces of its former beauty should remain to invite the approach of western Europe. His array, in point of numbers, was formidable indeed, and it soon appeared that he really intended what had been reported of him. The accounts of his army vary from 200,000 to half a million, but they were held together by no bond of union, no feeling, and appear to have been dispirited even before the appearance of their enemies. Godfrey, with at most 20,000 men, took his march to Ascalon, and there, after a sanguinary engagement, the enemy were entirely routed; 36,000 were left dead on the field, and the city, together with immense treasures in gold and silver and a large quantity of warlike stores, fell into the hands of the Christians.

Godfrey now freed, at least for the present, from external foes, turned his attention to the framing of a constitution for his own kingdom. Robert of Normandy and he of Flanders, Eustace of

Boulogne and finally Raymond of Thoulouse, announced their determination to leave the Holy Land. They took their leave of Godfrey, and departed the way that they came, viz. along the sea coast towards the north. With their progress homeward, which in the hands of Dr. Sybel becomes very interesting, we have in our present article no further concern. We shall briefly notice the institutions by which Godfrey governed his newly erected dominions; and on this subject, though we have information enough to lead us to form a general outline of the system he adopted, we are not in possession of sufficient to trace all its minute ramifications.

The Assises of Jerusalem, of which the best edition is that by Canciani,* are the chief if not the only authorities upon this topic. These Assises are a collection of laws and uses, frequently called the Letters of the Holy Sepulchre, from the place where they were deposited; they were revised in 1260 and 1369 for the use of other states, and it is this last revision that is in print. The laws themselves were for the most part characterized by wisdom and sound policy, the most important passages are however those in which courts of justice are spoken of, and those in which the existence of a commons or tiers etat is recognized.

"Godfrey, as the Assises assert, established two temporal courts of justice, the higher or feudal, and the lower or civil court. The former, which had to decide the suits and differences between knights and vassals, was presided over by himself, and the judges and assessors were such knights and vassals as had taken the oath of allegiance to him. The second court was presided over by a viscount appointed by him, and who was obliged to be a knight and a royal vassal. The judgments were however pronounced by the wisest men of the city who had previously taken the oath which the jurors of the civil court take at present. And because the barons and knights, and on the other side the burgesses, persons of a lower origin, could not be judged according to the same system of jurisprudence, Godfrey decided on making two Assises, one for the supreme or feudal, the other for the burgess, or civil court."—p. 518.

With the exception of this last clause, and that in certain cases of difficulty the trial by battle was permitted, it must be allowed that the Assises of Jerusalem breathe a spirit of practical impartiality and very considerable lenity, even these were concessions to the spirit of the age, without which the whole code would have been useless. Dante, by far the most enlightened man whom the middle ages produced, did not altogether deny the possible interference of divine justice in answering the trial by battle, and as

* The edition of Canciani is an Italian translation. That by Thaumassiere, in 1690, is the only edition of the original: it appeared in Paris.

to the difference established between the knight and baron and the burgess, it amounted merely to a trial by their peers. Godfrey was active not only in his own person but by deputy also; he took care that in every city and town throughout his new dominions these two courts should be established. According to some authorities he allowed the Syrians the use of their own laws, but of this, as Dr. Sybel observes, the Assises make not the slightest mention, the passage upon which the opinion is founded is the following. *Dapoi venne il populo de li Soriani al conspecto del rè del ditto reame et supplicó et rechiese, li piacesse che i fusseno menati secondo l'usanza di Soriani &c.*—i. e. then came the people of the Syrians before the king of the said country and supplicated and entreated him that it might please him that they should be governed according to the custom of the Syrians. Now on this passage Dr. Sybel observes that it must refer to some transaction later in date than the reign of Godfrey, as the expression "king" plainly proves, a title which Godfrey never used in his Assises, and expressly declared that "he would not wear a golden diadem where the Saviour had worn a crown of thorns." The assertion too is at variance, not only with the spirit of the age and the characters of the individuals, but also with the tenor of the system of law then and there established, as a little attention to Dr. Sybel's work will amply prove.

"But of far more importance is the foundation of a commonalty, (in the before quoted passages attributed to Godfrey,) as an integral part of the state, at least in the general acceptation of them. It is certain that the word frequently occurs in the Assises, and that they once compare their commons to those of Venice, Genoa and Pisa."—p. 519.

The establishment of municipal corporations with their peculiar laws and privileges, together with the gradual changes in their institutions as the government passed from the hands of one sovereign to those of another, next occupy the reader, by no means the least interesting chapter in the book before us, and from the information which has come down to us on this subject, the author is enabled to throw a strong light on the credibility of Albert and Ekkehard. But when these laws were established there arose difficulties of another kind. Dagobert the patriarch openly declared that he must have one fourth part of the city of Joppa as a means of supporting his metropolitan dignity, and when this was granted, he asserted that a temporal governor in the Holy City was an anomaly, and that a spiritual person alone could rule there; this he asserted was no new claim, inasmuch as the same demand had been made by the clergy before the siege; he even went so far as to say that he required only to be

reinstated in those rights which the Moslem emir had respected. Now in one sense this was true, as in consequence of a treaty between Constantine Monomachos and the Egyptian Caliph Daher, a part of Jerusalem had been appointed for the exclusive residence of the Christians, and the jurisdiction of the patriarch over them had been confirmed. However unreasonable the demands of Dagobert might be, it is not the less certain that he gained his end, and by a treaty made between the parties Godfrey became only the second person in his own dominions. The wisdom of the sovereign seems to have deserted him, and he entangled his successor in the same difficulties by executing a will in favour of the patriarch. But his life was drawing near to a close, more than once had he been affected by the heat of the climate, and at the time he took upon him the cross he had long been the subject of a lingering and painful disease. It may be said, and said justly, that his death happened fortunately both to himself and his kingdom, for though his reign lasted hardly a year, it was evident that fatigue and hardships had impaired his powers, and repose was more necessary than the toils of government. He was seized by a quartan ague, which speedily exhibited fatal symptoms.

"To deliver and to protect the holy sepulchre, not to reign over an earthly kingdom, was his wish, and the disorder from which his taking on him the cross had healed him, now attacked him again, and as then it removed him to the earthly, so now did it remove him to the Heavenly Jerusalem. There are indeed rumours of a more worldly kind, and it has been said that the heathen, whose weapons had been powerless against him, removed him by fouler means out of their way. Albert speaks of a pomegranate after eating which he was taken ill. In France as well as in Armenia, it was confidently reported that he had been entertained with poisoned dishes; but the English author, from whom we obtain our information of his last illness, speaks out decidedly that God had called the duke to himself."—p. 533.

A few reflections as to the character of this excellent man may not be misplaced by way of conclusion to this paper.

It is impossible to read through the history of his life without feeling the strong resemblance between him and the hero of Virgil. The same title might have been given him, for Godfrey was eminently pious according to the piety of his age, he commands a cold respect but no vivid interest. Tancred was in truth the hero of the first crusade as Tasso has been its historian; even the chivalric but too easy Robert gains our affections more readily than the faultless Duke of Lorraine. Radulph of Caen describes him as being humble as he was brave, a holy monk in a warrior's armour, and the same in his ducal robes, and here indeed every part of the history confirms the verdict. He was out

of his sphere; had he been a bishop or a lawyer, his name would probably have reached us with no small honour; he was a good king because he was a good man; but when the sceptre passed from his hands to the energetic grasp of Baldwin, then Dagobert found he had a lord and Jerusalem a monarch. With the death of Godfrey Dr. Sybel closes his work, which forms an unpretending volume of erudition, usefully applied, and agreeably illustrated. There are portions of his investigations in which he differs and differs greatly from other writers, but never without strong and sufficient reason; the style too is at once perspicuous and eloquent, and we shall look forward with hope to see a history of the second crusade from the same pen.

ART. III.--*Kaschmir und das Reich der Siek von Carl Freiherrn von Hügel.* Hallberger, Stuttgart.

"WHO has not heard of the vale of Cashmere?" That green El Dorado of delight, wedded to immortal verse by our own Moore, that spot conjectured by not a few to have been the Eden of Scripture, at the mention of which the rigid lineaments of the Brahmin are said to relax into a transient smile of rapture; Cashmere, the whilome summer residence of the luxurious court of Delhi, with its hanging gardens and gay palaces, once illumined by the presence of "the young Nourmahal;" where the gorgeous tints of the Indian Flora lie embosomed in their mountain frame of sombre Alpine vegetation, and where nature has showered down all that can gladden the heart and eye, and minister to the wants of man. Yes; we have all read of it, dreamed of it, but, alas! "Fuit Ilion."

The volumes before us profess to give an impartial description of the valley as it stood in 1836, the latest period, as far as we are aware, of any European having been thither.

Different alike in country, qualifications and object, have been the travellers that have severally presented to the world the result of their personal observations in Cashmere since Father Xavier, the Spanish jesuit, who was the first European to penetrate to this remote region some three centuries ago, in the suite of the Emperor Akbar. The French physician Bernier, the missionary Desiderius, the adventurous George Foster, the ill-starred Moorcroft, and subsequently Victor Jacquemont and the converted Jew Wolf, have each in their turn contributed to our store of information on the subject. But no traveller came better fitted for the task than Baron Hügel; with a highly cultivated, deep-thinking mind, and scientific acquirements beyond any of his predecessors,

he combines the talent of a shrewd and intelligent observer. As we follow him, we are not merely presented with a fund of entirely new facts and remarks, but at the same time are agreeably surprised with a grace of style and power of description, seldom joined with the practical spirit of discovery, and the minute researches of the naturalist; while we are irresistibly taken by the affecting tone of sadness, so peculiarly adapted to the description of a land fair as heaven, of a people by nature noble, who, though sunk for centuries under the deadening degrading yoke of barbarians, still retain deep traces of a glorious past.

The book is an episode in the six years' travel of Hügel, during which this modern Marco Polo, as he is called, visited Greece and Syria, where he caught the plague, traversed the major portion of the Indian peninsula, the charming island of Ceylon, and the East India islands, then passed over to New Holland, after which he sailed northwards to China, and returning from thence to Bengal, crossed the Himalaya to Cashmere.

The valuable collection of specimens of natural history, antiquities and curiosities, now lodged in the Imperial Library at Vienna, to the number of thirty-two thousand, bears witness that he was by no means idle. Many of our English readers are probably already acquainted with the interesting geographical notices communicated by him to the *Asiatic Journal of Calcutta*.

We find him on the 21st of June, 1835, at *Massari*, south of the Himalaya chain, waiting for the *Pervanna*, a passport from Runjeet Sing, to enter his territory across the *Setledj*.

At first he had intended to proceed over the Himalaya by the *Berenda* pass, a route never before taken by any European. The monsoon however sets in before he can obtain the requisite document, and when it does at length arrive, the season was too far advanced to permit his attempting the pass in question. He determines therefore to go by way of *Belaspur*, a town picturesquely situated in a fruitful valley on the banks of the winding *Setledj*. To the eastward of this place rise gracefully shaped mountains, crowned with old robber castles, like the hills of his native Rhine. Amongst them the colossal *Bondelah* stands proudly conspicuous. "On his topmost heights lives an invisible *Beyragi Gossain*, or 'penitent hermit,' who from time to time shakes his locks, at this the whole valley trembles, houses fall, and mighty fragments of rock, which, according to the tradition of the inhabitants, are ashes shaken from the head of the *Beyragi*, dash down from the summit of the mountain."

He crosses the *Setledj* on a large raft with his followers, nearly a hundred in number, including jägers, butterfly catchers, animal stuffers, gardeners, and all such persons as were requisite

for the fulfilment of the main object of his expedition. The route then pursued is by Jualamucki and Nurpur, and across the Pir Paujal pass into Cashmere.

This march is a good deal interrupted by the vexatious laziness and refractoriness of the baggage carriers, which he vainly attempts to cure by the "*argumentum ad baculum*." In this posture of affairs, his secretary, a Brahmin, reduces them, as if by magic, to the sense of their duty. The solution of the mystery is given, and throws light on the strange influence exercised by this sect in India.

"When all was again in motion, and we were following the caravan through a forest of palms, I inquired of the Brahmin how he had so instantaneously succeeded in overcoming their obstinacy. His answer was that he had opened his *Angrica* and displayed to view his triple cord, the badge of his sacred order, exclaiming at the same time, 'I am *Thakir-Das* a Brahmin, and servant of the great king (pointing to Baron Hügel), dare ye then refuse to serve him for one day, to whom I devote all my life; ye who are but Zemindar (peasants), and I a Brahmin?'"

In pursuing his vocation as a naturalist, our traveller is more than once in imminent danger of losing his life. On one occasion his jäger fires at him in some bushes by mistake, but fortunately without any dangerous consequences. At Nurpur again hearing something buzz past overhead in the dusk of the evening, he levels his piece and brings down not a bird, as he had expected, but a hideous vampire. The inhabitants poured out from their houses at the report of the gun, and finding what he had done, rushed on him with frightful yells and imprecations to avenge this, in their eyes, impious piece of sacrilege. Fortunately no stones were at hand, or he would infallibly have fallen a prey to their fanatical fury; meantime putting his back against the wall, he manages to keep off the ringleaders with his gun, until he succeeds in explaining that he had shot the holy monster by mistake, by which he succeeds in pacifying them. Two English officers not long ago met with a more tragical fate at *Mattra*. In this place the ape is held sacred, and consequently it is infested by swarms of these animals, who annoy the wayfarer with impunity. One old fellow, more daring than his brethren, attacked the officers, who shot him dead. The people rose in a twinkling, while they, to save themselves from being stoned, ordered their elephant driver to swim the animal over the river *Jumna*; the current proved too rapid, and elephant and all were lost.

We cannot resist quoting the following description of a pretty scene not far from *Cotoa*.

"The foreground was composed of two or three isolated dates, and a large impenetrable group of trees. In front of these my tents were pitched, crowded with men of all colours and costumes, from the gorgeous Sikk

and Mahomedan to the simply but elegantly dressed Hindoo, one and all busily engaged in breaking up the camp. In the back-ground the fortress (Patancotta) mounted aloft, while the Himalayan Alps showed their majestic form sharply outlined against the dark blue twilight of the morning heaven. The whole picture was laved in the warm breath of the Indian atmosphere, and on the eastern firmament were reflected the glowing rays of the still hidden sun. - A moment more, and all nature was alive, not as in northern climes, languidly struggling into life through a tedious twilight; no, with one magic stroke from night it became day, from deep sleep, lively awaking. The *bulbul* in clear and friendly tones saluted the morning, the golden mango bird began his heart-rending plaint, the variegated *meynar* flitted chattering from tree to tree, the glittering parrot swept through the air, and noisy apes swung from bough to bough. In the thicket sported the blue merlin, and the solitary thrush cried his last farewell to the departing night. Proud peacocks strutted along the plain, while the black lark soared joyously upwards to carry to the sun nature's earliest good-morrow."

The following remark will be interesting to ornithologists.

"Among some extraordinary birds, none of which however were new to me, my jäger brought a most diminutive *Buceros*, a bird, eaten by the women here as an antidote for barrenness. I opened his stomach, and found, as I always have in these birds, nothing but vegetable sustenance; in opposition to the idea of naturalists, who have concluded the grotesquely long bill was given it for the purpose of catching lizards."

At *Moradpur Serai* he enters the former high-road from *Lahore* to *Cashmere*. This place is one of the stations built by the Emperor Akbar to serve as a resting place in his progresses to the valley; and which are described at length by Bernier. It is now in ruins; indeed, of all these once magnificent houses of entertainment, the one at *Alihabad*, or *Badhi Schahi Serai* as it is commonly called, is the only one now in preservation. We will by the bye here advert to the error committed by Moore in his *Lalla Rookh*. He makes all the Mongul monarchs, in their "annual migrations," pass through the lovely valley of *Hassein Abdoul*, which route would have conducted to Cashmere by *Mazufferabad* and the *Baramulla* pass, whereas it is almost certain that they always went by the way of *Bimbur*, and the *Pir Panjal*.

After passing the parallel ranges of *Ratan Panjal* and *Pir Panjal*, with the thermometer in the morning as low as 18°, he reaches *Rampur*, where he is met by a party of Siëk soldiers, dispatched by the governor to escort him to the capital. This was another of the many proofs of attention which Runjeet Singh paid our traveller; among other things, that monarch sent him orders for several hundred rupees, which etiquette compelled him to accept, in order to avoid giving insult.

The house which had been assigned to him for his abode during

his residence lay on the banks of the *Schelum*, "it contained plenty of rooms, but was small and dirty;" in this exigence he be-thought himself of *Dilawar-Khan-Bagh*, the garden where Moorcroft and Jacquemont had resided. Here he found one of the two summer houses which it contained already occupied by Mr. Vigne, an English traveller, who had just returned from a journey to *Iskardu*, the other was still vacant, and he determined to make it the repository of his goods and chattels, while he himself lodged in his tent close by.

Not long after his arrival he is greeted, according to the ancient custom of the country, by a band of Cashmerian damsels with the *wonnemum* or "song of welcome." But oh! horror, "for the sake of veracity," says he, "I am bound to confess that my welcomers surpassed out and out all that I had seen in Asia for ugliness, and that their singing was the most abominable howling." So much for Cashmerian beauty, at least among the lower orders. The upper classes are better, the figures however are generally far superior to the faces. Strangely enough, the weavers would appear to form a distinct race, their features are remarkably fine and expressive, with a delicacy of contour almost feminine.

At Cashmere, Baron Hügel is thrown into the society of another Englishman, Dr. Henderson, a bit of an original. This gentleman, who had been the setter on foot of the *Agra Bank* and *Radical newspaper*, had obtained a few months' furlough from his garrison at *Ludeanah* for the purpose, as he said, of going to *Calcutta*, instead of which, and in disobedience to the express commands of the company, he had passed the *Setledj* and wandered as far as the *Ladhac*. It will be necessary to remind our readers that it was with the Rajah of this province that Moorcroft entered into an offensive and defensive alliance on the part of the East India Company; an act, which took place entirely without their authorization, and subsequently declared by them invalid. But we will proceed in Hügel's own words.

"Henderson told me, that just as he arrived in *Ladhak*, *Gulab Singh's* general, *Teron Singh*, took possession of the country. The Rajah received Henderson very politely, but of course was not long in detecting what country he was of, in spite of his Mahomedan costume and assumed name of *Ismael Khan*, and thereupon took it into his head that the object of his journey could be nothing else than the fulfilment of the above mentioned treaty. In vain did the Doctor try to assure him that he knew nothing of the matter. The Rajah produced the original document, and it was only on perceiving Henderson's unfeigned astonishment at the sight, that he became convinced that he was not an emissary of the Indian government. Nevertheless the wily Rajah resolved to profit by the accident, and tried to make it appear that Henderson's arrival was connected with the treaty, hoping to intimidate *Teron Singh*."

He forcibly detained the poor doctor, and his scheme actually succeeded in temporarily checking the advance of the Siek; advices however soon arrived from India with the intelligence that it was all a hoax of the Rajah's. After some fruitless attempts to escape, Henderson was at last liberated, and after wandering about the mountains of Thibet, and losing his horses and baggage, he arrived at Cashmere just at the same moment that Hügel came from the opposite direction.

The aspect of the province is sadly changed for the worse since Moorcroft's visit. In his time he calculates 120,000 persons to have been employed in the manufacture of shawls alone, and the total population of the district at 800,000. Hügel fixes the total population at 200,000, of whom 40,000 inhabit the capital. *Scheraz* affords a striking instance of the sweeping devastation which has taken place, it numbers 2,000 houses, and but 150 inhabitants. The cause is to be attributed mainly to the frightful earthquake, which occurred in 1828.

"Twelve hundred persons," says he, "are supposed to have perished under the ruins of the houses. After the first violent shock, slighter ones kept following each other for the space of three months, during which period dwellings never ceased falling in. To such a state of terror were the population driven, that not a soul entered into a house, and they lodged, as best they might, in the open air; so great was the panic, that they neglected to secure their property, but this remained undisturbed. The thieves were quite as terrified as the rest of the inhabitants. Three months later the cholera broke out, here called *Wuba*, and in forty days, 100,000 human beings fell victims to the ravages of the pestilence."

This was not all.

"In the year 1833 the rice harvest was computed at twenty lacks of *kurwars* (a *kurwar*=194 lbs. nearly), the crop was most luxuriant, and was already in blossom, when on the morning of 20 *Jumbollo*, the entire valley was covered with snow, those ears only that were not yet out produced seed, all the rest were destroyed, and instead of the twenty lacks expected, but *one* was obtained."

The dire consequence of this disaster was a famine and second attack of cholera, which reduced the wretched population to the most extreme grade of misery. Hundreds left the valley in search of subsistence elsewhere, but were already so debilitated that they died on the way, and the hills to the east and west were covered with their putrifying corpses.

The following is a moving picture.

"How different was the aspect of a village viewed from a distance, and when I entered it. The noble groups of palms, poplars and fruit trees, the curious mosque with its quaint alleys and flower-garden, where the chrysanthemum and tagetes were in full bloom, notwithstanding the

lateness of the autumn, the whole scene surrounded with verdant meadows, through which ran a brook with its water-mill, and rows of willows planted along its banks; such objects as these would lend to the villages a friendly and hospitable look. But in place of this lovely exterior, how mournful a spectacle would frequently meet my eye as I rode into the place. Then all was life; now all death: the mill-wheel stood still, many of the houses were ruinous, while others with doors and windows open, offered a refuge only to the wild beast. In many a hamlet there was not a mortal to be found, with the exception of an old fed-up Fakir, squatted at the entrance of a mosque, or a Brahmin wasted to a skeleton, conning prayers out of his Veda. The first would rise, screech out *Allaho-Ackbar*, and importune for alms, while the other continued to bear his far greater misery with uncomplaining resignation."

It is true that cruelties and blood are not so frequent as formerly; the gigantic palms of *Kosipara*, called by the inhabitants "The end of ill-luck," no longer wave daily, as they did under the Afghan regime, with the livid corpses of half a dozen wretches. This Cashmerian Place de Greve is comparatively deserted; murder alone is made capital by the Siek. But if the former tyrants out-Heroded the present one in bloodthirstiness, these in their turn go beyond them in rapacity. Those fattened on the blood, these on the purses of the pauper population. As a natural consequence, those who do possess money, keep the fact as still as the grave. Hügel says,

"I mentioned to my banker, in the presence of a number of persons, that I should apply to him for what money I might happen to need. This communication made so publicly, in a place where the possession of a few hundred rupees is not breathed of, for fear of the grasping cupidity of the Siek, took the unfortunate banker so unawares that he nearly fell into a fit, and stuttered out 'he did not know whether he possibly could raise so much as 1000 rupees.' He then took his *Rokshut* or 'permission to depart,' returning however when I was alone, to assure me any sum I thought fit to demand was at my service."

The manufacture of shawls, what with the diminution in the wealth and numbers of the merchants, the decreased demand, and the rival manufactories at *Ludeanah*, *Simla*, *Delhi* and elsewhere, is sadly fallen off. Still, from some undiscovered cause, those made in Cashmere excel all others both in purity of colour and style of execution. The first of these has been explained, and perhaps with truth, by the superiority of the water in Cashmere. Thirteen thousand weavers perished of the cholera, and according to our author but 2000 are now employed. The number of shawls annually constructed is about 3000, and 1200 pieces of striped cloth for various uses. Baron Hügel took considerable pains to ascertain the exact relation of the price of a shawl to the expense incurred in making it, and he gives us the following result.

Hary. Singhi Rupees.

Wages of 24 persons for a pair of superfine shawls requiring twelve months to make.....	800
Pashmina and dyer	300
Outlay for the establishment.....	200
Stamp tax to government	700

 Total 2000=£116 : 13s.

The usual price demanded for such a pair of shawls is 3000 rupees, or 1000 more than the cost of making. They may be purchased however at a lower price. Those taking twelve months are now but seldom made, and never unless ordered. We may consider therefore that those sold as the very best in the European market take about six months to complete, and the cost of making them to the *Daschalawalla* is pretty nearly as follows:

Wages of workmen for six months..	400 rupees.
Paschmina and dyer.....	300
Outlay for the establishment.	100
Tax	250*

 Total 1050=£61 : 5s.

It is only during the last century that the article has become so expensive, in Bernier's time the highest price for a shawl was fifty rupees, and in the latter quarter of the last century 150 rupees. The wool is combed from the back of the shawl goat and not shorn.

Considerable discrepancies of opinion prevail as to the place from whence this wool comes. The Asiatic Journal of Calcutta in 1836 says "it is brought from Yarkand to Ladhak," where it is disposed of to the Cashmerian dealers. Moorcroft also states that it formerly came from the neighbourhood of Ladhak, but lately from *Yarkand* and *Koten*.

"Without being able to give a positive contradiction to this account," says Hügel, "never having myself been in Yarkand, I still consider this to be by no means the fact. I conversed with several inhabitants of Yarkand at Cashmere, and all the various productions brought from thence were shown to me, but neither was there any mention made of Pashmina, nor were any of the many different kinds of cloth from Yarkand prepared with that material. It is truly incredible that a large and populous city like Yarkand, where there are so many manufactories, would not employ so highly prized an article in its own fabrics, were the goats from whence it comes really found in their vicinity. The account given in the Journal is derived from pilgrims returning from Mecca, and who most probably

* This depending on the worth of a shawl.

boasted, though without any truth, that their native place, Yarkand, is the country of this important production. I have myself seen a herd of the genuine shawl goats in the Himalaya. They are small insignificant animals, generally of a light or dark grey colour, and come, as far as I can discover, from the highlands between *Ladhak* and *Lassa*."

The finer sort of wool, called by Bernier *Tus*, and by Moorcroft *Asali Tus*, is from the *Ahu* or *wild* goat.

"It comes," says our traveller, "in small quantities from *Iskardu*, the capital of the country set down in the maps as Little Thibet or Balti. The greater part of this costly wool is employed at *Iskardu*, for common kinds of fabrics it is true, but they are of an extraordinary suppleness. Hence little of it comes to be exported. The natural colour is a light brown."

The business of buying shawls* is a trial too great for European patience, so that the only method is to employ a plenipotentiary.

"The settling of the bargain," says he, "mostly took place after a curious fashion. The buyer and seller sit down on the ground, and present each other the right hand under a large piece of cloth. They then commence looking at each other, and the demand and offers are made without either uttering a syllable, by means of sundry pressures of the hand; this mummary lasts not unfrequently the whole day; sometimes several pass before this tedious negotiation is terminated."

In his excursion up the valley he reaches *Ventipura*, the former capital of Cashmere.

"The town was built, according to the saying, by *Ven*, one of the last Hindoo Rajahs. The memory of this exemplary prince lives in many a verse and legend. He is said to have had so tender a heart that he could not endure the thought of his people working to pay him taxes. He lived therefore from the property which he had inherited from his ancestors, spending much of his treasure upon the poor. Having at last run through it all, he earned his daily bread by the making of pots, which his wives sold in the public market."

Pity that the present governor does not hit upon a similar idea; the inhabitants we *will* venture to say would overlook such a laying aside of dignity on his part.

Riding up an eminence in the vicinity of this town, he makes an important discovery.

"I found the hill dug out into terraces, to a considerable height, each presenting a small level for cultivation, while the soil was supported by Cyclopiian walls. This gigantic work must date from an era when the population of the valley was numerous enough to require their construction, in order to produce the quantity of sustenance necessary for the people's subsistence. Now if we take into consideration that but a few years ago, in spite of the number of once fruitful spots that had ceased to be

* Our word shawl is a corruption of the Cashmerian word "*Duschala*."

tilled and had become overgrown with wood, 800,000 persons subsisted in the valley, it will be no exaggeration to think that at the time when *Ventipura* flourished, as many as three millions were stowed together in this little country."

With an extract, descriptive of the ruins of *Korau Pandu*, we must close the first volume, which, we forgot to mention, is in the form of a diary. Unlike Moorcroft, who says "the roof had generally fallen in," he fancies there *never* was one, and gives his reasons (to which we refer the German scholar) for supposing the building never to have been finished.

"The chief ornaments," says he, "are the same as those found in the temples of *Ellora*. The whole building is of black marble. It is perfectly evident to me that it is connected with those remarkable excavations in the *Deccan*, i.e. the architect of the one must have seen the other. The building is ascribed by the Hindoos to *Kaura* and *Pandu*, the two kings who warred in the *Mahabarat*; indeed every great work is named by the Brahmins *Pandava Kriteya*. The Pandits affirm that the temple is 2500 years old; in my opinion it dates from the period when *Schankar Atscharia* disseminated his new creed and symbol of divinity (the *lingam*) throughout India, at which time a more intimate connection arose between the *Deccan*, where he lived, and other Hindoo lands."

He enters into a lengthy and learned discussion on the origin of these two names *Korau* and *Pandu*, so well known to the traveller in India, but our limits will not allow of our following him.

The second volume traces up the history of Cashmere till it is lost in the twilight of fable. The source from which it is drawn is the *Raja Taringini*, or *Kings' Chronicle*, called by Professor Wilson the only Sanscrit work that can at all lay claim to the appellation of a history. The difficult chronology of the work he skilfully analyses, summarily disposing of the absurdities, and pointing out by what means some of the dates may be reconciled with those of Scripture. We see successively represented the various phases of the country under the several dominions of the Hindoos, Monguls and Afghans, down to its present lords, the Sieks, while the author sketches a very comprehensive view of its social and physical condition, its religion and monuments, artificial and natural productions, geographical position, in short, every thing calculated to make the reader fully acquainted with the country in all its bearings. On one subject however he is not very communicative, we mean the political relations of the province. Travelling as he did under the auspices of the Company, we can very well understand why he has been silent on this point. Who does not know that the policy of the Indian government is to keep all such matters under a veil of impenetrable secrecy? But after all, we do not lose by it here. The occupation of a country like Cashmere, severed by its en-

circling mountains from the rest of the world, will surely never be very desirable, and however much humanity may gain by it, we own we have no peculiar wish to see the hope of Hügel gratified and an English proconsul taking up his abode in the imperial palace of Shalimar.

The valley is supposed formerly to have been one vast lake, and manifold are the traditions as to the manner in which it was drained; perhaps it may not be amiss to give one of them.

Kasyapa (in the Mahomedan tongue Kaschef), a grandson of Brahma, came to visit the neighbourhood, and found it in a lamentable plight, from the depredations practised on the inhabitants by a certain water-demon, *Jaladeo*, who dwelt at the bottom of the lake.

"The heart of Kaschef was moved with pity, he settled down at *Naubadau*, and passed 1000 years in the strictest penance, and by this means caused *Maha Deo* to appear to him, who promised to destroy the demon, and despatched his two servants Vishnu and Brahma (!) to Cashmere with this intent. For 100 years did *Vishnu* strive with him, but all to no purpose, for he always effected a safe retreat into the mud at the bottom of the water. At last Vishnu opened the mountains at *Baramulla*, the water ran off, and he made easy work of the bad spirit."

Certain singular isolated hills, of from 200 to 300 feet high, of a sandy alluvial formation, and with their summits horizontal or slightly depressed towards the middle, made it seem probable to our traveller that a sudden and violent rush of waters, like that hinted at in the legend, had really caused these geological phenomena. This idea however is controverted by the fact that the hills were all too far from the rocky flood-gates at *Baramulla* to have originated in this manner, and he attributes them to a subterranean movement, such as the valley is subject to even now, but which was not of sufficient violence to force the rocks beneath through the alluvial superstratum.

"It is not to be denied," says he, "that the valley must once have been under water. Its extent, accurate level, and alluvial soil all clearly point out this to have been the case, but in order to explain how the lake was transformed into a plain, we do not need the hypothesis of a natural or artificial opening having been made. The cause of the change is not that, but an elevation of the soil by the filling up the lake with earth, a process still at work with the remains of the former great body of water, and especially with the *Wular* lake. After violent rains, quantities of earth and sand are brought down by the rivers, which cause a continually increasing deposit that eventually ejects the water."

Some remarkable points of difference occur between the account of Moorcroft and our author's. It is true that the former gentleman's residence of ten months would give him opportunities of learning much from ocular observation that Baron Hügel from

the shortness of his stay could only have become acquainted with by hearsay. Still the whole book evinces that he is not the man to give ear to superficial or unauthenticated accounts, moreover he is much more intimately acquainted with oriental languages than Moorcroft was, so that we are not a little puzzled which version to prefer. For instance, talking of the climate, Moorcroft gives as a reason for the unusual fecundity of the valley, the *excessive humidity of the climate*, while Hügel, who devotes a whole chapter to the climate, says "Neither moss nor lichen overgrow the ground (in the woods), and even ferns are rare, a striking proof of the dryness of the climate." Again, "Cashmere lies beyond the region of the periodical rains of India. These reach only to the summit of *Ratan-Panjāl*, in some years they extend somewhat further, but never over the *Pir-Panjāl*. In the same way they reach up the valley of the *Schelum* only as far as the highest chain of hills below *Uri*. In autumn, rain seldom if ever falls." Further on he says, "the most remarkable phenomenon attending on the climate of Cashmere is that there is never any wind. The vast expanse of the Wular lake is never rippled by a wave, so that a boat passing across leaves its track visible on the pellucid mirror behind it for miles." In further confirmation of this fact, he adduces the fragile architecture of the houses, many of which, built of *Deodar* wood, are only one window broad, while they are often three stories high. In another place we read "sails are not used in the valley."

The reader will be astonished to hear that Moorcroft in crossing this identical *Wular lake* was forced to keep the boat in-shore to escape the perils of a tempest which sprung up, moreover he mentions "gusts of wind" as of frequent occurrence during the "dirty spring." Was Hügel misinformed or what? judicent peritiores.

The geographical position of the town of Cashmere as given in the Asiatic Journal on our traveller's authority was $34^{\circ} 22' 58''$ N. Lat. Later calculations have induced him to place it at $34^{\circ}, 7', 36''$. Trebeck, the companion of Moorcroft, makes it $34^{\circ}, 4'$. We are now informed for the first time that the number of passes leading into the valley amounts to twelve.

We find a more favourable verdict pronounced on the Cashmerians than we have been accustomed to hear. He grants that they are cunning and supple, but considers this as a fault not to be laid to nature, but to circumstances. As a set off to this vice, he says, "they are most hospitable and obliging, and imperturbably good-humoured amidst the most grinding distress." So passionately fond are they of music, that there is a proverb "When a *Kanschani* (danseuse) sings of the love adventures of

Andam and *Durtschani*, one can rob a Cashmerian of wife and child, without his stirring to recover them till the narration is over."

Many extraordinary customs are much in vogue among them.

"The Indian *Durma*-sitting is not uncommon. It consists in sitting before the door of some distinguished personage until one has obtained some particular request. Instances are known where a person has passed twenty years in this manner, till at length his wish was granted. Another custom is that of going bare-headed and bare-footed to the governor in broad day-light preceded by lighted torches, the signification of which is 'Thy justice is so obscure that one cannot see in the streets at mid-day and has reduced me to such an extremity, that I have neither shoes on my feet, nor do I possess a cloth wherewith to cover my head.'"

The *Suttee*, that horrible rite, the burning of Hindoo widows with their deceased husband, has revived under the *Siek*. Moorcroft states that it had entirely ceased, but this was only the case under the Mahomedan dynasty, we shudder to hear that six of these unnatural tragedies have been represented during Runjeet Singh's usurpation. The martyrdom is not as many have imagined compulsory, it is quite voluntary, and generally in consequence of a solemn vow made to the husband during his lifetime, by which act of devotion the wife hopes to gain a securer dominion over his affections. The most general custom pursued on the death of a Brahmin in Cashmere is as follows, his body is burnt and the ashes are taken to a small pool named *Ganga*, four days' journey from the town, into which they are cast, here his widow is also conducted by the relations, and her hair is shorn off into the pool; nor is it allowed to grow again.

Moorcroft remarks that since the *Siek* conquered the country, *Hinduism* predominates, now let Hügel step forward into the witness-box, "The majority of the population are *Mahomedans*, and are divided into the two well known sects of *Schiah* and *Suni*, of which the last is by far the most numerous . . . All Afghans are *Suni*."

All the Hindoos in Cashmere are Brahmins. A third religion is that of *Guruh Nanokjie*, to which, as the orientalist is well aware, the *Siek* belong. Their priests live in *Darmshalla*, or houses, where they are bound to entertain all travellers professing their religion. With the exception of the two regiments forming the garrison, there are but few *Sieks* in Cashmere, and consequently their religion has taken no firm root. Indeed they are daily inclining more and more to *Hinduism*.

A singular fact did not escape the traveller's notice, that the Brahmins of Cashmere are much darker skinned than those of India: for the strange story in explanation of this, we refer the reader to the volumes themselves.

Before passing to the natural productions of Cashmere we

must advert for a moment to a certain branch of industry, we mean the fabrication of vases and other vessels from chalcedony and rock-crystal, which is obtained in inexhaustible quantities at Iskardu. A mass of rock-chrysal seen by Hügel could only be moved by the united strength of four men. Some of these vases have been sold at Lahore for 800 rupees a-piece. But these interesting creations of Cashmerian ingenuity, far surpassing, according to our author, similar productions in Europe both in tastefulness and correct workmanship, have gone the way of all other arts here; the sculptor's occupation's gone.

The natural resources of the land are very great, and the gross amount of yearly export, amounting to four millions of Hary Singhi rupees, while the import is only 500,000, shows how soon its present condition might be bettered, were proper measures to be adopted.

Hügel estimates the gross revenue, which the province would be capable of yielding, at 34 lacks of rupees or 3,400,000; deducting from this government outgoings, say 1,150,000 rupees, we have a remainder of 2,250,000, exactly the sum demanded by Runjeet Singh in 1835. According to recent accounts, however, 18 lacks only were demanded last year, but so great was the poverty of the population, they were considered incapable of furnishing even this sum.

The hidden geological riches are but partially explored. Iron is found to the east of the capital, it is bedded between strata of limestone. There is as yet but one mine, which yields 2500 kurwar annually. Near it are the lead mines, first discovered by Jacquemont, they have been worked since 1833 with a yearly return of 1000 kurwars. Copper is also found. Black lead abounds about Pir Panjal, but is not used.

The botanical part of the work is purely popular.

Of all the trees the stately *Deodur* (or gift of God), a species of cedar, whose blossoms are covered with a peculiar yellow dust, is the most useful to man, and is preferred to all others as a building material, from its wonderful durability.

The chesnut is the same as that found in Europe, except that its fruit is never armed with prickles. The bark, which pares off in strips of a foot long, but still adheres to the bole of the tree, imparts to it an uncommon appearance.

Cashmere and the *Tyrol* are the only countries he knows of where the alder is to be found at so great an elevation. Among the Alpine plants is a species of *Rhododendron*, similar to the *Ponticum* in magnitude, and with rust-coloured leaves, like the *Rhododendron Campanulatum*. It grows in the snow itself, as well as the juniper, neither of which plants are to be found in the valley below 11,000 feet above the sea.

A rare kind of barberry merits remark, it has blossoms like the *Berberis aristata*, while the fruit in size and colour is similar to that of the plant, and is agreeable and sweet-flavoured. "In the roads of Cashmere," we are told, "not a single tree grows belonging to the Indian vegetation, and the European meets with none that are not related to those at home, although they are all of a different species."

The fruit-trees of Cashmere are celebrated, there are nine sorts of apples and as many of pears. Moorcroft mentions eighteen to twenty different sorts of grapes, but our traveller discovered only eleven.

The following way of preserving this fruit we commend to the attention of housekeepers.

"Three or four bunches are placed on a deep earthen unglazed plate, this is covered with another similar one, and the two are cemented together with lime or gypsum. The whole is then deposited in a dry situation, and the moisture generated in the interior keeps the grapes fresh and undecayed till the next summer."

It is the fashion to send half a dozen of these as presents to the stranger on his arrival.

The most magnificent fruit is perhaps a white mulberry, found also in Northern Hindostan, it is from three to four inches in length, and of the thickness of the little finger, the flavour is delicious.

A curious fact relative to Cashmerian horticulture is, that if the peach be grafted on a peach-stock the fruit is liable to be devoured by insects, for which reason the gardeners use an almond or apricot stock instead." Three plants entitled *Gilah*, *Onnab*, and *Vishkana* are peculiar to the gardens of Cashmere, but not described by Hügel, as he never saw them himself.

We shall give at length a method for the cultivation of rice, unnoticed, to the best of our belief, by any previous writer. The Indian plan, viz. to sow the rice thickly, and subsequently transplant it is also used, but this one secures the Cashmerian farmer so productive a crop that it is mostly employed.

"As soon as the soil is open, and nothing more to be feared from the frosts, the rice, after being well washed (till the water runs off clear), is placed in earthen jars, and kept immersed in water fourteen days. Meantime the soil is three times ploughed, and the clods well broken; on the tenth day after putting the rice in the jars, the ground is ploughed again for the fourth and last time. Water is now let into the field, and permitted to remain there for three or four days, when it is drained off, and the rice having by this time begun to sprout is sown in the swampy soil, over which oxen and buffaloes are driven to and fro, and tread down the grain to a depth of about two feet. The field is now again placed under water, and after eight or ten days green sprouts appear, the oxen are then brought a second time and driven about till every speck of green has disappeared. In eight or ten days the sprouts have shot up

again higher than ever, and the first weeding now takes place. When the plant has attained the height of eight or ten inches, the peasants come and pass their fingers down along the stem, as deeply into the moist soil as possible, which manipulation breaks off the lateral roots; if this were to be neglected, it is said the ears would miss."

The crop not only affords a means of livelihood, but also a dwelling to the poor peasant, who forms a hollow stack of the sheaves in which he lodges, till at last perhaps he is forced to dispose of his warm abode from over his head to provide himself with winter food.

Tobacco was first introduced into the valley in the seventeenth century under the Emperor Aurangzeb. The inhabitants nevertheless prefer to it another plant named *Bang*.

"This is a species of hemp growing in prodigious quantities in waste and arid spots. It is peculiar to Cashmere and the Himalayas. The blossoms are dried and then smoked like tobacco. A tax is levied on the article. It possesses the same effect as opium, without its soporific and deleterious influence on the health. Like opium-smokers, those who smoke *Bang* affirm that after a whiff or two every unpleasant sensation vanishes, and they feel the happiest mortals in existence. With more truth than many others does this plant deserve the epithet of 'utilis;' for to the Cashmerians it is indisputably so. The seeds yield oil for the table, the leaves a cooling beverage, producing, though, in a slighter degree, the same effects as the blossoms. From the fibres, tow is made, which serves for ropes and nets, and the remaining parts are consumed as fuel. Even the Siek, excluded by their religion from the delights of smoking, enjoy the flowers in the form of an infusion, which affects them in the same way as the smoking does."

The *Sinhara* (*trapa bicornis*) or water-chesnut, is of such immeasurable benefit as food for the poor, that the Brahmins represent it to have been transplanted into the valley by *Lakschimi*, the wife of the God *Vishnu*. The 20,000 *sinhara*-fishermen, who live on the shores of the Wular lake, eat nothing else the whole year round, and never ail anything except when they take other nourishment.

Every one is acquainted with the "rose of Cashmere," but not so peradventure with the renowned "Atar Gul perfume," the process of making it is this. A quantity of rose water is boiled and poured into a large uncovered vessel, which is placed for a night in cold running water. Next morning, small almost invisible molecules float on the surface of the rose-water, these are collected with a leaf of the sword-lily, and rubbed off by the finger into a vessel prepared for the purpose. This is the Atar. About 500 pound weight of roses yield only one ounce of Atar. It is hard as rosin, of a dark green colour, with a most delicious odour of fresh roses, and is totally different from the Persian rose-oil known in Europe, neither is it an article of commerce.

The horses of Cashmere according to Moorcroft are "small and indifferent," and he ought to have been a judge, if any one. But perhaps in uttering this opinion he merely meant it with reference to their inapplicability to the uses of the service; for our traveller, who is an old military officer, and should know something of these matters, pronounces them to be *ganz vortrefflich*, capital, "small it is true, but strong, lively, enduring, and docile,"

"I consider them," continues he, "even superior to the far-famed Himalayan Ghunt, neither are they so grotesquely put together as that animal, which is like a brewer's stallion in miniature." "On the Pir Panjal I met a whole drove of them, each bearing a load of one and a half kurwar, (about 295 lbs. Avoirdupois), which they carried in one day over the whole pass from *Hirpur* to *Poscian*, a distance of forty miles."

And again he says,

"It is a pretty sight to view one of them with a native on his back, galloping at full speed, often in the dried-up bed of a river, filled with great loose stones, where another horse could only proceed at a footpace, and even then only with great caution."

The *Hunda*, a sort of sheep, identical no doubt with that mentioned by Moorcroft as exceedingly well flavoured and fat, appears to have died off, and we are told that the present race is as ugly in appearance, as its flesh is ill-tasted.

Among the birds is a species of vulture, believed by our traveller to be the largest in the world.

"Its haunts are the highest peaks, where the Cashmerians creep stealthily up to him, and as he rises, as all birds of this description do, heavily from the ground, kill him at a single blow. This can be easily effected with the black vulture of India, from which I was induced to believe that it was the same, but was soon convinced to the contrary. The bird is killed for the fur on his crop. This is used by the inhabitants for the material for caps, to which many extraordinary qualities are attributed, one bird yielding stuff sufficient for a cap."

The *Bulbul* of Cashmere, so renowned in Asiatic poetry, differs entirely from that found in the rest of India. Instead of the carmine coloured feathers, which adorn sometimes the belly, sometimes the eyebrows of the latter, the colour here is yellow. On the head is a cap-like tuft of feathers, which gives the bird a very knowing appearance. They are most social companions, perking curiously into the houses, following one's every movement, and when food is offered them, evincing their gratitude in sweet-toned melody.

The entomological part of the work is but meagre, indeed insects are not very likely to abound where the feathered tribe so predominates, added to which the yearly autumnal custom of setting fire to the long grass in the valley, must prove very destruc-

tive to them. We are promised a more detailed treatise on these and the other productions of the animal kingdom in the two additional volumes which are requisite to complete the work and are not yet out.

At the end of the second volume, the traveller offers us a very elaborate description of the surviving religious monuments of Cashmere. The greater part of them has been mutilated or totally razed by a certain fanatical iconoclast (as it is said), named Sikander, about the year 1396. Those still extant are designed with uncommon freedom of style, and are somewhat dissimilar from those in Southern India. Our limits will not allow of our following the erudite arguments of the author on this most interesting topic.

We would however direct the attention of Indian philologists and mythologists to the remarkable assertions delivered with respect to the antiquity of Buddhism. It is doubtless well known that the German antiquaries are still at issue on this point. The acute and learned *Ritter*, in the face of generally received notions among the learned, has maintained that there existed an older *Buddhism*, of which the religion of *Brahma* formed but a junior branch. *Von Bohlen*, on the other hand, in his comprehensive work on India, states his conviction that the religion of *Buddh* belongs to a much later epoch than that of *Brahma*. This decision had become universally countenanced when Hügel surprises us with the discovery that in the purely Brahminical Cashmere are to be found primæval temples of Buddhist origin, and affording confirmations strong of the religion of *Buddh* having existed here long anterior to that of *Brahma*. After a discussion showing much ingenuity and reflection, he settles the question "Which are the oldest temples in India?" with the answer "The Dhagoba of the Buddhists."

He leaves the valley by the pass of Baramulla, which Moorcroft, as it will be remembered, also took, but was compelled to return. On the road, some of the stalwart sons of the valley, who are superstitious to an absurd degree, entertain him with frightful stories of ghins and ghouls, of whose existence they entertain no more doubt than of there being a sun in heaven. Finding him incredulous, they determine to give him a proof positive of the veracity of their assertions, and being arrived near the pass, scampered up to a temple of *Sadascheo* on a neighbouring eminence, from whence they return with a Brahmin. This apostle of ghoullism set to work forthwith to convert the unbelieving baron, in the following harangue :

"About 5000 years ago, a notably pious Brahmin named *Jambas* lived in his cabin on the spot where yonder temple stands. Once on a time a ghin (*Jin*) came to his door just as he was performing his *Tup* (devo-

tions) to Vishnu, and tweaked him by his *Paggeri* (turban). The holy man knew him in a moment for a ghin, that wished to disturb his prayers, and he bid him to be off about his business, but the ghin scorned the idea of such a thing. The Brahmin now fell into a transport of pious wrath, faced about, and dealt the monster such a buffet, that he had one of his teeth knocked out and ran away howling. 'Here is that tooth,' said the Brahmin, as he deposited a large bundle before me. He proceeded to unfold the cloth wrapper, and I was unable to restrain my laughter when he displayed to view an elephant's lower-jaw tooth."

We have perused these volumes with unfeigned pleasure, and do not hesitate to pronounce the work to be the most instructive as yet presented to the public on the subject.

There is a vivid portrayal too of natural scenery, of a country depopulated, of temples and palaces levelled with the dust, such as we in vain look for in the matter-of-fact pages of Moorcroft, while at the same time the traveller eschews any unnatural exaggeration. The wonderful and entertaining are matters of subordinate consideration. He is no *Semilasso*. We have before us a plain unvarnished tale, denuded of all anthropophagous incredibilities. Not a patchwork of isolated fragments, but a portrait complete in all its parts. The plan of arrangement he has chosen occasions some useless repetitions. We would recommend him if he aims at extensive circulation, to be more concise; four volumes to Cashmere alone is no joke, at this rate he will soon stock a library. The work is embellished with drawings on steel and wood-cuts, unfortunately his sketches of the temple of *Kora Pandu* were lost. Perhaps Mr. Vigne will supply the deficiency. How Jacquemont's travels, at present publishing by the French government from his posthumous papers, may turn out, we know not; according to his own saying "he was blind," so that the world cannot expect to be much enlightened by his researches.

Before concluding our notice, we must not omit to mention the solid benefit which our traveller conferred on Cashmere, by the introduction of the potatoe plant. In order to insure its cultivation, he left funds for a prize to be given to those who produced a stipulated annual quantity. *Zein-ul-abadin* is revered by the Cashmerians as the monarch who first caused expert weavers to come from Turkistan, and thus originated that source of wealth the shawl-manufacture; Baron Hügel's name, will, we prophesy, live not less green in the memory of the inhabitants, as one whose philanthropic care will have prevented a repetition of those horrors of starvation, which have already created such fearful havoc in Cashmere. During the famine which raged in Germany in 1770, 100,000 Saxons, and 180,000 Bohemians were swept from the land, while Prussia alone escaped a similar fate owing to the provident foresight of the great Frederick, who had not long before introduced this useful plant into his dominions.

ART. IV. — *Reise in Abyssinien*. Von Dr. Edouard Rüppell.
(*Travels in Abyssinia*. By Dr. E. Rüppell.) 2 vols. Frankfurt. 1838.

THIS extremely interesting and instructive narrative of a lengthened residence in a country hitherto comparatively unexplored by the adventurous spirit of European activity, is the production of an author well known on the continent as an enterprising traveller and naturalist. It was undertaken shortly after his election into the Imperial Academy of Naturalists (of Leopold Caroline), in which every new member is entered by some name indicative of his works or travels, and on this occasion the name of Bruce was conferred upon Dr. Rüppell, for his previous admirable descriptions of oriental provinces, a name which, high as it stands, would have been justified by the present volumes, if it had not been deserved before. This is by far the most perfect, and almost the only work upon modern Abyssinia; for although the author is of opinion that a journey through that country is not attended with the dangers which threatened the traveller in the times of Bruce and Salt, yet since that period only two voyages have been made thither by Europeans, one by Messrs. Coombes and Tamisier, two Frenchmen, whose work is neither distinguished for originality nor accuracy in what is original; the other by a Prussian, Herr von Katte, who however could penetrate no further than Adowa, and does not seem to have been over qualified for the task. Comparisons have been said to be invidious, although they may frequently be more justly complained of as being either inapt or erroneous. Still however from the time of Plutarch downwards they have ever been the favourite measure for estimating the relative proportions of those between whom there has existed a similarity of character, talents, or fortune; and in this instance we think there is sufficient to authorize a parallel, were it simply to compare this German writer and the celebrated Scottish traveller, whose name is as inseparably connected with Abyssinia as that of Cook with Otaheite. Bruce has more the stamp of the restless explorer, the daring adventurer, whose character partook in a great measure of his physical qualities, and whose ardent enthusiasm carried him forwards to the fountains of the Nile, where no European had trod before (and but few after), in whose vicinity armies had perished, though they failed to reach them. Dr. Rüppell, with nearly equal powers of observation and research, and superior scientific attainments as a philosopher, antiquary and naturalist, has more the style of a discriminating

observer, confirming and completing much that has been previously pointed out. The fame of Bruce was sudden and brilliant, for his adventures were startling and perilous, and occurred in regions which may be said to have been utterly unknown before he explored their wild recesses; and this fame has remained solid because he was a man of eminent talents and character, who described with accuracy what he discerned with penetration. Dr. Rüppell, with the benefit of the labours of his predecessor, has produced a work valuable for the information it imparts, and which will rise in public estimation as the country in question becomes an object of curiosity to Europeans. It is surely no small proof of this that the Royal Geographical Society (of London) have awarded to him the prize "for the most important achievements in geographical research," an honour which had never been conferred upon a foreigner, and which is alluded to with evident pride and gratitude. A copy of a chart of the Red Sea, drawn up by many distinguished officers of the East India Company, was likewise presented to this author in 1826, with an acknowledgment of the advantages derived from a similar work of his illustrative of the northern parts of that sea. (It may be remarked that General Baird and other officers in like manner speak in the highest terms of the correctness of the latitudes laid down by Bruce for various places on the same coast.) In the course of this work several, generally venial, errors of Bruce are detected and rectified, but its general tendency bears decided witness of his veracity, and vindicates him from the imputations sought to be fixed upon him by Mr. Salt, who, with all his active talents and quick wit, does not seem to have been invariably happy in his assertions, or profound in his researches. We will proceed to lay before the reader some extracts which will afford an idea of the nature of modern Abyssinia—a country little less difficult and dangerous to traverse now than it has always been; where incessant vigilance is necessary to guard against the attacks of the climate, the inhabitants, and the wild and ferocious animals; where property is only secure when acquiescence in the extortion of the Naib and Ras procures a temporary protection from the wholesale plunder of the robber—and where in plain and mountain pass, tribute, toll and passage-money are levied as a matter of course, and when demurred to, enforced by the agency of pointed gun-barrels and keen scymitar blades, wielded by hands equally skilled, and unscrupulous in using them for the compulsion of refractory travellers. Any one, native or foreigner, who travels in these guerilla-ridden provinces, and will not pay, or cannot defend himself, is likely to encounter a rather stern experience of the *væ victis*!

Part of the first volume contains a description of the state of Egypt, and of the nature of Mehemet Ali's government, and gives an interesting account of the gradual rise of his power, with many passages of his life. Much has lately been written concerning Egypt, and recent events have given her an importance which will probably fall with the transient causes that have united in producing it. She has been lately forced into a constrained political eminence by the talented administration of her despotic ruler, but it is not fully known with what a dreadful sacrifice of the happiness of her inhabitants this arbitrary sway has been accompanied. Whatever may be the present effect of Mehemet Ali's autocracy, certain it is that the permanent stability of his reforms is as doubtful as the means by which they have been enforced are ruthless and tyrannical, and the servitude in which his unhappy subjects are held, is far more oppressive than in the worst times of the Ottoman Pachas, because more systematic. Tyrants in ancient days have scourged thousands from the impulse of individual caprice. Mehemet Ali, like them, is master of the lives, the persons, and the property of those he governs, but he mercilessly and incessantly expends them for the single purpose of self-aggrandisement. Men are but insensible machines in his system of political economy, and are to be applied to whatever purposes will render them most available. There is, perhaps, no race of men upon whom the iron hand of legalized oppression has closed with a more paralyzing grasp than on the Egyptian peasantry and artizan, except the black population of the Southern districts of the freedom-prating United States; that free and enlightened land of mob-upheld equality, where bowie knives enforce the legality of lynch decrees, where men are sold without remorse, and retribution tracks not murder. The Egyptian peasant, when unable to pay the government taxes, becomes personally the slave of Mehemet Ali, whose property in this line is constantly increased by the pressure of his exorbitant extortions; he is only allowed to grow the crops authorized by the Pacha, and when with unremitting toil he has raised enough to pay his own taxes, he is frequently ruined, in common with the whole population of his village, by being obliged to make up the deficiency of a neighbouring village. He is liable to the conscription for military service, which is enforced with unsparing severity, or forced to work in the Pacha's factories without wages, and upon an allowance of food barely sufficient to sustain life. But an enumeration of the administrative details of the Pacha's system would exceed the limits of these pages, and we have to follow Dr. Rüppell through

Abyssinia, we will therefore merely annex a part of his description of Lower Egypt.

“ In the many large villages, which in Lower Egypt especially are extremely numerous, a third part is often deserted and ruinous, and among the peasantry who inhabit the remainder the most distressing indigence is apparent. Of the silver ornaments which, in former days, were so frequently seen on the women of the lower classes, there is no longer a trace. The furniture that garnished the huts has entirely disappeared. The confused screams of the numerous inmates of the poultry-yards, which used to greet the arrival of every visitor to the village, are no longer heard; even the number of the cattle has decreased, from their having been given up in payment of the taxes. The groves of date trees are thinned, because the augmented taxation of their produce left no prospect of gain to the cultivator, nor reward for the trouble of recruiting with new trees the openings caused by the decay of the old. The magnificent verdant meadow-land has alone remained unchanged, and presents the most glorious aspect, when in the winter time, after the subsidence of a favourable inundation, every acre is teeming with a luxuriant vegetation. Plantations of fragrant beans and high-stalked hemp are chequered with fields of waving corn and dark green clover, on which last buffaloes and other cattle lie scattered, generally surrounded by small groups of the white heron (*ardea bubalis*), which prey upon the grasshoppers and other insects, and seem to live indiscriminately and without fear among both men and quadrupeds. Occasionally are seen broad pools, caused by the receding waters of the inundation, on which the large (many-hued) kingfisher (*alcedo rudis*), is patiently employed in the chase of the smaller kinds of fish, and on the banks close to a group of rushes, the grey heron is waiting in a melancholy posture for the decline of day, to obtain his booty from the watery expanse. The mud-covered beds of the dried up canals are overgrown by a rank vegetation of the ricinus and other thorny shrubs, in which innumerable cooing pigeons seek shelter from the voracity of the vultures, and from a remote distance the approach of a stranger is announced by the alarum of the spur-winged plover (*charadrius spinosus*), who seeks by simulated flight to draw off attention from the locality of her nest. The border of the horizon is studded with the earth-built huts of the hamlets, resembling bee-hives, and overshadowed by the thin-stemmed date-palm; and whenever the village is of any importance, a whitewashed mosque, with slender minaret or ornamented cupola, covering the grave of a scheik, may generally be seen shooting up from within its precincts. On the appointed sites are the lofty inclosures of reeds, forming the granaries, which contain the government portion of the harvest; and the densely foliated sycamore trees, beneath whose grateful shade the wearied traveller seeks repose. Asses without saddle or bridle, but with heavy burdens fastened on the hind quarters, form an invariable accompaniment to the scene. Some few wretchedly-clad peasants, employed either in conveying water, or in agricultural labour, present a mournful contrast to the rich luxuriance with which nature has overspread the country.”—vol. i. p. 88.

Having made an excursion into Stony Arabia, and completed some observations in astronomy and natural history, the author, in September, 1831, hired a large Arabian vessel to convey him from Djetta to Massowa. This vessel was likewise engaged to carry out the new governor of Massowa, Omar Aga, who had just been named to the command in this town by his brother-in-law, the governor of Djetta, in whom the appointment is vested; and in company with him and his escort, Dr. Rüppell set sail from Djetta on the 8th September, a Sunday, a day fixed in deference to the superstition of the Mahommetans, who believe that no voyage can end auspiciously, if not undertaken either on that day or a Monday. After seven days navigation through the numerous shallows and coral reefs which render this part of the Red Sea so dangerous, with variable and stormy weather, they made the island of Dahalak, which lies immediately opposite to the harbour of Massowa. Here the newly-installed Stadtholder was very nearly meeting with a more sudden and alarming catastrophe than that which closed the career of the sagacious governor of Barataria.

“Omar Aga, heartily weary of the constraint to which every one is subjected in the narrow limits of a transport, had caused himself to be landed on the island late in the evening, with several of his servants and slaves, intending to sleep there in the open air. Here he regaled himself with coffee, made in a copper coal-dish, and smoked tobacco; but about midnight the capricious kaimakan* took it into his head to return to the vessel. On coming on board, some of his attendants threw the copper vessel into the hold upon a sack filled with coals, and shortly afterwards the whole crew were buried in sleep. One of the soldiers, happening fortunately to wake in the night, noticed an unusual glow of light throughout the ship, and soon discovered that the sack of coals was on fire, and that a large sail lying near had already been caught by the flames. We were thus in the most imminent danger, and had the soldier awoke but a few minutes later, the ship must have perished, for in the hold stood a cask containing two hundred weight of gunpowder, which had been used for salutes the evening before, and left quite open, in order to save trouble when wanted again in the course of next morning. There was also a considerable quantity of fine powder among my baggage, which I had brought for the purpose of hunting, and for presents to different chiefs.”

The infatuation of leaving so much powder thus exposed is a characteristic instance of oriental carelessness.

The island of Massowa is founded upon one of the coral formations so frequent in the Red Sea, and is the ordinary starting point to the interior of Abyssinia from Egypt, and the great

* A Turkish word signifying representative or vice regent, and synonymous with the Persian word Naib, which are both in use throughout this country.

outlet of the Abyssinian trade, which is conveyed to it by the caravans, the merchandize being principally slaves, elephants' tusks, musk, wax, coffee, &c. It is a dependency of the Ottoman empire, to which it was annexed by conquest in 1557, and is held by a Turkish garrison. The population consists chiefly of Abyssinian Mahometans, Indian pagans called Banians, and of merchants from different parts of Arabia, and comprizes neither Christians nor Jews. The Banians are allowed the free exercise of their heathenish religion, but are interdicted from bringing their wives to Massowa, a restriction which exists throughout the whole of Arabia, with the single exception of Maskat.

The character drawn of these islanders by Bruce and Salt, although true in the main, seems rather too darkly shaded. They are unquestionably far from high in the scale of morality, owing chiefly to the demoralizing influence of the slave traffic, which is their principal occupation. Although extremely strict in their attention to the ceremonies of their religion, the fasts and rites of which they observe with bigoted exactness, they are unscrupulously addicted to thieving, the commission of which is not by any means held infamous, nor confined to the lower classes. A merchant of consideration in Massowa called upon Dr. Rüppell, and upon rising to retire, rather than depart empty-handed, carried away a bar of lead weighing ten pounds. The property was recovered from him through the intervention of a common friend, and the purloiner had subsequently the assurance to repeat his visit. He was not however allowed an opportunity of indemnifying himself by a more profitable essay for the ill success of the first. Among their virtues it would appear that gratitude at least can hardly be included.

"Although I frequently dispensed medicines and advice to patients for various maladies, not one either during the course of treatment or upon recovering, ever made the slightest acknowledgment, much less offered remuneration for my trouble or expense. One man, whose wrists had been shattered by a musket shot, and whom I had tended almost daily for eight weeks, expressed himself in the following manner in my presence, 'God is great above all, and his dispensations wonderful! This dog of an infidel has he sent here expressly to cure my wound!'"

Before pursuing his journey to the interior of Abyssinia, Dr. Rüppell resolved upon an excursion northwards to the valley of Modat, for the purpose of making a collection of the many animals and plants with which that beautiful country abounds. In his arrangements with the Naib of Arkiko for the hire of camels, &c. he was subjected to the invariable extortions and disappointments which accompany every negociation with either Abyssinians

or Arabs, and for the benefit of those of our countrymen who may be similarly circumstanced, we may relate, that he particularly recommends Europeans to employ the influence of the agent of the acting English consul at Djetta, Hadji Omar El Saidi, who has been established as a merchant at Massowa for some years, and whose services on this and other occasions in which they proved invaluable, he secured by a present. The direct distance from Massowa to Ailat, the principal town in the valley of Modat, is about twenty-four miles, but the fatigue of the journey is considerably increased by the mountainous nature of the country to be traversed, no less than the constant winding of the road. The general character of the country between Massowa and the valley consists in a succession of hills formed of sandstone and mica, and rocks of volcanic structure, intersected by narrow ravines, along the edge of which runs the road or path, and scantily dotted here and there with low slender trees and stunted thorn-bushes, for little nourishment is afforded to vegetation by a soil composed in a great measure of lava, and but sparingly irrigated by springs of tainted water. The weariness of threading this sterile district is, however, amply repaid by the beauties and natural treasures of Modat.

“The only habitations in the valley of Modat are slight huts, formed of twigs and covered with dry rush-grass, and calculated to stand only for a very short time, as from the annoyance of the termites and other vermin, frequent change is necessary in the places of encampment. They are in general very small, of a circular shape, and are entered through a low doorway; some few square and cage-like dwellings are built more solidly of trunks of trees; but they are all penetrated by the rain which falls in from above, to the utter despair of the collector of objects of natural history. These huts are always erected in groups, and surrounded by a hedge formed of the large branches of thorn-bearing trees, and the entrance is stopped up by a thorn bush pushed forward into the cavity. Within the enclosure the numerous herds of sheep and goats are driven for the night, and a partial protection is afforded from the attacks of the beasts of prey which prowl in great numbers about the valley, and consist of hyænas, lynxes, leopards, and occasionally a lion and his mate.

“The hyæna of this valley, called by the natives karai, is the spotted kind, the only one found in Abyssinia, but in the north, from the seventeenth degree of latitude, this species disappears, and the striped hyæna alone is seen. These animals are of a cowardly nature except when rendered daring by extreme hunger, on which occasions they enter the houses even in the day-time and carry off young children, although they have never been known to attack men. When the flocks are returning home in the evening, they often spring upon any sheep that may have straggled or loitered behind, and generally succeed in carrying off their prey in spite of the pursuit of the shepherds. Dogs are not kept here as they

are found to be utterly useless against beasts of prey. The inhabitants caught several large hyænas for us by digging trenches across a path enclosed by thorn-bushes, and tying a young kid at one end of it. The ravenous beast, attracted by the bleating of the little animal for it's dam, rushes to the spot and falls into the pit, which is carefully covered over with twigs and sand, and is immediately killed before he has time to free himself by scraping a path out. The power of scent possessed by these animals is very extraordinary. A lion with a lioness and cubs infested the valley of Modat during the time we were staying there; the spot they had selected for their lair was well known, and they had already carried off several camels and other cattle, but the chase of these beasts is extremely dangerous, and they can only be expelled by the efforts of several men uniting to form a battue; but the Abyssinians are wholly destitute of any spirit of union, and so far from associating for any common purpose, each man rejoices over any misfortune that may befall his neighbour. During our stay at Modat, a lion sprang in the night-time over one of the thorn bush fences described above, tore to the ground two shepherds who attempted to oppose him, and, seizing a bullock in his powerful jaw, cleared the hedge again, and went off with his booty. Besides hyænas and lions, which are called *Assat* here as in Arabia, there are numerous other kinds of wild beast in this part of the country. There are, in particular, several species of foxes, whose plaintive howl is often heard breaking in upon the stillness of the night, whilst the smothered moan of the hyæna gives indication of his undesired proximity to the flocks. Numerous herds of wild swine, armed with enormous tusks (*Phascochoeres Aeliani*) ploughed up the dry and sterile beds of the mountain torrents in search of roots; the dwarf-like bushes swarmed with hares and small gazelles, which frequent the pasturages in couples; the larger antelopes only come here at periodical times, and in herds more or less numerous; the great antelope, with the powerful spirally curved horns, (*strepsiceros*), which is only found upon rocky hills, and of which species we killed two, is more rarely seen. None of these animals are hunted by the natives. The elephant alone, of whom a solitary one sometimes strays into this valley from the Abyssinian mountains, is attacked by the hunters. In this chase, long matchlocks are used, which carry balls of a quarter of a pound in weight, and are so heavy that they require two men to use them, one supporting the long barrel upon his shoulder, whilst the other fires. As their powder is extremely bad, it is only by approaching close to the animal that they can succeed in inflicting a mortal wound. The elephants scent the smoke of the match at a great distance off, and can only be approached therefore against the wind; their organs of sight are, however, inferior. The natives procured two elephants for us whilst we were in the valley of Modat. They were of the species called by the naturalists *Elephas Africanus*, and are only found in this part of the world.* In the whole district of Arkiko and the neighbouring coasts there are only three

* Cuvier, in the last edition of the *Régne Animal*, has left undecided what species of elephant inhabits the Abyssinian coasts.

hunters who make excursions for the purpose of killing elephants, and these men together scarcely slay on an average seven in one year. When the political state of the country will allow it they push on into Wadi Ansaba, a low country well wooded and watered, about six days' march to the west-north-west of this valley and inhabited by Christians, in which elephants, rhinoceros, buffaloes, and other large animals are found in numbers. The only useful part of the elephant is the tusks, for the thick muscles render the flesh unfit for eating, and the skin furnishes but indifferent shields. I have never perceived any traces of the pretended devastation which this animal is said to wreak upon the trees, and which Salt has described in his *Travels*, although both here and in Abyssinia, especially in Kulla, I have met with them frequently.

"The greater part of the wood in this valley consists of thickets of prickly shrubs scantily furnished with leaves of small growth, magnificent clusters of trees are however frequently met with, shadowing the soil with their luxuriant foliage and harbouring countless swarms of variegated birds, whose busy activity as they fly abroad at early dawn, in search of sustenance, gives great animation to the scene. Euphorbias, gigantic Asclepiads, intermingled with different kinds of creepers impart a very picturesque aspect to this country.

"Being unable to convey an entire idea of the enchanting beauty of this tropical landscape, I will only attempt to describe such of the birds as are most conspicuous by their hues or their numbers, to the eye of the traveller. The number and variety of these is greater than I have met with in any other part of the world, and the naturalist may often distinguish more than seventy species in one morning; within a circuit of four or five miles, 132 different kinds were shot by my hunters in less than a month. The eye is especially attracted by the brilliant plumage of the honey-sucker fluttering in crowds round the thickly blown flowers of the broad leaved Asclepias, and the various kinds of bee-eaters hunting for insects, just revived by the warm rays of the rising sun from the torpor caused by the coolness of the night, for Modat, although lying hardly 800 feet higher than Massowa, has much fresher nocturnal breezes. From the tops of the trees is heard the noisy chattering of various parrots, and the clapping note of the restless *Lamprotornis nitens*. Swarms of little finches, rendered more conspicuous by the variety of their dazzling hues, are eagerly intent upon picking out the grains of seed from the stalks of the plants, whilst innumerable thrushes of the *Fringilla Paradisea* and fly-catchers, both remarkable by the uncommon length and undulating motion of the feathers of the tail, are fluttering down from the tree-tops. The step of the wandering traveller in the sandy bed of a dried up torrent frequently flushes a covey of the hundred-eyed guinea fowls, whose clamorous wailing as they wing their startled flight, spreads fear and anxiety among their plumaged brethren of the vicinity. The cooing of the amorous dove is silenced in alarm, the huge bustard makes off with lengthened strides, and the *Cursorius Isabellinus*, stretching its head on high and gazing around in terror, betakes itself to the elevated sandy spots of ground which are unencumbered with shrubs. The *Buceros nasutus*, whose flight is so remarkable from the singular and measured motion of its wings, is

frequently seen, as also even at mid-day a species of large Owl, (*Stryx lactea*) noiselessly floating onwards, and swarms of different kinds of vultures cruising in the higher regions of air, or intently gazing on the carcasses with which we had intended to bait the hyæna traps."—Vol. i. p. 226.

In returning from Ailat to Massowa in the night time, to avoid the intense heat of the sun, one of the camels broke loose and ran off with the skin of water strapped upon him, and in the fruitless chase after the fugitive among the prickly shrubs and sharp fragments of quartz, the author's sandals proved such a slight protection to the feet, that he was laid up in Massowa for nearly six weeks from the effects of the wounds. From the quantity of saline particles contained in the lower strata of air along the shores of the Red Sea, all wounds in the feet are extremely slow and difficult to heal. When released from the confinement of a sick room, Dr. Rüppell was present at a marriage in high life at Arkiko, of which he gives a description; but it is too long to extract at length, and we therefore refer the curious to vol. i. p. 237.

The arrival of the long expected caravan from Gondar brought with it intelligence of the state of Abyssinia and the position of the different powers at issue with each other in it. That unhappy country was then as 'before and now, bleeding in almost every province, from the ravages of rebellion and warfare. The incapacity of the emperors had been taken advantage of by the different governors of provinces to render themselves wholly independent, and they then turned their arms against each other, in the hope of extending their usurped possessions. Some idea of the precarious tenure of the Abyssinian throne may be found from the fact, that, from the abdication of the Emperor Teckla Haimanot in 1778, down to the year 1833, no less than fourteen princes have occupied it at twenty-two different times.

Uninviting as this prospect was, there was however the probability of a more immediate danger from another quarter. A body of Turkish and Albanian troops, lying in garrison at Djetta, had long been disaffected to Mehemet Ali for the withholding of their pay and gradual diminution of their rations, and finally driven to extremity by a perfidious attempt to destroy them by suddenly attacking them with a very superior body of Egyptian regulars, had raised the standard of revolt after repulsing these last, and there was reason for supposing that the garrison of Massowa would follow their example. Under these circumstances there was no time to be lost, and Dr. Rüppell accordingly sent on his extensive collection in natural history to Alexandria, and hastened his preparations for departure. In many parts of Abyssinia, money is less generally useful as a medium of exchange with the

inhabitants or for presents than various articles of merchandize, such as glasses for drinking honey water, black pepper, Indian cottons, strings or bands of twisted blue silk, &c. These last, called Mateb, are the most useful of all, as they are universally worn round the neck by the Christians of Abyssinia, and when of the requisite length of five feet, and of a bright blue colour, are eagerly sought after. Dr. Rüppell recommends every traveller to provide himself with a store of these articles, a timely donation of which will frequently be of the greatest efficacy in softening the obstinacy or ill-will of the innumerable chiefs and naibs whose narrow territories he has to pass through. Having engaged the requisite number of attendants and camels, and brought to a successful issue his treaty with the Naib for the amount of passage money, a kind of capitation tax which this potentate levies upon all who pass through his province, and which Salt was obliged to pay both in 1804 and 1810, the author joined a caravan of merchants which, in times of comparative tranquillity, proceeds from Arkiko regularly about this time (April) every year to the interior of Abyssinia, for the purposes of trade. In this instance it consisted of 200 men and 49 loaded camels, but it is more or less numerous according to the number of ships which arrive from India by the passage winds. Salt's observation, that the caravan or company of merchants of 140 men and 20 camels, with which he travelled, was the largest that had departed from the coast of Arkiko since the arrival of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, is a ludicrous mis-statement. We will describe the travelling equipment of those who composed this caravan.

“Only four of the principal Abyssinian merchants besides myself rode upon mules, the remainder journeyed on foot. Every man was armed either with a long curved sabre, always worn on the right side of the body, or with a spear and round target, eight of our number carried long matchlocks. Many bore likewise parasols made of reeds, which are extremely useful whenever, as is the Abyssinian custom, the head is uncovered. The Abyssinians are distinguished at the first glance from all the other inhabitants of the coast by their dress, for the men without exception wear trowsers. By those of Tigré they are worn close, and extend only from the hip to the knee. Each man has a white cotton scarf, thirty feet long, but only one foot broad, wrapped round the body, and over this the sabre is girt by means of a strap. Over the upper part of the body is thrown a large white cotton cloth, the border-end of which has a blue or red stripe five inches broad, and on the shoulders a long shaggy sheep skin, which however must have the feet and tail entire. Their hair is braided in tufts, arranged in different directions, or worn in short natural locks. Into these butter is rubbed as often as possible, chiefly to preserve the head from the darting rays of the sun. After the

hair has been freshly anointed with butter, a small white cotton stripe is bound round the head, to hinder the melting fat from dropping down. This stripe must not be confounded with the scarlet band which every Abyssinian who has slain an enemy in war, wears round his head in battle. The thickly curled head of Jupiter Ammon is represented on statues and medals with this stripe, the object of which I think archæologists are not acquainted with. The Abyssinians wear besides round the neck or on the arm, a number of written amulets sewed up in leather cases, one of which is sometimes eight inches long, and together often form a neck-band hanging down to the stomach. Whenever a man is armed with a matchlock, he has a girdle round the body with fifteen bags or cases of leather, in shape like a quiver, in each of which is a short reed cut so that the knot inside shall divide it into two equal parts, one of which contains the quantity of powder, and the other the ball, for one charge. When marching the musketeer has likewise in one hand a burning match, which is twisted out of the dried fibres of a plant."—Vol. i. p. 290.

For ten days, until they reached Halai, the road ran parallel with the range of mountains which terminates with the great Taranta, and is the abode of the Schohos, a nomadic tribe, numbering about 300 grown up men, who have the well deserved reputation of being most active thieves. Salt continually confounds them with the Saortu, but they are a distinct race. From Halai, the usual route was through Dixan, but since 1816, when a caravan of merchants was plundered to the last rag by the Baharne-gash Jasu, (to whom Salt has given such interesting qualities, for he was completely duped by the wily Abyssinian) this passage has been very reasonably avoided. The caravan separated at Halai, one party taking the direct road to Adowa in spite of the troubled state of the country, which was overrun with hostile bands, while the other part, with Dr. Rüppell, took the far safer course of going round towards the province of Agamé, through Sanafé. As they approached a dreary place called Kaskasse, which is notorious as a lurking-hole for robbers, it was agreed that each man should hold himself in readiness for fighting, and that a sharp look out should be kept, but on reaching the spot where they were to encamp for the night, the whole company was thrown into alarm by the sudden rising of a flight of ravens who made off with noisy croakings. The Abyssinians were seriously frightened, for they held this to be an unlucky omen, and Dr. Rüppell, dreading the effect of this in the case of any real attack, was obliged to assure them that in his country this bird was always hailed as the certain forerunner of good fortune, and that this might be clearly inferred from the history of Noah's Ark! This artifice in some measure restored their *moral* as soldiers, and passing from one extreme to the other, they now

began to encourage each other by violent gesticulations, brandishing their weapons, and many of them shouted out revilings against all lurking thieves within hearing, and challenged them to come forth and fight. The author, misdoubting this assumed courage, hints that it was as well for the caravan that no answer followed the defiance. It is not unlikely that they were indebted to these very rooks for not being molested that night, since the robbers were probably frightened by this inauspicious covey, and had not any one amongst them skilful enough to reverse the omen.

At Sanafé, the rocks, chiefly formed of marl, are full of natural cavities, which often form the abode or hiding place of the inhabitants. It is in this part of Abyssinia that Bruce places the existence of a people of 'Trogodytes, for which he has been so undeservedly criticized. The environs of this town are infested with a species of ape, who lay waste a field of corn with astonishing rapidity, the caravan met with one troop of the *Cynocephalus Hamadryas* more than three hundred strong. The country around is held as a fief by a Mahometan of the name of Aito Ali, one of the chiefs of the Schohos. This man was for some time in Lord Valentia's service, and recommended himself to the Detjatsch Sabajadis by his talents and honesty. It is remarkable that all offices in trust in Abyssinia requiring fidelity and uprightness are held by Mahometans, who are far superior in morality to the Christians.

On arriving at Ategerat, the capital town of the province of Agamé, they found that an instant invasion was threatened from the Detjatsch Ubi of Simen, and it became a critical question how an attack by any of his foraging troops could be repelled. The Detjatsch of Agamé, Oeleb Michael, was absent on a plundering excursion against an uncle of his in a neighbouring province. Dr. Rüppell consulted Herr Gobat, a Swiss missionary, who had for some time been travelling in various parts of the country, and has published an account of his mission at Basle, and urged him to convert his stone dwelling house into a temporary fortress for their common defence, but received the unconsoling assurance that on the first disturbance, the people around would infallibly plunder it throughout, and added the Swiss "All Abyssinians are rascals, without either truth, gratitude, or belief." Learning that a mountain pass opening into the province of Haremat happened then to be unoccupied by either of the contending troops, it was resolved to push forward without delay; upon leaving Ategerat the caravan was joined by several women who wished to escape from the troubles thickening around, among them was one very pretty girl of seventeen, who had been married and divorced seven times, and intended to

select the eighth husband at Gondar. They passed the lava-coloured mountain of the Alequa, and descended into the valley of Saheta.

“In the valley of Saheta, nature assumes quite another face,” (from the dreary aspect of the previous tracts of country, strewn with rocks and volcanic remains, cut up with the deep worn beds of mountain torrents, and generally destitute of trees,) “the towering and barren slopes of the rocks which hem in the valley, form a picturesque contrast to the richness of its meadow lands, covered here and there with magnificent groups of lofty trees. Numerous families of an unknown species of ape, marked with two naked spots on the neck and breast, were clambering up and down the clefts of the rocks. I witnessed here the remains of an ancient Pagan ceremony. A great number of the women of the country were gathered round a running spring which gushed up from under a cluster of tall trees, in which they washed their hands and feet, and then prostrated themselves several times on the ground before a large block of sand-stone roughly hewn into a quadrangular shape, and marked with two elliptical cavities. It is probably a kind of altar. I could obtain no information of the meaning or origin of this ceremony. The Abyssinians declared that it was a remnant of Paganism, and they knew, or would impart nothing more of this religious sect, which is probably one of the most ancient in the country.”—Vol. i. p. 352.

On the 1st of June they descried the snow-covered peaks of the mountains of Simen, and shortly afterwards passed several villages lately laid in ashes by the army of the Detjatsch Ubi. At Tackerraggino they were detained ten days by disputes as to the amount of dues and tolls to be paid. This town, the capital of Temben, consists of about 100 dwelling places built of stone, and 500 inhabitants, mostly Mahometans, who carry on a trade with Gondar and Massowa. The Mahometans are a superior race of men to the Christians of Abyssinia, who are apathetic and ignorant. Every Mussalman has his son taught to read and write, an accomplishment only possessed by those of the Christians destined for the church, who are required to be able to read the Bible, but are utterly uneducated in any other science. The most immoveable, stagnant sloth is the characteristic of these last, who seem to be little influenced by the religion of which they bear the name only. Abyssinia in fact forms an exception to the respective character of Christianity and Ismalism in every other country. The only ambition of a priest is to amass by begging a sum of money sufficient to carry him on a pilgrimage through Massowa and Cairo to Jerusalem, and on his return, he conceives himself entitled to importune for presents all to whom he has access. Every agriculturist tills no more of his field than is just sufficient for the wants of himself and family, any foresight in laying up provisions is out of the question. All manual labour they consider degrading; thus the tanning leather and weaving

cotton-stuffs are performed exclusively by Mahometans, almost the sole silversmiths and armourers are the Greek emigrants and Egyptian Kopts, the masons and workmen are all Jews. The Abyssinian Christians have 180 festivals in the year, and are obliged by their religion to observe 200 fast-days, and this without question conduces in a great measure to their idleness.

As they proceeded southward, cultivated tracks of land became less and less frequent, and the constant succession of hill and rock and waterless ravines, which the mountain streams had ploughed, afforded little pasturage to the mules, or verdure to the eye, save occasional thickets of thorn bushes. At a short distance from Geba the caravan forded the rapid stream of Takazzé. This river, the principal one of Abyssinia, is about 80 feet broad in this part, and varies in depth according to the prevalence of rains among the mountains, it is sometimes swollen to 10 or 12, but in general does not exceed 3 or 4 feet, and it usually subsides as rapidly as it has risen. It is always the safest course here to cross all rivers without delay, for a few hours may render them impassable, and bridges form no part of Abyssinian architecture. The bed of the stream consists entirely of slate-rock, over which volcanic stones have been rolled in its course. These stones are of different sizes, and chiefly composed either of Trachyt or Dolevit Lava, the first containing layers of glass field-spar, and the latter many kinds of Stilbit and Chabasit crystals. The water is discoloured by dark particles of earth, the result of dissolved lava.

"A barometrical observation which I made here gave only 2812 French feet as the absolute altitude of the bed of the river; by another observation made a year after on passing the same stream in the province of Schire, between 60 and 70 miles to the northwest, it was 2603 feet high. The results of these calculations I esteem important, as they serve to explain satisfactorily some circumstances connected with the overflowing of the Nile. Hitherto nothing has been known of the absolute height of this stream in the province of Senaar, situated in the thirteenth degree of latitude. Humboldt and Rehnell estimate it at 4000 French feet, because their calculation is based upon the supposition of a certain regulated fall for every mile, as necessary for the current of the river. When passing through the country watered by the Nile in the province of Dongola in 1822 and 1824, I observed the total absence of any current in the body of the water when in its *normal* state. Except at the time of the periodical overflowing, the craft upon the river are obliged to be towed down as well as up the stream, the fall alone not being sufficient to carry them on. I was unable to make an estimate of the absolute niveau of the river in that province, having lost my barometer in the general plunder of my effects at Esne; and I believe that no travellers, either earlier or subsequent, have calculated the niveau of the Nile in

Dongola or Senaar, but from the fact of the absence of rapidity in the stream when uninfluenced by the inundation, I am convinced that Humboldt is wrong in his observation at Senaar.*—Vol. i. 379.

Near the village of Gadober, on the other side of the Takazze, an adventure awaited them. The inhabitants lay in ambush for them when they had forded the stream, and showered down fragments of rock upon them like the giants in Morgante Maggiore, inflicting a loss of one mule entirely hors de combat. In retaliation, the party seized upon three shepherd boys who had charge of some cattle and bound them as prisoners; a vigorous proceeding, which had the effect of putting a stop to hostilities for the moment. Inspired doubtless by this success, the Abyssinians of the caravan passed the nights in grotesque dances and rejoicings, believing themselves certain of a happy return to their homes, since the passage of the Takazzé had been happily effected. Upon attempting however to advance the next morning, they were again saluted with immense pieces of rock rolled in from above, and stones were slung down upon them like hail. A discharge of fire-arms, which however caused no bloodshed, scattered the assailants right and left, but they merely retreated to the heights overhanging the road, through which the caravan must pass, and with wild cries and clashing of arms, insisted on the release of the three prisoners. Being unable to advance, and yet unwilling to knock under entirely, the caravan halted in the forenoon for the purpose of deliberating. A council of war never fights; and the issue of this formed no exception to the proverbial result of far more warlike assemblies. It was discovered besides that they were blockaded by the insurgent population, so as to be unable to procure either food for themselves, or provender for the beasts, and under these adverse circumstances, they concluded a convention by which they gave up their three stripling prisoners, and passed an act of indemnity for the slaughter of the mule, on condition of being allowed to journey unmolested through the mountain passes.

The fatigue of ascending the tremendous declivities of the Selki and Buahat mountains, links of the chain which divides the provinces of Simen and Talemt, was immense. The summit of the Buahat is clad in eternal snow, and is one of the highest points in Abyssinia, being 3500 French feet, the Abba-Jaret mountain, next to it, is about 14,000. Dr. Rüppell remarks that no inconvenience was experienced by any of the party from

* Dr. Rüppell's calculations have since been confirmed by those of Herr Bergrath Russegger, printed in the Annual Register of Mineralogy at Stuttgart in 1840, which give 1060 French feet as the altitude of the confluence of the White and Blue Nile at Cardom.

rarefaction of the air in ascending these eminences, and that notwithstanding the state of the atmosphere was such as to influence the reverberation of sound, there was no feeling of compressed respiration nor fluxions of blood to the head or extremities. Even at this height they were not free from the attacks of hyænas, who tore one of the mules to pieces, to the great surprise of the caravan, who had omitted taking the customary precautions against them.

Here the caravan again separated, the greater part going in a westerly direction towards Gondar, whilst Dr. Rüppell, with some others, proceeded in a south-south-westerly direction, towards the province of Ifak, through Simen, where he stayed for some time. This province (Simen) is the highest and most mountainous of Abyssinia, being every where intersected with mountains, formed chiefly of volcanic masses of rock, on none of which however are there any traces of a crater, and from which many streams flow down into the Takazzé. There is a general want of trees, which are only seen in the valleys and round the churches. This rocky district was chiefly inhabited by Jews until the end of the sixteenth century, when they were either exterminated or converted by force; but the annals of the country are silent as to the details of these religious wars, and during the last century and a half all traces of this Israelitish colony have been obliterated by the zeal of the different governors. The Christians of Simen seem to have found it easier to root out Judaism than to preserve Christianity in purity.

"On the 15th July, a Sunday, I visited one of the churches in company with one of my new Abyssinian acquaintances, in order to be present at the service. In Entschetquab itself there are no churches, but there are two about a league off, one to the north and the other southward. Each church consists of two rooms, the interior of which is almost dark, and which are connected by folding doors. They are covered with a cone-shaped straw roof, and surrounded by a group of juniper trees, beneath whose shade the churchyard lies. Some small scattered huts afford lodging to the ministering priests. The whole is enclosed by a low wall. I may remark here apropos of the churchyard, that throughout Abyssinia there is nothing to be found which can be designated as a tombstone or monument.

"Those who wear shoes or sandals, both which are scarce enough in this country, take them off upon entering the churchyard. The people assemble in the front division of the church, after having respectfully kissed the frightful colossal figures of angels painted upon the doors. They sit or kneel promiscuously on the ground. Through the open folding doors we could see the ark in the inner room, and many priests standing round in ragged silk gowns. Each held a burning taper in his hand, and one had besides a bell, and another a censer, which they

swung up and down from time to time, singing or rather howling psalms. Sometimes one read in a loud voice a short sentence from a book lying on the ark, and occasionally the doors between the two rooms were shut, and a priest stepped out into the front room, and presented a crucifix for the congregation to kiss, during which ceremony they were fumigated with incense. After attending for about an hour, during which time the congregation had been frequently renewed by departure and arrivals, I withdrew from this so-called divine service. In none of those present could I perceive the slightest sign of any Christian-like edification. They kept up a continual chattering of prayers with their lips, but to judge from their looks, their thoughts were intent upon any thing else. In returning, we met with some women riding to church upon mules, each accompanied by a considerable retinue of male and female servants on foot. The demeanour of these ladies, who belonged to the upper classes, struck me as being extremely free. Was it in consequence of the long absence of their husbands in their continual wars, or is it the custom in this part of the country?"—Vol. ii. p. 9.

Dr. Rüppell appears in one sense to come under the designation of a simple traveller. The ark mentioned here is a large wooden chair or throne, meant to represent the ark of the covenant of the Israelites, and is found in almost every Abyssinian church. The bread and wine for the communion are consecrated upon it. The name of this chair is Mamven or Tabot, and it is everywhere an object of the greatest veneration.

The following account of slavery in Abyssinia may be found interesting.

"There are few slaves in Simen, for they are not brought to the market here (Entschetquab), but are sent on to be sold at Gondar or Adowa. The slaves exposed for sale in Abyssinia may be divided into four classes. To the first belong those full born Abyssians who have become slaves either by being made prisoners or kidnapped. The second comprises those natives of the northern and north-western provinces, who have been seized in invasions or forays by the Abyssinian chiefs, and pass under the common name of Shangalla-Takazzé. The inhabitants of the southern provinces of Abyssinia, upon the left bank of the Nile, form the third class; they are regularly brought in by the slave dealers, and are called Galla-Barie. The fourth class are the real negroes, brought from the south-eastern countries by Fazuglo and Senaar, and denominated Schangalla. These last only belong to the Nuba or Negro race. Each of these races have distinct characteristic qualities, which determine their relative worth. The Shangalla Negroes, for instance, are laborious, tractable, and faithful; the native Abyssinians are dissolute, deceitful, and wasteful, and the Galla slaves of both sexes are in general warmly and faithfully attached to their master. I must here correct an error into which almost all earlier travellers in Abyssinia have fallen, and which if once admitted into our geographies will not easily be eradicated. It has been said that the extensive flat

country lying north-west of Abyssinia, between the Maleb, the Takazzé, and the Dinder, and which Ritter has described as a marshy tract of forest land, is peopled by a race of Negroes. Bruce has even delivered a minute account of their customs and manners, which Salt has corroborated, although he was never on the spot to observe himself. In spite of these authorities I must affirm that this is an absolute error. I have seen many individuals from these regions in the course of my travels, and made enquiries during my long residence in Kulla, and from my own observation, and the decided assertion of the natives, I am convinced that, east of the Nile, in the province northward of Abyssinia, there are no Negroes whatever, but that the indigenous race is identical with the neighbouring Bischarie, Habab, and Dongalawi, who reside at Schendi and on the Nile, and whom I have elsewhere classed under the name of *Æthiopian*. It is singular that none have noticed the express declaration of Abba Gregorius upon this point, 'Non autem ad utrinque sed ad occidentalem Nili ripam Nubeos habitare dixit Gregorius meus Habessinus.*' In the Appendix to Bruce's Travels, published by Murray at Edinburgh (1813), there is the following notice in the original diary of that traveller.—"There are no Nuba east of the Bahar-el-Aice. I regret that I cannot impart much information concerning the religious and social relations of these Shangalla Takazzé." It is however certain that Bruce's description is inaccurate. The greater part of them are either Christians or Mahometans, and are accordingly declared unbelievers by both parties, and looked upon as a race of men devoted by Providence to slavery, and constant forays are made upon them. They do not, as has also been affirmed, exist solely by hunting and rearing cattle; a great deal of maize is grown in those parts of their country which are favourable to its cultivation. Many ancient ruins are found in different parts of the country they inhabit, which Bruce mentions, and which I often heard of, as did Calliard during his residence in the provinces of the Upper Nile. Slaves in Abyssinia are treated with great mildness, and never severely punished; the utmost severity inflicted consists in fastening chains on their feet. No Abyssinian Christian is legally allowed to carry on this traffic, but they elude the regulation by associating underhand with Mahometans; when they wish to sell their slaves they send them either to Adowa or Massowa."—Vol. ii. p. 26.

After a residence of four months in Simen, Dr. Rüppell pursued his journey to Gondar, which he reached with more facility than he had anticipated from the previous narrations of European travellers. When within about two days' journey of Gondar it was reported that Aito Jasu, a grandson of an emperor just deposed, who had been levying contributions through the country at the head of a numerous retinue of banditti, had left that town with two hundred of his freebooters for the purpose of attacking the small caravan which was approaching, and which was re-

* Ludolf, *Commentarius*.

ported to be extremely rich. The Abyssinians were as usual half paralyzed with fear, and Dr. Rüppell was again obliged to take the lead in suggesting measures for their safety. A heavy shower of rain came on and lasted for several hours, and he advised that they should take advantage of this and set out in the middle of the night, trusting to the superstitious fear which the Abyssinians have of darkness, and to the probability that Aito Jasu, not foreseeing the adoption of such an unusual method of travelling, would be entirely thrown out in his plans. This scheme was successful, and they reached Gondar without having made the undesirable encounter.

Gondar is built upon a volcanic hill, which is connected on the north with other eminences. Its eastern base is bathed by the Angerab, and its western by the Gaha, which both flow from a valley to the northward, unite about half a league south of Gondar, and flow onward in serpentine course to the Zana lake. This city is neither fortified nor hedged in, and consists of groups of houses more or less dense, which are separated by wide spaces covered with ruins and bushes. The number of houses is about 1000, and the population, which Bruce estimated at about 10,000 families, was in 1832 scarcely 7000 souls. These houses are all built of unhewn volcanic stone, cemented with a kind of shiny earth, the roof being conical and covered with straw. The construction of all is similar, and varies only in the greater or lesser height and breadth. The market place is a spacious, irregular plain, on which pieces of rock are lying scattered, and where the inhabitants pass a great part of the day, as is the custom in the plazas in Spain; and every Sunday the country people flock in from the environs to sell their commodities. Gondar labours under one great disadvantage from the want of water. The inhabitants are obliged to draw either from the two streams at the bottom of the hill, or from a spring half way up the eastern declivity, and consequently when invested by an enemy they often suffer dreadfully.

The list of persons to whom Dr. Rüppell was obliged to offer presents upon arriving in the capital, no less than of the presents themselves, is curious. Burckhart has declared that one of the greatest difficulties to an African traveller is to know what and to whom to give—for by ill-judged liberality you merely excite the avidity of all, and by neglecting even one grandee may often feel the effects of his resentment. Dr. Rüppell's presents were as follows:

To Arto Saglu Denghel, the present occupant of the Abyssinian throne, a piece of fine English muslin, with a chaplet of large mother of pearl pearls fabricated at Jerusalem.

To the Estcheghe Gebra Selassé, the head of the Abyssinnia priests, the same.

To Lik Atkum, chief imperial judge, a great advocate and favourer of Europeans, a piece of fine blue cloth for a cloak, and several articles of fine cut glass ware.

To the two Mahometans, who farm the customs of Gondar, Najade Ras Zadig and Mehemet, to each a piece of common scarlet cloth, and a white Indian shawl for the head.

To Oeleda Tackelit, daughter of the deceased Djeaz Marn, and mother of the Djeaz Cousse, who commands the whole district between Gondar, Matsha, and the Zana lake, a piece of the finest scarlet cloth, sufficient for a large mantle.

The author had an interview with the emperor, which presents nothing remarkable, and shortly afterwards the following instance of the state of the municipal system in the capital served to show that the power of the intendant of the Abyssinian police is not a whit superior to the political insignificance of the emperor.

“ I had sent one of my servants on a market day to buy some good fodder for the mules, to set them up after the fatigues of this trying journey. The man went out of the town to meet some country people who were coming to market, with whom he concluded the purchase, and on his return was assailed by a number of disbanded soldiers, who not only took the grass from him, but, upon his attempting to resist, struck him on the head with their sabres, robbed him of his arms and clothes, and left him bleeding on the ground. A troop of women hastened from the market place to my house with dismal cries, informing me of the accident and urging me to go to save the man. I immediately proceeded well armed and with two of my negroes to the market, where a group of about thirty soldiers were pointed out to me as the robbers. They were very coolly occupied in sharing the plunder. I went up to them at once, presenting my piece at them, and exclaiming that I would shoot every one of them if they did not instantly restore what they had stolen. Hereupon they all ran off, and when I followed them and threatened to fire, a panic seized the entire mass of people who filled the market place, about 2000 in number. In a few minutes there was scarcely one to be seen, except the group of soldiers, which was continually increasing, and whom I and the two negroes were driving before us. The noise of this unequal contest filled the whole town, and Lik Atkum and Getana Mariam, with other friends of mine, came up to rescue me from the supposed danger. I declared that I would not desist from pursuing the soldiers until I had received back what they had taken away, for if I had submitted to such an outrage I knew very well that the license of the soldiery could be kept within no bounds. Finally, in order to allow the traffic of the market to go on, they were induced to give up my property by the walie, or intendant of police, who assured these cowardly soldiers that I was resolved otherwise to fight with them

to the last, and that in that case the superior quality of my fire-arms would certainly cost more than one of them their lives."

Our limit will not admit of following the author in his excursion to the bridge of Deldei and to Axum, but we may present some of his reflections upon the geological formation of the country, the physical qualities of the natives, and the political state of the empire.

"On approaching the coast of Abyssinia from the east, from the sixteenth degree of latitude the course is steered between numerous coral islands of different magnitudes, which are mostly level, and when they have not been raised by the influence of volcanic powers generally shoot up about twelve feet from the surface of the sea. These islands only possess verdure in the winter months, from December to April, which form the rainy season; then the low bushes, almost their only vegetation, are covered with a foliage which soon withers away. Only a few of the larger islands, which are better able to retain the rain-water, are sometimes adorned with a scanty growth of mimosas, but they are useless for the purposes of agriculture, and their appearance is at all times monotonous and dreary. The coast of Abyssinia is in many parts a continuation of these level banks of coral rock, but as the base of the mountains extends very nearly to the edge of the sea, this flat strip of land is nowhere more than half a league in breadth, and in many parts is intersected by the dry beds of torrents running from the mountain-valleys. Along these there is generally a line of well grown trees, otherwise the barrenness of the coast is only relieved by mimosa shrubs and grass, and on the very shore of the sea stands isolated groups of the brilliantly verdant *Avicennia* and the leafless *Tamarisk* shrubs.

"Beyond the flat sea shore, and at a short distance from the coast, rises a chain of mountains of imposing height, which run nearly parallel with it, and rear their heads, at ten leagues inland, about 8000 or 9000 feet above the level of the Arabian Gulf. They consist of slate and gneis-felz rock. On their eastern base many streams of trachyt-lava are visible; isolated volcanic cones shoot up from the flat inundated coast of the Annesley Gulf near Afte and Zula, and the obsidian, observed by Salt at Amphila, is a proof of the prevalence of an earlier volcanic action along the whole coast. To the west of this littoral range of mountains the same formation of slate is prevalent through the whole country, and is especially observed in the deep beds of torrents. This formation is covered by a widely extended horizontal layer of sandstone, which, by the effect of later volcanic agency, is in a remarkable manner cleft in perpendicular fissures and displaced or raised. In many places, for instance, on the two mountains of Aloqua, in the provinces of Ategerat and Shiré, the mass of lava has broken through the mass of sandstone, and raised itself above in isolated cone-pointed eminences; in some parts, as around Axum, connected volcanic ranges of hills have arisen from these suffusions of lava, and in others, finally, a wide extent of this sandstone formation has given way, and formed the flat districts, bounded

on one side by the steep sides of rocks, of Giralda and partly of Temben, the average elevation of which above the level of the sea is about 6000 feet. This general uniformity in the geognostic character of eastern Abyssinia I have only seen interrupted by two other formations. One instance was the formation of the hills at Sanafé, which consisted of chalk and marl, and is again seen at Agometen and Gantuftufé on the road from Adowa to Halai. The second exception is presented by the masses of granite which appear, either as colossal weather-beaten blocks or as unshapen masses, to the south of Amba Sion, and near the village of Magab. I met with these again in Shiré, in almost the same latitude, where they formed the sides of the valley through which the Camelo flows.

“The eastern declivity of the Abyssinian mountain coast is overgrown in all its lower regions by a thin underwood of bushes, and contains in the valleys and ravines, which are traversed by running water, groups of lofty trees, among which the sycamore-figtree is pre-eminent. In the more elevated parts are the thickly planted and colossal chandelier-formed euphorbias, and plants of the aloe tribe. After these is found a growth of thorny shrubs or bushes, throwing out creepers, and on the summits of the mountains are scattered juniper-trees, sometimes ten feet in diameter, and whose branches are covered with long lichens or ivy-shoots.

“The table-lands upon the tops of the mountains sometimes afford tracts which, being regularly fertilized by the summer showers, are available for agriculture. On the other hand, the low grounds to the west have not the regular benefit of a periodical rain, and for this reason the whole extent of country, from the Taranta mountain to the valley of the Takazzé river, is often, on account of the dryness of the air, exposed to failure of the crops. Forests are never met with; the vegetation of these grounds consists chiefly in bulbous plants, which spring up from the arid sandstone soil. On the banks of several waterless beds of streams are seen *Adansonia*s of ordinary size, and here and there are gigantic sycamore-figtrees.

“The valley through which the Takazzé flows in foaming cascades is hollowed out in a formation of slate, and the sides are very steep; as it lies only 3000 feet above the level of the sea, it enjoys a very warm temperature as compared with the rest of Abyssinia. The banks of this narrow and utterly uninhabited valley by human beings are covered with tall trees; these were, however, destitute of both leaf and blossom when I saw them, and have caused me to retain but a very mournful idea of this country.

“To the west of the Takazzé rise the imposing mountains of Simen, the summits of many of which are always overlaid with snow. They are of volcanic nature, but along their base, which is bathed by the Takazzé, is the same formation as on the eastern bank of this stream, viz. slate deeply deposited, and covered with horizontal sandstone and cones of volcanic lava, which have broken through it. On these mountains nothing but thickets of shrubs are found, to the height of 8000 feet, which draw a penurious nourishment from the rocks. Grass is wholly wanting,

and agriculture can fertilize but few spots. This is the character of the provinces of Salent and Adarga.

"The action of Abyssinian volcanos, as recorded in their historical annals, is confined to tolerably frequent earthquakes and the formation of warm springs, of which there are a great number in the provinces of Begemder and Quara. The truth of the fall of ashes, which is also asserted in their chronicles, must be determined by future investigation. The chroniclers themselves, however, state that this is an unexampled event in Abyssinia.

"The mountains of Abyssinia contain, I am persuaded, no metallic productions nor minerals of any kind which can be said to deserve attention. The fact that fragments of solid gold are sometimes washed down by the rain from the mountains of Gedam near Massowa proves little; this happens in other countries in which the hills are of the same formation, without inducing men to enter upon the experiment of working for gold mines. As a single exception to this must be mentioned the production, so important to the country, of mineral salt, which is quarried out of the flat surface of an elevated plain east of the province of Agamé."—vol. ii. p. 313.

The following observations on the natives will be read with interest.

"The majority of the population are a finely formed race of men, whose physiognomy is identical with that of the Bedouin Arabs. Their exterior characteristics are chiefly an oval face, a thin pointed nose, well proportioned mouth, with regular and not projecting lips, animated eyes, well set teeth, hair either smooth or slightly curled, and frames of ordinary strength and size. The greater part of the inhabitants of the high mountains of Simen and of the plains around the Zana lake, as well as the Felasha or Jews, the heathen Gamant and the Agows, belong to this family, although they have not the same dialect. A second and numerous division of the Abyssinian race is identical from their features with those whom I have distinguished as *Æthiopians*, and are marked by noses less pointed and somewhat curved up, thick lips, lengthened and not particularly animated eyes, and by hair thick, curly and almost woolly. A part of the inhabitants of the coast, of Hamagen and the other districts along the northern boundary of Abyssinia, are of this *Æthiopian* origin. The third type, which is also frequently met with, I shall call that of the Galla tribes; it is embodied in the Schohos. The head of a Lasta soldier, in one of Mr. Salt's illustrations, may be taken as the type of the Galla physiognomy, and the features of this race are common among the people of Tigré and the soldiery of most of the other districts. Negro visages are only remarked in the Shangalla slaves brought in from the west and their offspring, and with the exception of these, who are entirely black, the general colour of the Abyssinians, of whatever race, differs extremely, varying from a light brownish yellow to the darkest tinge."

The following fearful picture of the degraded religious state of

the country we need only publish to ensure some exertion to remedy it.

“The natives of Abyssinia seem to have attained a very low degree of civilization in the ages anterior to the Christian era. They appear to have had no intercourse with the civilized tribes which dwelt in Æthiopia along the Nile, and founded the kingdom of Meroe; but the colonies of Syrians which Alexander the Great, according to the testimony of Philostorgus, planted on the coasts of Abyssinia, probably developed in them, with the Jewish religion, the first germs of cultivation. (I must entirely dissent from the opinion of the Rev. Michael Russell in his work upon Nubia and Abyssinia. ‘That the land of the Pharaohs was indebted to Æthiopia (Abyssinia) for the rudiments and perhaps even for the finished patterns of architectural skill, is no longer questioned by any writer whose studies have qualified him to form a judgment.’) From these Jewish emigrants, who were undoubtedly far superior to the indigenous occupants of the country in intellectual acquirements, and who introduced their own religion among them, is derived the singular tradition, considered throughout Abyssinia as an irrefragable truth, that Menilek, a pretended son of the Israelitish king Solomon and a queen of Saba (Sheba), came into Abyssinia in the eleventh century before Christ, and that from him are descended the imperial families who have occupied the throne down to the latest periods.

“The religious ideas of the ancient inhabitants are wholly unknown. That the intercourse with the Greeks who settled on the coast of Abyssinia during the reign of the Ptolemies, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting elephants, introduced a pantheism into the Axumitish kingdom, and displaced the Mosaic religion, probably already corrupted, is by no means incontrovertibly proved by the contents of the Greek inscriptions at Axum to which Salt has drawn attention. For the name of ‘the invincible Areos’ which occurs in the description might also refer to Jehovah, and whilst marking one of his qualities, according to the intention of the compiler of these words, have been arbitrarily rendered by the Greek translator by the divine name of Areos. In any case it stands as a remarkable fact, that no trace of the Egyptian religious mythism is visible throughout Abyssinia, although this last was diffused through the whole kingdom of Meroe. For since not one imitation of the Egyptian idols has been discovered in Abyssinia, it is very probable that the small stone with hieroglyphic characters of which Bruce has given a representation, and which he received from the Emperor Tequela Haimanot and states to have been found in Axum, has been conveyed from Egypt through some casual circumstance. Stones of exactly similar form and sculpture are frequently discovered in the ruins of Egypt.

“None of the relics of antiquity found in Abyssinia afford direct proof of monuments having ever been erected there to pantheism. Thus the ornamentally carved obelisks of Axum were unquestionably erected at a period when Christianity had already penetrated into the country, for this is apparent from the excavations worked for the fastening the Greek cross under the arch of the upper end. The number of the Abyssinians who professed neither of the three dominant religions, the Christian, the

Jewish and the Mahometan, was insignificant, and limited to the Waitos dwelling on the Zana lake, and to a part of the Agows in western Abyssinia, whose religious rites I am unacquainted with. I have already described the adoration of a water-spring which I saw in Haremat. Pearce mentions besides a kind of divine reverence paid to snakes, as observed by him in the province of Endesta, and Bruce says that the Agows reared tame snakes in their huts from idolatrous motives. But what Bruce affirms of the sacrifices which the Agows offer to the star Syrius, at the source of the Nile, for the space of ten days, and of an altar constructed with great art in the middle of the nascent stream, is calculated to excite astonishment, as there is no apparent reason why the Abyssinians should distinguish this river by any religious celebrations, since it confers no especial benefit either upon those who dwell near its source or on its banks in the country it flows through, and many other river sources exist in the same country unhonoured by any similar rites. Why should the Shum, standing at the source of the Nile, slaughter a victim to the stream with the exclamation, "Most powerful God, Saviour of the world," when he knows nothing whatever of the fertility caused by its waters to distant lands, with the names even of which he is scarcely acquainted? If any adoration of this kind is practised at the source of the Nile, it must have had reference rather to the enormous caverns which Bruce described as existing in the vicinity, and in which he was nearly lost.

"The kingdom of Axum seems to have been the only part of Abyssinia in which, in ancient times, and probably as a consequence of the introduction of Christianity, any degree of civilization prevailed. This attained its highest point from the fourth to the seventh century, and we have every reason for believing that within this period those structures arose of which Salt saw the remains at Abba Asfé, and Pearce at Quened. In succeeding ages, the Abyssinians wasted their strength in furious religious contests; in the tenth century, the Jewish sectarians obtained dominion of the country from this cause, and in the early part of the sixteenth, the imminent danger of conquest by the Mahometans was only averted by calling in the Portuguese. An obstinate struggle then ensued between the different Christian sects, fomented by the efforts of the Roman Catholic priests to obtain unlimited supremacy, and which ended in the expulsion of all Catholic ecclesiastics, and restoration of the Coptic ritual. The helpless decay into which the empire fell two-hundred years after, had this deplorable consequence to Christianity that a total indifference to any dogmas of faith sprung up. This ruined the hope in the Romish Church of at last effecting the long wished-for suppression of Arianism. Moral cultivation of the people seems not to be in the least the object of her endeavours, which only aim now, as three centuries before, at the introduction of certain outward ceremonies and the establishing belief in her tenets. How little ground therefore is there for hope that the gross ignorance and immorality in which the whole population of Abyssinia is sunk will be eradicated!

"From my own experience, the followers of the Mahometan faith rank far higher in morality than the Christians of either the Arian or

any other sect, and their religion is gaining ground in Abyssinia. Should any new contest arise between the Roman Church and the ignorant Abyssinian clergy, the result might easily turn to the advantage of Mahometanism. In the present degraded state of the ministers of religion in that country, controversy would work little good, and indeed could only be maintained by procuring a Koptic patriarch from Cairo, which is chimerical. I must acknowledge that from the lawless anarchy to which the land is at present a prey, there is not the slightest ray of hope of any moral regeneration, and that the total absence of any powerful government is the chief obstacle, and the more difficult to be removed as not one single fraction of the nation think of bringing about its establishment. The last shadow of a common political sovereignty disappeared with the deposition of the Emperor Saglu Denghel. The history of the last sixty years shows a complete political dissolution in the country, and turns solely upon the chiefs, who, having risen to independent power in the different provinces, have taken off their rivals either by treachery or violence, and then fallen in turn by the perfidy of their allies. Continual civil wars are raging, the only object of which is to attack suddenly an antagonist lulled to security by promises and oaths, and to plunder the inhabitants of any district who have managed to collect a trifling property. The necessary consequence is the universal arming of all classes; landed property is valueless, agriculture more and more neglected, herds of cattle daily becoming scarcer, commerce often wholly interrupted, so that the price of native productions differ enormously in contiguous provinces, the circulation of specie is almost stopped, and I believe that the whole amount of gold and silver in Abyssinia would scarcely produce more than 100,000 crowns."—Vol. ii. p. 326.

With these extracts we conclude our notice of this excellent work. It has been said that Germans do not know how to write, and this is true of the style of many of their even celebrated authors. Generally speaking they are not skilful in using their rich and powerful mother-tongue, and one growing defect of their writers is the engrafting foreign words into a language which, of all European dialects, least requires such recruiting, and these besides are often so awkwardly naturalized, so disguised and cumbered with augments and final syllables, that the German can neither understand the strange word, nor the foreigner recognize his own. Dr. Rüppell's style, although not entirely free from unnecessary exotics, is generally pure and national, a circumstance the more gratifying as it is chiefly by the example of their good writers that this disease may be arrested before its contagion be further extended.

ART. V.—*La Donna Saggia ed Amabile. Libri Tre di Anna Pepoli, Vedova Sampieri. Capolago, Tipografia Elveica. 1838.*

IF it were always permitted to draw an obvious inference from the most irrefutable precedents, without incurring the sneers of scepticism, we might almost venture to affirm that the days of man upon earth are drawing to a close, and that the long-dreaded millenium is at hand.

Yet a few more efforts of mechanical ingenuity and the plough will ride unguided over the field like a railway train, steamers will glide like ducks over the waters without noise or smoke, and balloons will be curbed and bridled like Ariosto's hippogriffs.

Already the influence of climate has been utterly neutralized. Our coal has been made to answer all the purposes of an Italian sun. It has all its warmth, its light, its life. England has become the metropolis of the vegetable kingdom, and the horticultural gardens at Chiswick are the flora of both continents. A shop in Regent Street has been turned into nature's own workshop, exhibiting within its genial temperature all the mysteries of an artificial maternity. Mr. Espy of Philadelphia has thrown his spell over the storms and offers to sell rain by the bucket to the highest bidder. In short, it will go hard with us if, ere we are many years older, we do not see the isthmuses of Suez and Panama cut through, a rail-road tunnel driven through the bowels of the Alps, and a suspension-bridge launched across the Atlantic.

Then will there be rest for man and beast. Then will men grow weary of watching with folded arms the progress of their self-acting tailoring apparatus, and, impatient of a state of inactivity inconsistent with their nature, they will, like Alexander, complain that their fathers left nothing for them to do, and look out for another world, the earth being much too narrow for them.

Nor do we hesitate to affirm that the moral improvement of the human race has kept pace with physical discovery. The teetotallers strive boldly to undo the work of Noah. Wilberforce has raised the patriarch's curse from the heads of the devoted children of Canaan; the peace-societies hope to rivet the sword of war to its scabbard and to turn all the nations of the earth into a vast Quaker community. Reason and justice are soon to obtain an undisputed ascendancy over force. The Russians will be made to feel the propriety of withdrawing from Poland, the Austrians will suffer themselves to be talked out of Italy. The French are raising a Chinese wall round Paris, to save them the trouble of fighting for their country. All ancient grievances will be amicably

settled. All nations will vie with each other in forgetting old grudges, and redressing time-sanctioned injustices. But the most natural as well as the most glorious result of this voluntary abnegation of the right of the strongest will be the cessation of an abuse of power as ancient as Eden, a revolution to be operated by the suppression of a single word in the marriage ceremony, the rehabilitation of a much-injured being into its natural rights—the emancipation of woman.

Already the champions of the trampled sex, the Chapmans and Martineaus, have unfolded the standard of independence. Having at first traired themselves to public controversy in the cause of abolitionism, they soon learnt to stand up, like Cicero, *pro domo sua*, in vindication of their inalienable right of sitting in senates and parliaments and being elbowed and squeezed on the hustings. Another more formidable combatant, the fair authoress of “Woman and her Master,” after searching in the treasures of the past with unwearied diligence, has fully demonstrated that woman in all ages and countries (not excepting even such characters as Aspasia and Messalina) has been and is a middle creature between a lamb and an angel, perverted, fettered and tortured by another selfish being, half-demon, half-brute. She has raised Medea’s war-cry :

πάντων δ' ὅσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει,
 γυναῖκες ἐσμὲν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν.

With all our heart do we congratulate these lovely emancipators on the favourable prospect that everything is taking before them, and wish them a speedy success in an enterprise which, as it would most powerfully contribute to bring about that new order of things, that golden age of peace and justice which has been hitherto considered incompatible with the frailty of human nature, would be the most infallible sign of the forth-coming close of time.

Female writers in England, France and America are pretty nearly a match for their male opponents, and if the sword is to be definitely laid aside and the field open for a fair and impartial discussion, we have no doubt but women will in the end talk men out of countenance. But to whatever extent these ladies may carry their female radicalism, they will easily perceive that their social reforms will not be immediately applicable to all countries alike; and as we hear every day of nations being unripe for the blessing of liberal institutions, as we see statesmen insisting on the necessity of fitting a people for better destinies by the gradual influence of civilization and culture, so it will be likewise understood that the fair sex cannot be everywhere equally ready for an

immediate enfranchisement, and that, for instance, the Georgian slave of an eastern harem could not be as easily trained to take her share in the weighty deliberations of the sublime Porte, as a Yankee girl might be called to sit among the members of Congress.

These reflections were awakened in our mind at the sight of the work of which the title stands at the head of the present article, and we were curious to ascertain what notions concerning woman's mission might be entertained by a lady born and bred up in a country in which the persons of her sex are kept in something like a middle station between oriental seclusion and—what would strike every other traveller but Miss Martineau as—the total independence of American women.

We like to look over a book written by a lady. There is, we believe, an immense tract of unknown world in the female heart; there exists between these two sexes, created so essentially to belong to and to be necessary to each other, to share all hopes and fears, all cares and enjoyments of life, a barrier of conventional dignity and propriety, of sexual etiquette, which almost every lover and husband flatters himself with removing, but which perhaps no living man ever succeeded in so doing, and which we do not know but it were perhaps unadvisable that every one should attempt to remove.

Yet it is but too natural that we should all stand on tiptoe to catch a glimpse of this *terra incognita*, and we would willingly renounce all the pleasure derivable from one of Captain Parry's voyages to the North Pole, or from an American South Sea expedition, to be enabled to overhear, without indelicacy, a conversation between two fair "bosom friends" in some trying and unguarded moment, or to possess the key to that magic telegraph of nods and winks and smiles by which two female spirits commune with each other before company, to the utter mystification of the duller sex.

Next to this would be the other no less unhallowed gratification of intercepting one of those four-page, small-hand, close-written, cross-lined feminine epistles, to the uninitiated conveying scarcely any meaning at all, but where, in every turning in every letter, the corresponding parties are enabled to decipher so much "more than meets the eye."

Next to this, again, is the pleasure of perusing the works of a female author; for although the fair writer, knowing that her page is to stand the full glare of broad daylight, may be constantly on her guard lest she should by any involuntary indiscretion jeopardize the secret interests of the community, yet some unlucky expression, some half-word may, in the heat of inspiration,

happen to drop from her pen, which will shoot like wild-fire across the benighted understanding of a man who *can* read, and do more than an age of learning towards his initiation into the mysteries of female freemasonry.

Of these voluntary confessions and involuntary revelations, thanks to heaven, in our own country, we have enough; and the new novels and essays by ladies, misses and mistresses, issuing every year from the English press, bid fair to leave scarcely one fold of the female heart unexplored, scarcely one blush of the maiden's cheek unaccounted for.

But if this be the case in Old and New England as well as in France and Germany, the same can hardly be said of the Italian peninsula, where, with the exception of a very few Petrarchesque poetesses, and a still fewer moral or ascetic writers, man seems still almost completely to monopolize the trade of book-making.

For this apparent sterility of the female mind in the land of Vittoria Colonna and Olympia Morata, it would not perhaps be difficult to adduce many important reasons. But the most insurmountable obstacle against female authorship lies in the deep-rooted antipathy, or, if we must call it so, prejudice of the people of that country against any attempt on the part of a woman to call upon herself the gaze of the multitude or court notoriety.

The Italians, a highly sensitive and cultivated nation, are as far from grudging the tender and timid creatures whom they associate with their destinies through life, the advantages of a liberal education, as any other people can well be; but a fond notion—may be a mistaken one—prevails among them that all a lady's accomplishments and acquirements should be exclusively consecrated to enliven that little domestic circle which she is called to bless with her presence. Hence an authoress, no less than an actress or an *improvisatrice*, is for them an anomaly, an exceptional being who has cast aside all the delicacy, grace and modesty which constitute the peculiar charm of her sex, and thereby forsworn its inalienable privileges and rendered herself liable to the disrespect of the other.

Female authorship in Italy is looked upon as a kind of moral hermaphroditism; nor would the high station and still higher character, the noble and irreprehensible life of the lady whose name graces this page, have secured her against the sneering comments of her jealous countrymen, had she not made choice of that only subject which exclusively belonged to one of her sex—the illustration of the domestic and social virtues which ought to characterize “a wise and amiable woman,” and the degree of moral and intellectual distinction to which it is not only lawful but even desirable that she should aspire.

Anna, Countess Pepoli, and widow of the Marquis Sampieri—for her titles, according to the Italian custom, are carefully omitted in the title-page,—belongs by birth to one of the most ancient and illustrious historical families of Bologna. Her brother, Count Carlo Pepoli, already well known to the republic of letters as the author of the melodrama “*I Puritani*” and other poems, is an exile from his native country and belongs to ours for various reasons, because he fills the chair of Professor of Italian Literature in London University College, and because he evinced his preference in favour of our ladies by choosing a bride among the daughters of Albion.

The Countess Anna has been a wife and a mother, and it was only after having performed her uxorial and maternal duties in a manner that won her the admiration and esteem of all who knew her, after having trusted to another the happiness of the only daughter, whom she had brought up with all the solicitude of love, that she endeavoured to draw up a theory of those countless and nameless cares by which woman can make a heaven of a husband’s home, and indemnify the world for the unavoidable, however remote, contingency of her loss, by leaving behind her what has been not unaptly called “a second edition of self.”

But besides her desire of communicating to her countrywomen all that her own experience had taught her respecting the duties of woman as a house-keeper or (*reggitrice*) as an instructress (*educatrice*) and as a social being (*donna conversevole*), the Countess harboured in her bosom a higher object, common in Italy to every person who thinks or feels no less than to all who write, that of vindicating the women of Italy “from the unjust judgment” and “false accusations” brought against them by partial or prejudiced foreigners; the rehabilitation of the national character being the aim of the most anxious endeavours of every generous soul that lives between the Alps and the sea.

Certainly this plea in favour of the national character is neither uncalled for nor inopportune; for the Italians write comparatively little, and that little must undergo the ordeal of a most odious censorship, which scruples not to proscribe even the most harmless book, under no other pretext than that it bears the obnoxious name of Italy and Italians; so that even the work that we have undertaken to examine, holy and pure as its subject may appear to us, and meek, gentle and moderate the spirit in which it has been dictated, could, however, only be printed at Capolago, in Switzerland, and on its first appearance in the papal states was put to the Index, seized upon and subjected its authoress to endless petty annoyances and vexations on the part of his holiness’s government.

That the character of the Italians has been wilfully misrepresented by ignorant travellers, who have hurried through the country under the influence of illiberal prepossessions, is a fact sufficiently demonstrated by the more mature and rational reports of other visitors, who had leisure to ground their estimate on a closer observation and a more intimate acquaintance. We do not believe that those writers have any wish or interest to be unjust to other nations, but the poor honest Milanese, or light-hearted Florentine who happens to read a smuggled French or English newspaper, or a stray volume of a novel where it is unblushingly stated that "Italian life is a mass of rottenness and corruption," that "every man is there a swindler, every woman a wanton," (we quote at chance from a leading article in the "Britannia" newspaper) must be sympathized with, if taking such compliments literally and supposing such uncharitable animadversions to be implicitly relied upon abroad, he feels sore and bitter on the subject, and considers himself bound to seize every opportunity to stand forth as his country's sworn champion and advocate.

We shall be always willing to open in these pages a list where such national contests may be fought on equal ground; and our duties to the sex no less than our sense of right are equally engaged to allow the Countess Pepoli to plead in favour of a class of women, of whom her virtues no less than her rank have made her one of the brightest ornaments, and upon whose morals her book is likely to exercise the most pious and salutary influence.

We need scarcely repeat here the well-known maxim that woman is invariably such as man wishes her to be: that the female mind and heart are moulded according to the ideas prevailing in the society in which she is brought up, and that, by a natural reaction, she exercises an equal ascendancy over society itself, that as she is physically a daughter and a mother, so is she by turns also a pupil and a mistress; so that her sex may always be taken as a fair representative of the moral standard reached by the human family in all ages and countries.

In proportion, therefore, as our authoress succeeds in demonstrating how far her country-women have attained a high degree of feminine excellence, so shall we feel inclined to judge more or less favourably of the morals of the nation at large; and every proof she may be able to bring forward in support of her subject will have the force of a hundred arguments in refutation of the charges brought against the Italian name.

Meanwhile, since men are willing in our days to lay so great a stress on the philosophy of language, we deem it worth our while to study the sex in a country, whose tongue has no such word as *woman*, the only analogous appellation being "*Donna*" a cor-

ruption of the latin *Domina* or *Domna* (lady) which is still equally applicable to a female of the lowest order, to the proudest matrons in the land, and even to the worshipped "Queen of the Angels."

The work of our authoress seems from its very beginning calculated to overthrow our long cherished ideas of Italian female education. No mention of convents is made. That strict rule of monastic seclusion to which every young lady of high rank was almost universally supposed to be condemned in Catholic countries, there to be walled up in a narrow cell, only to pass from the silence and solitude of the cloisters, to the glare and bustle of the wide world, affianced to a husband, whose very portrait she had never seen, we know that many of our readers will be astonished and scandalized to hear it—is neither better nor worse than one of the thousand and one absurd fables by which Italian life is rather romantically than veritably represented.

Countess Pepoli does not inquire into the good or evil effects of monastic education. She does not advocate or inveigh against the system. She seems not even to suspect, to dream of its existence; belonging by birth to and moving all her life among the highest circles, she knows very well that neither herself nor her daughter, nor any of her friends, at least since the days of Napoleon, ever set their foot within the precincts of a nunnery, except only those few unfortunate or perhaps deluded ones, who, either through disappointment, or dread of the world, or misunderstood devotion, are still occasionally induced to leave all their worldly hopes and anxieties with their shorn hair on its threshold.

The convent in our days—hear it, ye gallant and compassionate champions, whose chivalrous feelings are so deeply affected as you roam around the enclosure of an Ursuline monastery, and whose imagination loves to conjure up images of loveliness as crowding those harems of the Brides of Christ,—the convent has become the refuge of shrivelled old women, and of those ill-favoured creatures who are wedded to heaven in sheer despair of earthly nuptials. Those confirmed old spinsters, whom the provident English match-maker ships off by the score to India, and the American packs off to the marts of the far west, the Italian parent dooms or persuades to cloistral solitude, and this is perhaps, the only earthly advantage of an institution, which the mighty will of Napoleon had successfully uprooted, and which nothing but the narrow-minded policy of after governments would have deemed it expedient to restore.

But if the system of conventual education may be considered as utterly exploded, it can not be denied that her mother's home

has not unfrequently for an Italian young lady all the sameness and loneliness of monastic seclusion.

Female delicacy in Italy is looked upon as a pure crystal which the faintest breath of the world may contaminate. It is a sweet, tender flower equally dreading the scorching meridian ray and the blast of the northern gale. The Italians believe in a virginity of the soul, without which personal chastity has hardly any value in their eyes. To secure this moral innocence, and here perhaps is their main error, they know no better means than an almost entire abstraction from, and ignorance of, the world. The independence of a Yankee girl—we make use of that obnoxious denomination, not through disrespect for the “smartest nation in creation,” but better to designate the people of New England, that part of the United States where American manners are most characteristically developed,—begins with the earliest stage of boarding-school life. Early in the morning she walks out alone sometimes for a distance of miles to her academy; who her tutors and companions, what her studies, what books she reads, what friendships or habits she contracts, her parents scarcely ever care to inquire; or if asked, scarcely ever does she condescend to reply. In proportion as she grows, more complete and absolute does she acquire the mastery over her own actions. She chooses her dancing and music masters, her congregation, her minister. She subscribes to cotillion parties, shines off at a fancy fair or at a flower auction. She walks home late at night from a rout with her favorite partner, and takes a long tour by moonlight to enjoy the coolness and sentimentalism of the night air. She introduces her male friends to her mother, and sends out her invitations to tea without consulting the “old lady;” finally, she informs her parents that her lover has “popped the question,” unless indeed she prefers the *éclât* and excitement of a runaway match. And yet this unbounded latitude is scarcely ever attended with mischievous results. Thanks perhaps to natural coldness of temperament, or to the early marriages which in those wide-spreading colonies are and will long continue to be the order of the day, the American young lady very early acquires the *calculating* habits of the country. She is her own *duenna* and *chaperon*. Her fancy and heart are always under the control of reason. She learns to value her admirers according to their *worth*. You never hear of a *faux-pas*, or if you do, you may be sure that all worldly advantages have been duly weighed, and that even that apparent imprudence is the result of the most consummate policy. Before she leaves school, a Yankee girl—God bless her!—has a thorough knowledge of the world. She is up to every trick, secure against all dangers of amorous seduction. Else, what were the good of

the million of novels she reads? Her look is proud and daring; her step firm and secure. With her, as with the Spartan virgin,

“E’ la vergogna inutile
Dov’ è la colpa ignota.”

Modesty she would look upon as a want of sincerity and frankness; delicacy as a lack of spirit and independence. With the exception of a few luckless words, which her nice notions of decency have proscribed from the English dictionary—for a list of them vide Sam Slick—there is scarcely a subject of conversation which she would dream of rebuking or discountenancing.

In presence of her betrothed or her husband she launches forth in the most transcendent expressions of admiration for another. Her hand and person are the exclusive possession of one man, but she is perfectly free to fancy whom she pleases *ad outrance*. She is a coquette upon principle, and she delights in wanton but unmeaning flirtations, merely to test the endurance of the man of her choice, and assert, to its full extent, her own independence.

Having still a queen at the head of our nation, as well as a national church and aristocracy, we cannot boast of going the whole length of American freedom. Our English girls are made sometimes to remember that they *have* a mother. If not absolutely under the sway, they are still at least under the guidance of their natural guardians. They have got eyes, and are permitted to make use of them; a taste, and they are free to exercise it; a heart, and we let them believe that it is theirs to bestow. Truly this liberty exists rather in words than facts. The tether is long and loose, but we never let it entirely slip from our hands; our daughters have the motion of their marriage bill, but we reserve the enactment for ourselves. We do not control their inclinations, but reason them out of them. We do not crush their feelings, but tamper with them. We do not thwart their love, but awaken their ambition. We do not present them the alternative between an old husband and a convent—God forbid! we only bid them choose between a young gallant and a coronet. They are not dragged like victims to the altar, oh no! they are driven to church in glittering carriages, decked out with jewels and garlanded with flowers.

An Italian mother—we speak of the ladies of the old school, since Countess Pepoli seems to entertain more liberal ideas—can be contented with nothing short of making herself the gaoler of her daughter. The poor girl must grow up in her parent’s bower like a sweet rose-bud hidden beneath a bush of thorns, like a gem buried in the depths of the ocean. She is never lost

sight of for a moment ; never opens a book, never converses with any living being without her guardian's knowledge and consent. Are visitors announced ? she is bidden to withdraw. Is mamma going to the opera ? she is ordered to bed. The slightest outburst of passion or enthusiasm is visited with a frown. Every thing is studied to guard her against sudden impressions. Her friends are in a constant dread of her southern susceptibility. Her heart is a little half-smothered volcano, which causes them endless anxiety. All her mother is able to teach, the girl must learn from her. If other instructors are required, females are preferred to male teachers, old to young. In all cases the mother is in constant attendance. All this not only lest the silly inexperienced young creature should set off one fair morning with her dancing-master, bound upon what is called in this country "a walk to Kensington Gardens ;" but in order to prevent even the possibility of ever conceiving a passing desire of so doing.

The greatest pride of a matron's heart consists in offering her daughter to her chosen lord as perfectly new to all tender sensations as the babe unborn. By such a cautious and watchful system of domestic policy the mother flatters herself to have provided for her daughter's felicity. The intended husband is almost the first man with whom she is brought into close intimacy. Her little heart is a blank, upon which every image can be with equal facility engraved. She has no dangerous comparison before her eyes. Her affections, her ideas, her very curiosity have been hitherto concentrated upon the very few persons constituting her domestic circle. Her feelings have gained in intensity what they have lost in extent and variety. Her husband is almost materially sure to obtain her first love, and it entirely depends upon his own conduct to secure her last.

We would not confidently bring forward this as the most perfect system of feminine education ; its faults and imperfections are obvious enough, nor indeed do we believe that it is always followed to the letter even in Italy. Still the leading idea of every instructress in that country seems to consist in guarding a youthful mind from pollution, by removing it as far as practicable from the tainted atmosphere of society.

It is not difficult to perceive that such is the main object even of Countess Pepoli's directions to her "Educatrice." That part of her work which relates to educational purposes seems to us by far the most interesting and commendable. We have seen nowhere a more perfect exhibition of the beau-ideal of a mother instructress. Never was a theory of sound and practical moral education more discerningly and satisfactorily traced out. True to the national feeling, she does indeed recommend a constant

solicitous vigilance of the mother over every step, every thought of her child. She evinces the same anxious apprehensions of the natural combustibility of Italian young blood, and is equally liberal of her warnings against the chances of its sudden ignition:—but her guardianship is one purely of confidence and love. The mother's security is to be grounded entirely on an unceasing interchange of social sympathy. She is to leave nothing unattempted to win her daughter's friendship and devotion. Mother and child must be necessary to each other, indivisible in their graver as well as in their lighter pursuits. The girl must feel that she is never left to herself, not because she is by any means mistrusted, but only because her mother loves her too well to be able to spare her company. She is not bidden to stifle every sentiment in her heart, but she is taught to let her mother into its inmost core. She is not rigidly kept aloof from society—though too great a familiarity with the world is considered as equally baneful to the purity of her mind and injurious to the spotlessness of her character,—but she is to feel the propriety, the reasonableness, the blessing of never appearing in public without her tutelar angel. She is in fact to be a prisoner, but utterly unconscious of confinement, unable to look beyond the golden bars of her dungeon without an indefinable awe and misgiving, and incapable of dreaming of her emancipation consistently with her security and happiness. In the like manner we have seen well-trained canary birds stopping on the unclosed door of their cage, as if afraid of the dreariness of the open air and loth to quit the comforts of their love-nurtured captivity.

Thus we think it would prove rather amusing to British readers, to see with what warmth and earnestness our fair authoress admonishes every loving mother to keep a sharp look out and trust no person—“*e sia oculata e diffidi di tutti; di tutti*”—adding, however, that she must so contrive that her mistrust and suspicion be never perceived; with what rigidity she proscribes novels and all other writings calculated to pervert a young mind by amorous extravagances—“*non concedere alla figliuola la lettura d' ogni romanzo o d' altri libri che pervertono l'immaginazione con amorosi vaneggiamenti*”—alluding especially to “those pestiferous works of fiction, which late in the eighteenth and during the present century are sent by hundreds from ‘*oltremoniti ed oltremare*’ to pervert Italian manners, already so deplorably corrupted;” exception being made only in favour of those “stupendous creations” of Walter Scott and a few others in that style, which the countess expressly and strenuously advocates. These cares and solitudes redouble when “the girl has reached that age in which duty and expediency equally demand that she should be

produced into society." Then, indeed, must the mother beware of every living being, "not excepting even her best friends, especially female friends;" she must, we are taught, "keep close to her daughter," and at every rout or ball be sure that her eye constantly watches all her movements, "nothing being more shocking than to see a girl dancing or waltzing in one room, whilst the mother sits down at her rubber in another."

Such are the ideas of a lady who, on every other subject, appears to be so very far from harbouring bigoted scruples or illiberal prejudices, but who, on this delicate point, can but write under the influence of that southern delicacy and susceptibility, not to say jealousy and suspiciousness, which seems to crowd the social world with myriads of phantoms and monsters, from which a tender, unsophisticated mind, even if it escape without serious hurt, may perhaps not come off without some of those slight scratches and bruises, which,—as an Italian woman is understood to love only once, and that for life—may be left to smart and bleed for an incalculable length of time. In short, a girl in her teens is not in that country thought to be possessed of sufficient discernment to guard her against the suddenness and impetuosity of her own inclinations, and as these may fatally be found at variance with the views that her best friends entertain as to her worldly preferment, her mother's arms are to be thrown around her, so as to shield her against all untoward impressions, which, by rousing unjustifiable desires and expectations, may lead to nothing but disenchantment and misery.

A strong *sense of duty* in England, and a *calculating spirit* in America, may no doubt induce our young ladies to acquiesce in their parents' disposition as efficiently as the most rigid and watchful chaperonship; but whilst we limit ourselves to provide our daughters with fit weapons to spurn and overcome seduction, the more wary Italians secure them even against the dangers of temptation, and spare them the pangs of a struggle.

One only exception occurs in this universal monopoly which a mother is expected to exercise over all her daughter's thoughts and feelings, and that one is made in favour of her spiritual adviser. From every line in her book, from the candor and purity which transpires in every thought it contains, it very evidently results that the Countess Pepoli is deeply penetrated with a sentiment of true piety. But were it even otherwise, we feel assured that she could not in Italy safely venture to declare against either any of the tenets or the forms of worship of the Established Church. Religion is there considered as one of the best outward signs of feminine gentleness. The most daring sceptic, the most obdurate unbeliever of an Italian university, could not look without

disgust and abhorrence on a female freethinker; nor, we are sure, could either Countess Pepoli or any of her countrywomen believe in the existence of such a one of their sex, as we have all seen travelling from town to town in America, followed by wondering crowds, as a professed apostle of infidelity.

Hence an Italian husband, whatever the bias of his own mind in relation to religious matters, is always fain to allow his wife and all the female part of his domestic community to follow the dictates of the church, to observe all its ceremonies and festivities, and even goes the whole length of allowing another man to search into those inmost recesses of his wife's heart, from which he himself, her paramount lord and master, no less than her truest friend and counsellor, is often excluded. Hence travellers have been surprised to see the Catholic churches on the continent almost exclusively frequented by females, as if woman alone, in her meekness and gentleness, felt still the need of her Creator's protection; and, however modern philosophy may have thinned the confessional of one-half of its customers, it is still, and will long continue to be, knelt to by fair penitents.

In compliance with this, which we do not hesitate to call one of the most fatally absurd practices of catholicism, even a mother does not consider herself a competent guide of her daughter's conscience, and willingly resigns her parental authority to a man, who, she thinks, by the sacredness of his ministry, by his deep knowledge and long experience of human frailties, is better enabled to clear her child's doubts and scruples, and to strengthen her sense of righteousness and virtue.

Thus, after long dwelling on the necessity of giving education a thoroughly religious tendency, and with equal carefulness warning against the dangers of bigotry and hypocrisy, our authoress proceeds to give her directions as to the choice of a confessor; and so many and various are the qualities which ought to adorn this candidate for admission into the sanctuary of her daughter's soul, that we almost feel inclined to doubt whether, in the present notorious profligacy of the Catholic priesthood, the difficulty of finding that *rara avis* of spiritual monitor does not amount to a plainly avowed impracticability of the system itself.

Many and grave objections have been and may be raised against this Italian method of female education. In the first place it evidently requires an entire and exclusive devotedness on the part of the mother, and indeed Countess Pepoli plainly insists on "the necessity of a total concentration of all a mother's thoughts and faculties on this foremost and holiest of her duties." Then, this rigid seclusion of the damsel must, to a great degree, unfit the bride and matron from social life, and she must, at her first outset

find herself besieged with vague apprehensions, and also encompassed by real dangers, which a previous initiation into social life might have gradually enabled her to steer through with perfect safety.

Still it cannot be denied that an essentially domestic education must necessarily engender domestic habits and tastes; that the very inexperience and helplessness of the novice in the world's ways must naturally compel her to cling to her husband for advice and support, and contribute to increase her respect, deference and affection for him.

And here the great question arises: "What is woman's mission?" For if home, husband and children, her domestic circle and her immediate friends are to be the only object of her cares, if her influence on society is to be exercised only through the empire of affection, if she is only to be the adviser, the inciter and soother of man's passions, through the ascendancy of private, social or educational agency, then we contend that Italy—in so far at least as Countess Pepoli's precepts are literally adhered to—ought to rear up the best patterns of feminine excellence; and that if Italian women are not the most faithful wives and the wisest mothers, it must result from any other cause rather than from want or incompetency of education.

True, Lady Morgan, Mrs. Chapman, Miss Martineau, and a crowd of their disciples, protest against this illiberal limitation of a woman's faculties to what they disdainfully term "the drudgery of domestic life:" nor while the question is so warmly debated, whilst the number of their supporters and partisans are daily increasing, and till a neutral tribunal is found to pronounce an impartial sentence, would we venture to declare either in favor or against them, nor pretend to affirm that a lady would prove a less delightful companion, or a less careful housekeeper, if she were heard thumping and thundering at a political *caucus*, or if she were to stop to drop in her ticket at the polls.

But, as we have hinted from the beginning, *non omnia possumus omnes*; till the Italians have been raised to the rank of free nations, it would be of little moment for them to discuss the expediency of extending their free rights of citizenship to their wives; till they have a national assembly, elections and political meetings, it were idle for them to train their daughters to be orators, electors or members of parliament. Till men themselves are allowed to aspire to public virtues, women must evidently rest satisfied with the fulfilment of private duties.

The people of Italy seem certainly to be well acquainted with the peculiar qualities in which their women excel. "*Donna Tedesca*," says their quaint old proverb, "*buona per la casa*;

Donna Francese buona per la conversazione,—we trust they will soon add, "*Donna Inglese buona per la politica*;" and after thus having yielded to the women of Germany the superiority in the management of the household, to the Parisian ladies the charms of conversational powers, they conclude, "*Donna Italiana buona per gli affetti*," usurping for their own fair partners the privilege of a more tender sensibility and a more ardent soul.

The ideas developed by our fair author on this subject seem to a certain degree in unison with the popular feelings. She plainly acknowledges an intellectual as well as a physical superiority of her sex to ours. "And, on the very outset," she says, "I am fain to confess that I do not deem women to equal men in strength of intelligence and soundness of judgment; on the contrary, I feel how widely nature has placed them above us." Again she consecrates a whole chapter to prove "*che la donna non deve ingerirsi delle cose spettanti al governo*;" that woman has no right to meddle with politics; all which would sound to the ears of our emancipators like blasphemy and high treason. But it is quite evident that the "new light" has not yet dawned over Italy, and that woman there, strong of her *moral influence*, has not yet aspired to the acquirement of *legal power*.

The education of women in Italy is then still eminently domestic and feminine. Boarding schools and young ladies' academies are yet far from being the same flourishing institutions as they are with us; and even our countess, while she seems to approve of colleges and universities for boys, on account of their levelling spirit, of the early development of character, of the knowledge of self and of the world, naturally arising from the bustle and attrition of a public school, insists that, whoever may be called in to adorn their minds with accessory accomplishments, the mother alone should be charged with the moral education of girls, and that an early contact and acquaintance with society, even if not pernicious, would be at least useless to her whose whole world is to be limited to a narrow circle of acquaintance, and to the precincts of home.

But are then the women of Italy as pure and chaste, are they as true to their domestic mission, are they as good wives and mothers as such a social system would seem to imply? This is altogether a different and indeed a most complicate and insoluble question. If we were to collect the votes of all the rival nations, especially if we were to consult the writings of the most popular authors among the Teutonic races, we are afraid that the verdict would not be greatly in their favor. But we must make some allowance for the inevitable misunderstanding of national antipathies. The French take their standard of Italian women from

Catherine or Mary de Medici. What if the Italians were to judge of German women from Caroline of Naples or Maria Louisa of Parma? The English traveller forms his estimate of Italian female character from the mock countesses the *Cameriere* offers to introduce to him. What if an Italian were to draw his knowledge of English ladies from the painted damsels that are to be seen after dusk rustling in silk and velvet in Regent Street?

Nothing is more apt to lead into error than to generalize on individual observation. Why should Mrs. H—— be an exception among English, and Countess Confalonier an anomaly among Italian ladies? Till the day of her elopement the first was not suspected to be any worse, till her husband's arrest the latter was not thought to be any better, than the generality of their countrywomen. Man is but a creature of circumstance. The temptation which led a respected mother astray from the path of duty to which she had strictly adhered until that period, and the domestic calamity which called into action the unsuspected energies of a young and timid bride, are neither unexampled nor yet impossible occurrences.

Walter Savage Landor has said that it would be difficult to find an honest man in Italy for every forty in England. A bold and gratuitous assertion! Nor do we know on what statistics of probity it is grounded. But he adds soon after, that one Italian is worth all the forty honest English together. All which only tends to demonstrate that human nature in Italy is equally susceptible of the highest moral excellence and of the utmost depravity. Again it has been justly remarked, that no where are such startling specimens of human deformity, such horrid old hags, to be met with as among the lowest classes at Rome or Naples; but it has also been granted, that although the average standard of beauty may be said to be higher in England, yet such patterns of perfect female loveliness are occasionally found in Italy as are not to be seen in any Christian country of Europe.

In the like manner, and by that law of consistency which nature observes in all her works, we shall expect to see the extremes of moral beauty and ugliness as frequently brought into contact, and exhibiting as striking a character now as they did in the age of Lucretia Borgia and Vittoria Colonna.

It is said with great justice, that the Italians are an eminently passionate people. This word, however, has not among them the same obnoxious meaning as it has with us. True to the Greek and Latin etymology, *passione* in Italian is synonymous with feeling. Passion is for them an indispensable element of life. It indifferently leads, think they, to the noblest exploits and to the darkest enormities. Hence they cherish and foster,

even though they contrive to guide it. Like good horsemen they wish their beast to proceed by bounds and capers, and indulge it in every prank and whim short of running away with them. They seem to pride themselves on the violence of their temper as we do on our self-possession and coolness. They mistrust every reasonable, as a calculating, being: "What is man," says Ugo Foscolo, "if exclusively abandoned to the control of cold reason? A villain and a base villain!" These words are a code of law for the whole nation, and every one is, like Jacopo Ortis, ready "to tear his heart from his bosom and cast it off, like an unfaithful attendant, whenever it proves slack to excitement or blunted to feeling."

An Italian woman is then a creature of passion, and, as such, equally susceptible of being led to the extremes of good and evil. As a girl, her heart's impulses are governed and kept under restraint by the mother's vigilance. When married, she is as much under her own guidance as under the control of her husband. The Italians are said to make the best lovers, but the most indifferent husbands in the world. Countess Pepoli seems to hint as much. An Italian is jealous as long as he loves. His affection is selfish and exclusive. He must absorb all the faculties, engross every thought of the woman he sets his heart upon. He will shoot her favorite spaniel on his wedding day. He is a self-tormenting domestic tyrant, whom nothing short of a desert island could free from anxiety.

Happily, however, his partner is trained up to seclusion and solitude. She is fain to attribute her husband's suspiciousness and disquietude to excess of tenderness, and easily puts up with it. Indeed she is rather alarmed at the first symptoms of seriousness on the part of her jailor. An Italian woman is very fond of home. We have so very often heard of the "domestic comforts and fireside virtues of good, merry, happy old England," that we are too readily induced to believe other nations as little attached to their dwellings as the Arabs of the desert. Certainly if all ideas of home-bred felicity are to be connected with trim hearth-rugs and burnished fire-grates; if dusting, rubbing and scrubbing are to be considered as "intimately associated with and dependent upon moral feelings and habits," according to Mrs. Ellis's notions of the characteristics of the women of England, no other nation—Philadelphians and Dutch always excepted—can compete with this "favoured country."

An Italian housekeeper cannot, Cornelia-like, in the pride of her heart, point to her Brussels carpets as her best jewels, nor boast of *fire-side* virtues. But she looks with amazement at the crowds of home-loving daughters of Albion of every age and

description, who carry abroad specimens of English manners and feelings. She stares at the swarms of Tomkins, Pumkins and Popkins, with caravans of wives and children, nurses and infants, hurrying from town to town, like tribes of strolling gipsies with the parish beadle at their heels. She asks where are now the homes of Old England? At the crowded hotels of Brighton, or at the boarding-houses of Cheltenham? Home, indeed! Where is now the Englishwoman willing, if she can help it, to rest her head for two months under the same roof?

An Italian wife certainly prefers her terrace or balcony to the chimney corner, and a moonlight walk, or even a box at the opera, to a rubber at whist. But her home are her husband, her children, her friends, her country, and to that home she is rooted for life; for its sake she renounces even the excitement of travelling.

“Où peut on être mieux qu’au sein de sa famille.” Her meekness and amiability enable her to live at peace with her mother and sisters-in-law. She does not break up her husband’s establishment, because his house happens to be “too near Holborn,” or “on the wrong side of Oxford Street.” She finds it unnecessary to dismiss her domestics at the end of every fortnight. As long as she loves and is beloved, her affection for her husband extends to his house, to every branch of his family, to his home-grown servants, to every animated or inanimated being connected with his patriarchal establishment. But will then this wonder-working love, will this transcendent adhesiveness and inhabitiveness endure for life? Were we to venture one word on the subject, the bard of “Yankee girls” would strike up with—

“The dark Italian loving much,
But more than *one* can tell;”

a thousand sneering remarks on Italian *cicisbei* and *cavalieri serventi* would assail us on every part, and the voice of argument would be drowned by a universal charivari.

From what we have said of the nature of affections in Italy, it must be naturally inferred that they are as short-lived as they are headlong and intense. Though the Italians pride themselves not a little on their powers of endurance, and notwithstanding their darling proverb, “*Furia Francese e Costanza Italiana*,” we are inclined to believe that the sameness and seclusion to which young couples, in the egotism of their happiness, improvidently condemn themselves, must have the effect of wasting in a few weeks of honeymoon ebriety the sober enjoyments of a whole life, and be attended with a satiety dangerously akin to indifference and disgust. This is, indeed, the case in every country; but the passage from the romance of hymeneal holiday to the

realities of every day's life must be the more critical; the higher the pitch of illusion we had wound ourselves up to, the deeper the abyss of forgetfulness we had plunged into.

Every chance, not only of domestic felicity but of sober moral conduct in Italy, depends upon the degree of rationality and resignation with which the happy lovers resume their place in society after that long entrancement of unearthly bliss. If all their store of affection has not been wantonly consumed among the extravagances of the bridal banquet, if they can contrive to live thriftily on its remains—and we believe that such is still the case with the majority if not with the generality of Italian families—all may yet be well; but in a different case, the estrangement of the lovers' minds is as complete as their union was all-absorbing; a moral divorce ensues. Legal separation being in that country prohibited both by divine and human laws, a secret compact is entered into, according to the terms of which husband and wife continue to inhabit the same house—not the same apartments if they can help it—and to keep up all the appearances of a quiet and orderly household, without in fact any but the faintest and coldest bond of friendship between them. In this agreement the young wife, who has been hitherto suffered to see as little of the world as maternal caution and foresight could contrive, who has been taught to look up to her husband alone for advice and support, finds herself suddenly, unexpectedly mistress of her own actions, and launched into the midst of a society, every element of which seems most fatally calculated to determine her ruin.

Up to the period of the French revolution, celibacy had been in Italy the order of the day. The country was then swarming with numberless cadets, who unable, on account of their penniless condition, to support a family, numbered marriage rather among the burdens than the advantages of heirship, and conspired to bring about that anomalous state of society which, under the name of *cicisbeism*, has reflected perhaps as much ridicule as disgrace on their country, and which certainly gave them little reason to envy the rights and privileges of primogeniture.

Things have now indeed undergone a rapid improvement. It is no longer unblushingly asserted that it is "only the fool that marrieth," nor is a husband any longer congratulated with, or thanked for, "his devotion to the *public weal*." The code of *cicisbeism* has been abolished, if indeed it ever existed; for its institutions, like those of ancient chivalry, seem to recede in the past as we look for them, so as to render it a very difficult task to unravel the truth from the fables with which it has been interwoven. But notwithstanding the partition and equalization of property arising from the abolition of feudal laws, and the French

agrarian reforms, which had the splendid result of bringing the whole nation to a happy level of beggary, many are still the Italian youths whom sheer want and dread of starvation deters from wedded life; and celibacy, if it has ceased to be a matter of fashion, is still, to a fearful extent, a measure of necessity.

Religious and political institutions also conspire to aggravate this most pernicious of moral disorders. Myriads of Catholic clergy bound by hasty vows, and thousands of officers in the vast continental armies either prevented by law or forbidden by poverty from marrying, are let loose on a society in which the most sacred affections are for them unlawful and criminal, in which, feeling can only lead them to error, and love to libertinism.

Moreover, soldiers and priests, plebeians and nobles, all in Italy are idle. Idle less perhaps through habit and inclination than absolute necessity. The peer has no parliament to sit in, the warrior no battles to fight, the Churchman only a mass *per diem* to celebrate. Commerce and trade obey the influence of this universal languor and indolence. Private exertion slackens without the stimulus of public activity, and southern life is but too easily enticed into the unlawful but heart-stirring excitement of love intrigue.

By such a crowd of wary and enterprising enemies, unrestrained by principle and skilled in the arts of seduction, the always inexperienced, often unhappy Italian wife, neglected by her husband, and fallen from all her dreams of conjugal happiness, finds herself beset on her first entrance into the world.

A French woman presiding over her husband's counting-house, an English peeress riding across the country to win electors to her husband's party, an American woman preparing her pamphlets for the "Unitarian Tract Society," may perhaps, as a man, look upon her love-romance merely as an episode in her life; but for the woman of Italy—that woman, *par excellence*—love is the business of her whole existence, it is existence itself; and, in the shipwreck of her domestic affection, she must be too fatally prone to cling to the first hand that is insidiously stretched forth to her in sympathy, and to transfer to another all that treasure of love so wantonly spurned and trampled upon by its legitimate possessor.

Heaven forbid that we should be understood to bring forward these attenuating circumstances as a justification for woman's misconduct. By thus alluding to the state of society in Italy, we mean not to palliate guilt, but to exalt virtue. The Bostonian wife, luxuriating in all the magnificent loneliness of her drawing-room, reading the last fashionable novel and indulging in fantastic but harmless dreams of fairy land, deserves commendation, no doubt, if, at the return of her husband with a company of dull, sleepy partners and brothers, who talk hardly of anything but dollars

over their tea, she has strength of mind sufficient to prevent her from looking at any of those excellent men of business for the realization of her romantic visions, and comes to the conclusion that, after all, her own husband is as good a companion as any man living; but she has hardly any idea of that militant virtue which must stand the test of long incessant temptation, and resist the contagious force of example.

What is elsewhere only called a dutiful wife, in Italy must be a heroine; and yet the number of these heroines is greater by far than foreign travellers are willing to acknowledge, greater even than the Italians themselves seem inclined to suppose.

Against the allurements of a loose society, an Italian woman has the shield of her religious and moral principles, the constant watchfulness of her husband and all around her, and the hundred-eyed vigilance of public scandal.

Religion in Italy is omnipresent. Whatever may be said or thought of Catholic institutions, it must not be denied that that creed yields a constant, faithful support to a wavering mind. As long as frequented by a true believer,—and we have already seen that most women are so,—even confession, notwithstanding its absurdity and liability to abuse, may have the effect of giving timely warning against, and putting an end to, dangerous connections.

Again, the Italian wife, even when inclined to evil, will often be refrained by want of opportunity. Her husband, however perfectly indifferent as to the possession of her heart, is still inexorably jealous of what he calls his honour; around his lady, at every hour of the day or night are a crowd of his allies,—his mother, his sisters, and other bigoted dowagers and sour-tempered spinsters belonging to his family, and warmly attached to his interests, who, on the first symptoms of coolness and estrangement between the parties, range themselves into a formidable array on his side, and volunteer their services as an active and sleepless domestic police.

Finally, it can only be a hopelessly abandoned woman, and dead to all feelings of feminine delicacy, that will brave the meddling and gossiping spirit prevailing in those petty Italian communities. In every small town,—and all towns in Italy are small as to notoriety,—there are its coteries of *male lingue*, idle, and generally worthless beings, whose sole business is to pry into the privacy of families, to weigh and sift their neighbour's conduct, and put the worst construction upon it. The levities of an English commoner's wife, lost as she is among the crowds of this vast metropolis, may amount to the utmost profligacy, ere they attract public attention. Likewise the gentle flirtation of a few months at a German spa, or at a southern watering place, is not likely to tell against the character of a wandering peeress at her return.

But an Italian lady is acting all her life on the same stage and before the same audience. Every word and step are malignantly commented upon by abject creatures, always willing to bring forward any momentary imprudence as an argument in favour of their disbelief in female virtue, and who are never so happy as when they can exult at an angel's fall.

Before such a jury, it is evident that scarcely any woman's fame can escape unsullied, and it is, therefore, no wonder if those foreign observers who grounded their judgment on the venomous report of such compilers of scandalous chronicles, have formed so unfavourable an estimate of the moral standard of woman in Italy, whilst, if they had had chivalry enough in their souls to give stoutly the lie to those vulgar defamers, and challenge them to produce proof of their vague accusations, they would, most probably, have arrived at different results.

This cause must likewise account for the fact, that even a woman notoriously pointed out as guilty of immoral conduct, does not, as we say it, "lose her caste," and never, without the greatest reluctance, is excluded from society; a fact which has given rise to a notion universally cherished abroad that public opinion in Italy has no check and exercises no influence on private demeanour. The Italians know full well what value they are to set upon such idle slander; and as, in a country where government, always apparently bent upon fostering and encouraging vice, punishes the adulteress only with three months' imprisonment, and condemns the husband who sends a challenge to her paramour, to death, or the galleys for life, such cases are seldom or never brought to court, and a wife's guilt can never be as satisfactorily proved as in our own happy land of damages and Doctors' Commons,—the most irreprehensible classes are always eager to discountenance imputations originating with vulgar gossip-pickers, and will rather run the chance of sheltering the real offender, than suffer an innocent victim to be immolated.

This must also account for another moral phenomenon which has often struck foreign travellers, viz. that women are to be found in Italy, according to all appearance, perfect specimens of uxorial and maternal excellence, and yet designated by public rumour as the heroines of many a tale of gallantry and intrigue. An apparent contradiction which they fondly ascribe to Italian artfulness and duplicity, contrasting such a conduct with the candour and uprightness of an Englishwoman's character, who, even on the eve of yielding to irresistible temptation, finds it impossible to add simulation and hypocrisy to her disloyalty and unfaithfulness, and, heedless of the consequences it entails on her name, her family and children, resorts to a desperate, irrevocable resolution, and prefers the scandal, and, it may be also, the romance of elopement.

For so very inconsistent are the charges brought against the morals of the Italians, that they are, at once and in the same breath, declared to be, of all people in the world, the most loose and remiss in suffering themselves to be carried away by their passions, and the most perfect masters in the art of dissembling or disguising them; at once the hottest hearts and the coolest brains, at once headlong and violent, circumspect and cunning!

Would it not sound more like common sense and christian charity to suppose that "handsome is that handsome does?" Would it not be humane and generous to estimate a woman's character rather from her deeds than from the scandal of the vulgar? Would it not be more like English justice to admit of no guilt till it is satisfactorily proved before a court of law? to hold as calumnious and apocryphal every crim. con. which has not been duly registered at Doctors' Commons? Do we not proceed with equal forbearance at home towards our own countrywomen? Why then not on the continent? Why not towards the women of Italy?

It is not thus, we are obliged to confess, that foreign writers are wont to deal with us. "In no region of the earth," says our fair authoress, "are so many domestic virtues to be met with as are found to adorn the women of England; nowhere is a woman more readily disposed to show her respect and deference towards her husband, or more active and industrious in ministering to his comforts, or promoting his prosperity."

This compliment,—evidently written in the style of Tacitus's golden description of the German tribes, and which we might perhaps have more unscrupulously accepted in the good old ages of the distaffs and spinning wheels,—this compliment the Italians send us in return for the many indignities heaped upon their name by our Morgans, Blessingtons, *et hoc genus omne*, it being the object of every patriotic writer in that country to raise the moral standard at home by descanting even to exaggeration upon the excellent qualities of other nations, whilst we generally seem to have done enough for the improvement of our people when we flatter ourselves that we have satisfactorily proved that we are no worse than our neighbours.

"Let then a woman's heart," exclaims Countess Pepoli at the close of a long chapter on "Friendship, Love and Coquetry" "let a woman's heart be chaste, and her manners and thoughts be chaste; let her greatest beauty be *il Pudore*, and her greatest ornament *la Verecondia*;"—we are obliged to quote her original words, regretting that these sweet Latin terms have not been adopted in the English language. "For if modesty and ingenuousness are, in any time in any country, the most becoming requisites of our sex, much more are such qualities desirable in the women of Italy, that by their irreprehensible demeanor they may put an

end to the unfavourable opinions entertained among foreigners about their character. For who can read without sorrow and anger those books from *oltremonti*, where it is unblushingly asserted that the Italian women are loose to all incontinency, that their life is wasted among dissipations and follies, and their minds bent only on coquetry and intrigue. No doubt, there is in all this exaggeration and untruth; but I hope it was reserved for our age to silence slander for ever and restore our fair name altogether.

“Nor must we follow the dictates of virtue only because it is conducive to our personal welfare, because it secures the love and respect of our husband and children and the estimation of all, but also for the sake of our own beloved though unhappy country; which, as long as it produced a race of valiant and generous men, it could also boast of giving life to the wisest and noblest of women; wherefore if, choosing our models among the most applauded characters of by-gone ages, we in our turn make ourselves patterns of chastity and purity, we shall leave an example which will long survive us and exercise its regenerating influence among future generations.”

We say *Amen* with all our heart, and since our subject has finally led us back to the work of which it was our business to give some account to our readers, we think we may venture to affirm that the countess's precepts are amply calculated to operate a most salutary reform on the morals of a country, which, disposed as we may be in its favor, certainly admit of considerable improvement; and we take the warm reception and speedy diffusion of her work—which, in spite of the Papal interdict, has gone through the second and third editions—as an omen of the earnest desire of the Italians for a general reform of their manners and rehabilitation of their name.

Certainly a book that may better answer the purpose of a manual for the easy exercise of all religious and moral duties of woman, in her capacities of wife and mother, that may enter with more minuteness into all the petty details of domestic economy or with more depth and sagacity into all the inmost recesses of a young heart in its earliest development, and yet with less tediousness and prolixity, is not, perhaps, easily to be found in any language. It would not be difficult to perceive, for instance, more profundity of metaphysical thought, more strength of reasoning, more conciseness and pithiness of style in an anonymous recent publication, entitled “*Woman's Mission*,” and more skill in the art of writing, more ease and amenity in Mrs. Ellis's “*Women of England*,” for not women only but writers of every description in Italy seem to be labouring under a perpetual constraint, as if their rich and beautiful language were no longer sufficient and adequate to the conceptions of their thought, and all write in a sort of contorted, affected, mosaic style, as if the choice and collocation of every word were the result of a long and painful de-

liberation. From this affectation, laboriousness, and—if it were not ungallant to use such an expression in reference to a lady's work—pedantry of style, we cannot say that Countess Pepoli is always perfectly free. Luckily, however, language in a work of that description, is an object of secondary consideration, and as a manual of practical education, as a guide for training up “wise and amiable women,” this volume is calculated to do more good than any of our analogous publications.

And as we confidently recommend it to those of our fair readers, to whom the wanton desire of *murdering* an Italian *cavatina* has given a *smattering* of the “dolce Idioma,”

“Del bel paese là dove il si suona.”

and as we offer up our prayer that the work may be translated into English—we must be permitted to observe that if such books are written, published, purchased, and read, almost exclusively, in Italy, whilst our circulating libraries scarcely furnish us with any thing but their vile trash of sickly novels and leprous magazines, literature must indeed have lost all its influence on the progress of society, if we cannot from such a fact freely infer that Italy is rising from its moral degradation as fast as we are sinking lower and lower into corruption and vice.

After this, should we boast of the present, admitting even that the balance be now in our favour, with such prospects of the future before us? Shall we console ourselves with the fond notion that whilst the continental nations theorize on moral virtues, the Briton needs only the guidance of his unerring instinct? Shall we, when we read “Jack Sheppard,” and translations from Paul de Kock, or whilst we applaud the ribaldries exhibited at the “Adelphi,” console ourselves with our hypocritic “*Omnia munda mundis*?” Shall we say, with the old man at the Olympian games, that the Athenians can talk plausibly about virtue, but that we, the Lacedemonians, alone practise it? Shall we ever look upon a foreigner without calling him a Frenchman, and suppressing with difficulty our unchristian feelings of dislike, mistrust, and inveterate rancor? Shall we say of every Italian that happens not to carry a stiletto, not to be able to sing, and to look up in our face whilst he speaks, that “we could not have thought him an Italian?” Must he take it as a compliment that we declare him to be an exception from the mass of his countrymen, and as an honor that we adopt him as our own countryman? Shall he, when asked what countryman he is, endeavour to remove sinister impressions by giving us the proverbial deprecating answer of the Lucchese show-boys, “*In tutto il mondo ci sono dei buoni e dei cattivi—Son di Lucca per servirla?*”

ART. VI.—*Reisen in Südrussland von J. G. Kohl.* (Travels in Southern Russia). Dresden and Leipzig, 1841.

IN the month of May, 1838, Mr. Kohl undertook an excursion to the steppes of Southern Russia, and with his departure from Poltawa he commences the recital of his adventures. The ground was still covered with snow, but the moist and foggy atmosphere announced the returning spring, and the melting snow was rapidly converting the rich soil of the Ukraine into an almost impassable morass, through which it cost three vigorous horses some trouble to drag the light britshka of our travellers. It was on the same ground and about the same season of the year that the artillery of Charles XII. got imbedded in the mud, and thus prepared for that eccentric monarch a defeat, from the effects of which he never afterwards recovered.

At the outset we are introduced to a genuine specimen of Russian nationality—the *yemtshik* or postilion.

“I wish,” says our author, “I could give here the separate portrait of each of our postilions between Poltawa and Odessa. Accompanied by a running commentary, these several physiognomies would furnish one of the most interesting picture galleries in the world. And then their peculiar voices, their original replies, their soliloquies, and the ever-returning colloquies addressed to their horses, to their whips, to the reins, and to every animate and inanimate object about them! the style of eloquence is generally much the same with all, yet each has some favourite expressions of his own. The patience with which they endure the severest weather is really astonishing. At our second stage we had a sharp little lad, who had nothing to protect him from a raging snow storm but a pair of breeches and a red calico shirt. Of the rim of his hat only a small fragment remained, which he always contrived to bring to the point where the wind and snow came from, and this little strip, an inch broad and about four inches long, was all that he had to shelter his neck against the tempest. Yet so far from grumbling, his merry tongue was scarcely allowed a moment’s rest, and for all his suffering in our service, and for all the amusement he had afforded us, he thought himself abundantly remunerated by a gratuity of thirty copecs.”

The villages or mestetshkos of the Ukraine are large and populous. Reshitilofka, celebrated throughout Russia for the delicate texture of its sheepskins, contains 11,000 inhabitants, of whom 2000 are serfs, and 9000 *Kasakki* or freemen. Of these serfs about one half are the property of a nobleman of the vicinity, and the remainder are owned by a multitude of smaller proprietors, many of whom are masters only of two or three of their fellow creatures. The servile condition of a large portion of the rural population of Russia would afford a fertile topic for consideration, but it is one to which our author seldom alludes.

The same description will generally apply to all these *mes-tetshkos*. They extend over an astonishingly large area of ground, are all amply provided with churches, and are usually surrounded by a little army of windmills. The smallest village seldom contains less than 2000 inhabitants. This system of concentration, originally adopted as a means of security against the frequent inroads of the Tartars, is retained, through habit, even now, though the Tartars, long so formidable to Russia, have for many years been counted among the most peaceable of her subjects.

The Russian inns have furnished matter for bitter lamentation to almost every traveller who has ventured into the country, and the hostelry of Reshitilofka was not calculated to inspire any doubt of the justice of common fame. Wet, cold and hungry, our travellers arrived there, comforting themselves with the anticipation of a warm meal; but they had forgotten that the day was a fast day, and their hostess was careful to prevent them from infringing the ordinances of the church. Some lukewarm water, in which a few slices of cabbage and cucumber were floating about, was the first dish set before the famished wayfarers. This specimen of Russian cookery was not inappropriately dignified with the title of *posdnoi borsht*, or fasting broth. The second course consisted of fish, rendered unendurable to any but a native stomach by a liberal outpouring of train-oil. The next and closing dish professed to be pastry, but had the appearance and consistency of papier maché. The hostess, seeing that her hungry guests carried their abstinence beyond what might have been expected even from a devotee, began to suspect that her dainties were not duly estimated. By way of tempting the appetite of the travellers, she seized a few lumps of sugar, and crushing them in her *delicate* hand, she scattered the fragments over the *patisserie*. After witnessing this last operation, eating was out of the question, and Mr. Kohl and his companion were driven to seek consolation in a glass of brandy, that ever ready comforter for every Russian grievance. Yet his companion was native there, and to the manner born, and, having traversed every part of his fatherland, even beyond the confines of China, must often have been subjected to a similar trial. At the next stage they hoped for a supper that might atone for the meagreness of their mid-day meal, but there they were even worse off. Bread or meat was at once candidly admitted to be non est inventus, but eggs and milk were promised. The fair deceiver, however, soon returned, to announce that the eggs were "not fresh," and that the milk pot had been found empty. Fortunately the travellers had in their trunks some meat patties, of which they had prudently laid in a small store on leaving Poltawa, and these secured them against that least enviable of all descriptions of

fasting, namely, a compulsory and entire abstinence from eating, whereby the patient, be he ever so devout, cannot flatter his conscience with the belief of having performed a pious action, fully convinced as he must be, that had the appliances not been wanting, his appetite would scarcely have been restrained by the injunctions of his Church.

The badness of their inns, however, is a matter of which the Russians are rather proud than otherwise; and they have reason to be so, if the cause usually assigned be the right one. The spirit of hospitality, they say, that pervades all classes, makes the existence of good inns all but impossible.

On crossing the Dnieper, our travellers first entered upon the genuine steppes of Tartary. The Ukraine is generally pictured to us as a flat and unwooded country; but though trees do not abound there, they do occasionally occur. In proportion, however, as we approach the steppe, the trees dwindle into bushes, and at last disappear altogether, leaving nothing but one vast naked plain to the wearied eye.

“The uniformity of the landscape is well calculated to weary the traveller, more particularly such a traveller as my companion, who had explored nearly all the steppes of the vast Russian empire; but, for my part, I found the journey anything but tedious. The consciousness that I had at length reached the genuine steppe, the scene of so many yet unexplained movements of the human race, was alone sufficient to keep my mind in an agreeable state of excitement. These boundless grassy plains, on which blade succeeds to blade for hundreds of leagues, and on which a calf may eat his way from the base of the Carpathian mountains, till he arrive a well fattened ox at the foot of the great Chinese wall, afforded a never ending theme for my imagination. I was never tired of contemplating the countless herds of oxen and wild horses, and the flocks of fat-tailed sheep. Even the vast extent, the apparent endlessness of the steppes was to me a source of pleasurable fancy. The horses gallop away, and the carriage rolls lightly over the ground, yet we seem never to stir from the spot. On we fly, yet all around remains unchanged. The optical illusions also that frequently present themselves, contribute not a little to the traveller's amusement. Sometimes a solitary figure, a man or an ox, will present itself on the edge of the horizon, as a huge spectral form, as though it were raised on stilts of enormous dimensions, or floated unsupported through the air. The appearance of lakes and large masses of water presented at times so complete an illusion, we could scarcely persuade ourselves that we did not behold some wide-spreading inundation before us. More particularly when there happened to be herds of cattle near, for the legs of the cows seemed to disappear in the water. *Ettot tolko ot sontse, tak pokasivayet*,* said our postilion, and he went on to assure us that the cattle were never led astray by the

* “It is the sun makes it look so; it is no real water.”

appearance of a mirage, which, by the scent alone, they were able to distinguish from real water."

Wherever the relays happened to be at *panski* (villages belonging to one landowner), a number of fine large greyhounds were always to be seen. No other sporting dog is so well adapted for the steppe, where a fine scent is of less importance than a quick eye. There are but few covers to beat, except along the banks of the rivers, mostly fringed with broad belts of reeds, among which numbers of wolves find a shelter. To hunt these is a favourite amusement of some of the wealthier lords of the steppe. One of these gentlemen, a Mr. Skarzinski, who owns a chateau near Wosnesensk, is in the habit, every season, of inviting twenty or thirty of his friends to a hunting excursion, on a somewhat larger scale than we have any notion of in our puny part of the world. When he sallies forth with his guests, twenty-five camels are put in requisition to carry tents, cooking apparatus, wine casks, and various other articles calculated to contribute to the comfort and enjoyment of the little sporting caravan. An orchestra of about thirty performers is engaged to enchant the modish Nimrods after the fatigues of a day's pleasure, and some two or three hundred peasants, huntsmen, and servants, accompany the expedition. During the day Skarzinski and his companions scour the plain. Towards evening they seek their tents, where a sumptuous banquet has been prepared for them, and a portion of the night is spent in drinking Champagne and playing cards, or in listening to the harmonious strains of the band. In this manner they drink and hunt their way to a place called Beisbeirak, near Elizabethgorod, where there exists a plain of some extent covered with brushwood, that serves as a cover for great numbers of wolves, foxes and hares. To this point other sporting caravans are wont to direct their course. On their arrival they join their forces to those of Skarzinski, and after a few weeks spent in hunting and carousing, the season is closed by a grand festival.

Travelling the steppe is at no season more agreeable than in May and June, when the roads are firm, and not yet incommoded by the summer dust. Mr. Kohl had therefore chosen his time well, and appears to have made a most agreeable journey. Earlier in the spring, the roads are rendered impassable by the melting snow, that converts the rich soil into a sea of mire, into which the horses sink to their bellies, and through which even the oxen find it difficult to force their way. When the summer dust rises, travelling becomes exceedingly troublesome, for this dust is so light that it remains suspended in the air in large clouds, even when there appears not to be a breath of wind stirring, and being quite black, it soon casts a sable mantle over every object

within its reach, adorning the faces of travellers with the complexion of Othello.

Art has attempted but little for the formation of roads in this part of the Russian empire. The only thing that has been done is to mark off a track for the caravans by cutting small ditches at the side. These, of course, are concealed by the snow in winter, when some pyramids of loose stones, erected here and there along the roadside, are the only landmarks that break the uniformity of the great level shroud in which all Nature lies enveloped. Such were the roads in the days of Darius, and such they are likely to remain for centuries to come, for throughout the whole country there exist no materials for roadmaking. The only stone dug from under the soil is so soft that the builders are able to cut it with a knife into the desired form, and it hardens but little, if at all, after long exposure to the atmosphere. The stones with which the streets of Odessa are paved, are chiefly brought from Malta and Italy. Mr. Kohl thinks that an iron railroad would be as easy of construction in the steppe as any other, and perhaps not more expensive. "In the small towns," he says, "the favourite material for mending roads is dung, and a pedestrian, wading through the bottomless mire of one of these roads, is always delighted when he comes to a heap of dung, where, at all events, for the time being, he may consider his life in safety."

Our travellers passed through Nikolayeff, and visited the spot, about two leagues down the river, on which two thousand years ago flourished Olbia, the celebrated emporium of the trade of the Pontus. The site is now occupied by a small village called Stomogil, and is the property of a Russian nobleman, one Count Kusheleff-Besborodko. There remain but few ruins to mark the spot on which stood once a Greek city quite as important as Odessa is now. The most valuable inscriptions and antiquities that could be collected, have been removed to enrich a private museum belonging to Count Besborodko. Others are preserved in the city library at Odessa. One highly interesting monument remains. It was erected, as we learn from the inscription, by the senate and citizens of Olbia, in honour of one of their townsmen of the name of Protogenos. This man was probably a wealthy merchant, who expended a part of his honourably-acquired opulence in public undertakings. Among other things, we are informed by the inscription, that he assisted in the construction of the harbour; that on the occasion of a famine he advanced large sums of money to buy corn for the poor; that he built the fish-market; that he contributed towards the erection of one of the city gates; that he repaired several of the public buildings; erected places for the building of ships, &c.

Shortly after passing Oczakof, our travellers were for the first time saluted by the breeze of the Black Sea, and their next stage brought them to Troitzkoye at the mouth of the Liman of Teligul. The Limans of the Black Sea compose a natural phenomenon peculiar to the Euxine. They occur at the mouth of every river between the Dnieper and the Danube, and seem to be inlets of the sea, hollowed out by the contending waters of the Euxine and its tributaries; but we will let Mr. Kohl state his own theory of the origin of the Limans.

“The steppe originally formed a continued unbroken plain, terminating at the seashore in the form of a terrace rising above the level of the water. The rivers which, originally, no doubt, precipitated themselves as cataracts into the sea, gradually wore deep furrows into the plain, till at length the bed of the river became, at its mouth, nearly level with the surface of the sea. When the work had proceeded so far, the sea had acquired the power, in case of a strong south or south west wind, of forcing its way into the mouth of the river. The two waters meeting, a struggle naturally arose, the consequence of which was to undermine the steppe on both sides, and gradually to enlarge the entrance to the stream. When the wind subsided, the sea water retired, but being heavily charged with the soil which it had washed away, a deposit was formed at the entrance, till the frequent repetition of the same operation led to the construction of a long narrow dyke or bar.”

The enlargements at the mouth of the rivers are called by the Russians “Limans,” and the bars which separate the Limans from the sea are called “Perissips.” The Perissip is seldom more than a hundred yards broad, and consists of a narrow, low, grassy slip of land, sometimes of sufficient elevation to act as a barrier to exclude the sea, except in the case of severe hurricanes, such as occur only once or twice in the course of twenty years. A complete Perissip, however, can only be formed where the river itself furnishes no larger supply of fresh water than can be carried away from the Liman by mere evaporation; where the river brings down a larger volume of water, as is generally the case, there must of course be some break in the Perissip, through which the fresh water may find its way into the sea, or through which, during a gale from the south or south-west, the waters of the Black Sea may enter the Liman. The Russian name for such a break is “Gheerl,” and at most of these Gheerls, either a ferry-boat has been established, or a bridge has been built. Something analogous takes place along the southern shore of the Baltic, where, among others, the Niemen, the Vistula, and the Oder, have likewise formed for themselves Limans, Perissips, and Gheerls.

“The deep valleys of the Limans exercise no trifling influence over the climate of their vicinity. This influence is sometimes beneficial

inasmuch as the cool and moist sea air thereby penetrates far into the interior; at other times the influence is of a more noxious kind, for where a large Liman is cut off by its Perissip from all communication with the sea, the stagnant mass putrifies during the summer heats, and throws off the most poisonous and offensive exhalations. It has sometimes happened, that the whole population of a village has fallen sick, during the course of a single night, after the wind, laden with a stinking miasma, has been blowing from one of these Limans."

From these Limans is derived the chief supply of salt for the whole of Southern Russia.

"It is not from every Liman on the north-western coast of the Black Sea that salt is to be obtained. Some never furnish any, others only in very hot summers, while from a few, salt may every year be collected in large masses. The Limans of the Dnieper, the Dniester, and other large rivers, receive constantly so great a mass of fresh water, that not a trace of salt remains there. Indeed, few of the Limans eastward from Odessa produce salt; the most productive are the three Bessarabian Limans, and of these the most celebrated is the Dusle Liman, where, as early as in the month of June, the water begins to recede, and to deposit small crystals of salt along the edge. This deposit increases throughout the whole of July, at the end of which month it is mostly worth while to commence the salt harvest. About this Liman several buildings are erected for the convenience of the government officers, appointed to superintend the work, for the crown lays claim to all the salt deposited under the influence of the sun. Some is collected by workmen in the pay of government, some by private speculators, to whom, on payment of a fixed sum, certain portions of the Liman are assigned. The imperial functionaries take possession of their dwellings towards the end of July, and at about the same time the Podolian and Bessarabian nobles send their servants and waggons to collect from the lake the necessary supply for their estates. The master of police directs the whole, grants licenses to private speculators, and fixes the time when the salt is said to be ripe. If the harvest begin too soon, the deposit is less considerable than it would otherwise be; if too late, there is danger that the autumnal rains may set in, and put a sudden stop to the whole operation for that year.

"The whole Liman is marked out by iron bars into a number of sections, and each section may be worked as far into the lake as the workmen can reach. On the margin the salt crystals lie about an inch deep; farther on, three or four inches; and still farther on, the stratum is often more than a foot in thickness. Great interest is often made, and large bribes paid, to secure good places; the best are always reserved for the crown.

"The salt is merely shovelled up from the surface of the mud, and conveyed to the shore in wooden troughs. Simple, however, as the work seems, it is in reality both toilsome and dangerous. Where the sun has completely dried the mud, there is but little difficulty, but as the men advance into the lake, the salt is sure to be damp and the ground marshy, and in some places the water stands one or two feet deep. To

avoid sinking into the mud, the men fasten wooden boards under their feet, with which they move about with great difficulty, and which do not always secure them against accidents. The stratum of salt supports them in some measure, but at times it gives way, and many lives are thus constantly lost, for if a man begins to sink into the mud it is often scarcely possible to afford him assistance.

"The salt in which the men work soon covers them, their clothes and their tools, with so thick a crust, as materially to interfere with their labours. The skin often bursts, and the wounds festering disable the men from continuing their work. They are ordered to bathe every day in fresh water, but this is not always within reach. They work with gloves on their hands, but it is not always easy to obtain the right sort, for woollen gloves let the brine through, and leathern become in a short time stiff and useless. The most difficult of all is to protect the poor horses, who are constantly obliged to wade into the water, or at least into the damp salt. Cloths, it is true, are carefully wrapped round their legs and hoofs, but even this precaution is insufficient, and many horses are ruined every year at the salt-lake, where they contract maladies from which they never afterwards recover. For these reasons high wages have to be paid, each man receiving from 50 to 60 rubles a month. The harvest generally lasts through August and September, and terminates only in October, when the autumnal rains set in.

"Private speculators convey their produce immediately away, but the crown removes only as much as it requires to complete its magazines on the Dnieper. The remainder is piled up on the banks of the Liman into large ricks called "*skirti*," which remain there during the winter. One of these ricks contains from 8000 to 10,000 poods of salt.* To protect this against wind and rain, several layers of straw and reeds are burnt upon the surface. The salt is partially melted by the heat, and, mingling with the ashes, forms a black impermeable crust. In a little time the salt in these *skirti* becomes so compact, that it can be loosened only with iron crowbars. In the year 1826, when the harvest was unusually productive, it is said that 6,000,000 poods of salt were obtained from the three Bessarabian Limans."

Our travellers had no sooner reached the seashore, than they became aware of the extreme strictness with which the Russian quarantine regulations are enforced along the margin of the Black Sea. The road ran close to the sea-side, and every now and then they came to little reed-covered huts, in each of which a party of Cossacks was posted, to guard the empire against the introduction of the plague and smuggled goods. Not a boat is allowed to land on any part of the coast, without the express permission of the Health Office at Odessa. Nothing that is cast on shore is allowed to be touched, not even the drift wood, and the fishermen, according to the letter of the law, must not go farther out to sea than one verst.

* A Russian pood is equal to 36 lbs. avoirdupois.

Travelling along the several Perissips of the Limans, a fine firm road, formed by the hand of nature, our author reached Odessa, where his stay appears to have been of some duration, a large portion of the work being devoted to a description of the city and the surrounding country.

Mr. Kohl has furnished us an admirable picture of Odessa, as it now is, but we are inclined to believe that many of his readers would have felt indebted for a brief history of the rapid rise of this commercial capital of southern Russia. A few statistical tables, such as those respecting Trieste, which Mr. von Raumer has embodied with his interesting work on Italy (see *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 50), would have enabled the general reader to trace the gradual progress of Odessa's maritime prosperity, and would at the same time have afforded some criterion by which to estimate the commercial greatness to which the city may yet attain. The total want of good building materials, neither timber nor stone being obtainable from any part of the steppe, will always act as an impediment to the growth of Odessa; but the experience of the last thirty years proves that such impediments are but trifling difficulties in the way of commercial enterprise, and Odessa, which scarcely existed, even by name, forty years ago, and which has not been in the possession of its present commercial privileges for quite a quarter of a century, ranks already as the third seaport of the Russian empire, and will probably in a few years more stand second only to St. Petersburg.

That the commerce of Odessa is still in its infancy may be inferred from the fact, that large quantities of tallow, prepared on the steppes about the Don and the Dnieper, are still sent, partly by land carriage, to St. Petersburg and Riga, and there shipped for England. Nothing but the most inveterate force of habit could have prolonged such a state of things to the present day, but it is impossible that Odessa should not eventually absorb the whole, or nearly the whole, of the foreign trade of the Russian provinces, watered by the rivers that fall into the Black Sea. Hitherto but little has been done to promote the inland navigation of those rivers. More than eleven-twelfths of the goods exported from Odessa are brought from the interior by waggons, and the upward navigation is so tedious and inconvenient as to be of scarcely any use at all to the merchant. This can be remedied only by the introduction of steam, which will be certain to accompany the developement of commercial activity. In 1837, there cleared out at Odessa 796 vessels for foreign ports. In the same year the number of coasting vessels that entered the port was only 487. This fact shows the great extension that may and must at no distant period be given to the coasting trade of Odessa. Of the above-

named 487 coasters, 382 arrived from the Dnieper, 6 from the Dniester, 6 from the Danube, 66 from the Crimea, 23 from the Don and the Sea of Azoff, and 4 from the Caucasian coast. One serious impediment in the way of the coasting trade of the Black Sea appears to be the total want of nautical skill among the mariners engaged in it. So notorious are the Chersonese sailors for their lubberly seamanship, that in the autumnal months, the rates of insurance from Cherson to Odessa, a distance of between seventy and eighty miles, rise as high as 6 or 7 per cent. Their regular practice, it seems, on the first appearance of bad weather, is to throw their cargo overboard; and, should the gale continue, the whole crew go to prayers, throw themselves down before the images of their saints, and commit the vessel and themselves to the care of Providence. Some extraordinary tales on this subject are current in Odessa:—An English captain is said one day to have fallen in with a Chersonese vessel off the coast of Troy; the Chersonese hailed our countryman, and inquired where they were, when, after a mutual explanation, it turned out that they had lost their reckoning in a gale of wind, had left their ship to take care of herself, and had drifted through the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, the Propontis, and the Dardanelles, imagining all the while that they were beating about on the coast of the Crimea.

The foreign trade of Odessa is chiefly carried on under the Austrian and Sardinian flags. Under the former, 243 vessels arrived in 1837, and 161 under the latter. Of British vessels, in the same year, there were 121; and under the Greek flag, 89 vessels visited the harbour. The resident-merchants are chiefly foreigners,—Germans, Italians, and Greeks; the native traders, here as in the other sea-port towns of Russia, engaging seldom in foreign speculations. English houses, we believe there are none at Odessa of any eminence, and indeed the whole commercial machinery is still in a somewhat rude and primitive condition, many of the rich landowners of the steppes having their own warehouses in the city, whence they dispose of their produce at once to the foreign captains without the mediation of the merchant.

The three principal articles of exports are, wheat, tallow, and wool; the imports consist almost wholly of manufactures and colonial produce. According to the official returns, these imports are nearly all consumed within the city, which, being a free port, is altogether exempt from dues to the customs. It may, however, be taken for granted, that a large portion of the foreign merchandize supposed to be consumed in Odessa, finds its way, by some means or other, to the chateaux of the lords of the steppe, though the remote position of the place, or the rude nature of its commercial

relations, makes most articles of luxury so extremely dear, that the elegancies of London and Paris can often be obtained by the Southern Russians at less expense by the way of St. Petersburg than by that of Odessa. Moscow even receives its supply of Levant goods almost wholly by the way of the Baltic: such are the long enduring effects of commercial habit.

The quarantine buildings occupy in Odessa a more prominent social position than perhaps in any other city of the world. Every foreign vessel that arrives at Odessa must, of course, have passed Constantinople, and must thereby, according to the quarantine maxims of civilized Europe, have made itself liable to the suspicion of infection. A foreign vessel, therefore, on arriving at Odessa, goes into quarantine as a matter of course, and as an active captain may often discharge his cargo and take in a fresh one before his quarantine time is up, a foreign sailor may be all his life engaged in the Odessa trade without ever seeing the inside of the city. By running two moles out into the sea, two artificial harbours have been formed. One of these is called the quarantine harbour, and receives all foreign vessels; the other is called the war harbour, and there ships of war and coasting vessels are usually moored. The town stands on the steppe, beetling over these two harbours, with each of which it maintains a communication by means of a ravine, formed originally by the action of the heavy autumnal rains, but converted by art into a tolerable road. These ravines are extremely animated during the business-hours of the day, as every merchant or broker who has a word to say to a foreign captain, is obliged to go down in person to the quarantine harbour. Within the limits of the quarantine, however, it must be remembered, are not only extensive warehouses, and premises for the purification of suspected merchandize, but also hospitals, houses for the medical officers and employées, lodging houses, coffee houses, pleasure gardens, and spacious quays for the landing of goods. The whole is carefully cut off from all communication with the town, not only by lofty walls and iron railings, but by a complete *cordon sanitaire* of soldiers, whose muskets are always loaded with ball cartridge, and who have orders to arrest every one who attempts to enter the quarantine grounds, and to shoot without ceremony every one who attempts to leave them.

“All communication between the infected and the unsuspected takes place in a neat little forecourt or garden planted with acacia trees. Of this garden two sides are open towards the town, and hither repair all those who have business to transact with any of the captains, or who have friends in quarantine. Along the other two sides are a number of small arcades, with three several iron railings dividing them from the quarantine

grounds, with a wire partition to prevent even a letter from being handed through. This place, like the streets of Odessa, has two names, a Russian and an Italian,—*il parlatorio*, and the *rasgovorni*. One side of the *parlatorio* is for those who are already *en pratique*, that is to say, who have passed the first fourteen days of their probation; the other side is for the new comers who continue what is called *en observance*. These latter are not allowed to set foot on land, but must come up to the *parlatorio* in a boat accompanied by a quarantine soldier.

“Few things are more amusing than a morning’s walk to the *parlatorio*, where immediately before change time the principal business of the merchants is transacted. The unsuspected, rejoicing in their conscious purity, walk up and down under the acacias, awaiting the arrival of their friends. Through the railings may be seen the unhappy prisoners perambulating their grounds, whiling away the tedium of their captivity in conversation, or seeking to amuse themselves in the coffee room. Each arcade is occupied by a couple engaged in conversation, pressing their faces as closely as possible to the bars, and whispering their secrets to each other at a distance of three or four yards. Some may be heard loud in their upbraidings, others may be seen in violent gesticulation, while the object of their anger and reproach remains in perfect security at the other side of the grate; when a pretty girl happens to be in quarantine, and her affianced bridegroom outside, the days of probation must often form a doubly tantalizing prelude to the honeymoon.”

Few things strike a stranger more at Odessa than the naked character of the surrounding country. Standing in the centre of one of the long broad strait streets that intersect the city, his eye may pass from the waters of the Black Sea at one extremity, to wander over the apparently boundless desolation of the steppe at the other. The idea naturally suggests itself, that ground so rich in pasturage, so abundant in its returns to the husbandman, can require only the expenditure of a moderate degree of industry and perseverance, in order to acquire at least so much of a picturesque character, as may be derived from flourishing plantations, and the tasteful arrangement of trees. Such also was the belief of the original founders of the city, who expended much labour and money upon the planting of groves and gardens, but their endeavours ended in complete failure, all their trees, after a few years, having sickened, decayed, and died. The acacia alone seems to struggle against the baneful influence of this inhospitable soil. A botanical garden has been established for the express purpose of ascertaining what plants can be brought to endure the climate and soil of the steppe, but the experience hitherto gained is but little calculated to encourage very sanguine hopes. The frost alone has sometimes killed in the Botanical Garden upwards of half a million of plants in one winter.

“The gardener and arborist,” says Mr. Kohl, “have to struggle with almost insuperable difficulties in these regions. Firstly, there is the

drought of the summer, unmoistened either by rain or dew; next, the scarcity of rivers and springs; thirdly, the merciless severity of the winter; and lastly, and worst of all, there appears to exist throughout the steppe, immediately under the rich deep mould of the surface, a stratum of clay that kills every tree within its influence. The stratum of mould is from three to five feet in depth, and as long as the roots of the trees extend no farther, provided the summer be not too dry nor the winter too cold, all goes well; but as soon as the root touches the clay, the tree sickens, and in a few years dies. The oldest tree in Odessa, I was assured, had not stood for more than twenty-eight years, but as the experiments in arboriculture can scarcely be said to go farther back than forty years, too short a time has yet elapsed to allow of despair."

Mr. Kohl rejects the prevalent belief that the steppes were at one time covered with forests, nor does he anticipate that it will ever be possible to cover their nakedness.

"I believe it would be more easy to succeed in covering the desert of Sahara with trees. Sahara is a sandy region intersected here and there by hills, and to make it susceptible of cultivation, water, and a covering of mould are alone wanting. Both these might be supplied by art. By planting trees wherever trees would grow, more moisture would be attracted, and a soil would be formed. The steppes, however, are by no means deficient in soil; on the contrary, they have a greater depth of mould than most countries. Nor is there a total want of rivers and springs. It is the very nature of the steppe, flat and unsheltered, that exposes it to the rude influence of adjoining countries, making the climate so hot and dry in summer, and so severely cold in winter. These are impediments against which man must vainly struggle, unless he learn how to dig valleys and erect chains of mountains. The unfavourable nature of the substrata of clay and stone might in some measure be neutralized by digging large holes and filling them only with good soil, and such is now the usual practice in and about Odessa; but though this may be done for single trees, or even for avenues, it would be out of the question to think of planting forests on such a plan. In the case even of single trees, if they happen to be oaks, limes, and other large trees, that drive their roots to a great depth, it is difficult to secure so large an artificial range, that the roots shall not after a few years reach the murderous clay. Nay, let the amount of artificial soil given to the newly planted trees be ever so great, it is believed that it would, in course of time, be deteriorated by the oozing in of the clay-water of the adjoining mass. To extract the whole stratum of clay, and to substitute good soil, might be practicable for those who can pile Pelion upon Ossa, but for poor humanity the task is hopeless. No, the steppes are condemned to remain steppes to all eternity.

"To show the obstinacy of the steppe, I will here give some idea of the labour expended in the botanical garden on the pine tree, a plant that flourishes vigorously and spontaneously in our northern countries. This tree, when young, would be killed at Odessa either by the drought of the summer, or by the north wind that rages during winter. The seed is,

therefore, sown in boxes kept in greenhouses. When the plants are two years old, they are transplanted into pots, and exposed to the open air during summer, care being taken, however, to select shady places. Only at the end of the fourth or fifth year is the young tree planted in the garden, but even then a roof of straw or reeds is erected, which in winter is turned towards the north, to protect the tender sapling against the cold and cutting winds, and in summer towards the south, to shelter it against the burning rays of the sun."

After this, we need hardly feel surprised when we are told that Odessa receives its chief supply of fruit and vegetables from Constantinople, whence they are brought in four days by steam-boats.

The wealthy merchants of Odessa, meanwhile, do what they can to create something in the shape of gardens, whither they may fly for shade and rural enjoyment, when the toils and anxieties of the day are at an end. These gardens, in which the minimum effect appears to be produced by the maximum expenditure of labour, are called *Khutors*, a word the etymology of which our author was unable to learn.

"I saw several *Khutors*, on which, I was assured, the owners had expended hundreds of thousands of rubles, without succeeding in raising anything more than a house and a few bushes. Nevertheless their relative value makes them delightful, and the merchants are right to expend great labour on their *Khutors*, and to seek refuge there on the summer evenings. The pleasure and interest we take in things cannot be measured by any arbitrary standard, and his simple *Khutor* probably affords as much delight to the resident at Odessa, as the most splendid villa to the Roman. One merchant was quite in transports when he showed me in his garden a beech tree, which he declared was the largest about Odessa, and consequently the largest within nearly two hundred miles. This tree was fifteen feet high, and was already so thick near the ground that I could not span it with my two hands. His joy was not, however, without a dash of anxiety, lest the dear tree might in a little while begin to sicken. The same gentleman showed me with nearly equal pride some lilies of the valley, which he had imported from the Crimea, and which he had succeeded in rearing. He had also procured a few primroses, and boasted that his garden was the only one in which they were yet to be seen. In this country, a horticulturist must be content to enjoy nature on a small scale, or he will derive but little pleasure from her. As among trees the acacia thrives the best, so amongst flowers the dahlia is most abundant. Great quantities of this gorgeous flower are seen in every garden, and indeed throughout the whole of Southern Russia."

Can we wonder at the bitter lamentations of Ovid when banished to a climate such as this; and that at a time when no Odessa *millionaire* had expended his hundreds of thousands in

the abortive attempt to enliven the desert by the semblance of a garden, when balls and dinner parties were yet unknown in these inhospitable regions?

Pace tua, (si pax ulla est tua, Pontica tellus,
Finitimus rapido quam terit hostis equo,)
Pace tua dixisse velim, tu pessima duro
Pars es in exilio, tu mala nostra gravas,
Tu neque ver sentis cinctum florente corona,
Tu neque messorum corpora nuda vides,

* * * *

Nec tibi sunt fontes, laticis nisi paene marini;
Qui potus, dubium est, sistat alatne sitim.
Rara nec haec felix in apertis eminet arvis
Arbor, et in terra est altera forma maris.
Non avis obloquitur, nisi silvis si qua remotis*
Aequoreas rauco gutture potet aquas.
Tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos
Conveniensque suo messis amara loco.

Nec tibi sunt fontes! Yet Odessa boasts of no less than 563 wells! Unfortunately, however, none of these wells produce drinkable water, and in many of them it is as salt as though it had been drawn from the sea. The only spring from which good water can be obtained is two and a half versts from the city, and 2000 people find constant employment in conveying the requisite supply to the several private houses. An aqueduct has often been spoken of, but as yet it remains among the *projected* improvements. Water is consequently a tolerably dear article in Odessa, where even in moderate establishments, when the mother of a family comes to make up her budget for the year, she must be content to set down at least twenty pounds sterling for the supply of her cistern. In autumn, after long continued rains, the water in some of the city wells is considered sufficiently fresh for the use of the cattle.

What the steppe does produce, it yields in the greatest abundance. The countless herds of cattle furnish an almost unlimited supply of meat to the Odessa markets, and corn, and all the hardier vegetables, (such as potatoes, beans, peas, &c.) grow with a luxuriance unknown in most countries.

“When I was there, large cabbages for winter stock were selling at one and a half ruble the hundred. Fresh beans and peas, at the beginning of June, brought two rubles a pood (about a halfpenny a pound), but afterwards they fell to less than a quarter of that price, so that it scarcely paid the country people to bring them to town, and they left the greater part to rot on the ground. In the summer of 1838 I saw the German colonists clearing their cellars of their winter stock of potatoes,

* Relictis ?

which were thrown away in large heaps to make room for the produce of the new harvest. The men seemed to repine over the blessing of heaven, because it cost them so much trouble to get rid of their store. In no city do I ever remember to have seen such an abundance of food. The very corn is to be seen lying about in every street. This was particularly the case during the summer when I was there. There had been heavy rains, and the corn had come damp into the town. The wheat was in consequence exposed in all the streets, that it might dry in the sun. It was spread out on cloths, and continually shovelled about by the workmen. In no other city do I remember to have seen this kind of labour performed in the public streets."

We must have one or two more extracts, however, before we take leave of the climate which Ovid has immortalized in lamentations, that apply apparently quite as aptly at the present day as they did in the times of Augustus.

"The months of December, January, and February form the nucleus of a steppe winter. Then all the vigour of nature is sunk in a deep and uninterrupted sleep, but a sleep disquieted by the most terrible dreams. By this I mean the fearful snow-storms of the steppe, so generally and so justly dreaded.

"A Russian distinguishes his snow-storms into three different classes, the *myatlol*, the *zawmet*, and the *vyuga*. The *myatlol* is the common snow-storm, when the snow falls from the clouds; the *zawmet* is a storm that raises the snow in large masses from the earth, to scatter it again over distant fields. Such a *zawmet*, seen from one of the tumuli of the steppe, or from any other accidental elevation, produces a singular effect, the sun often shining beautifully over head, while the plain is concealed from the eye by the drifting clouds of snow. These *zawmets* are not unattended by danger. Neither the cattle nor their drivers can see their way, every track is lost, every ravine concealed, and it has sometimes happened to a whole party to be completely buried in the snow. The *vyuga*, however, is the most dangerous of all, this name being given to a storm during which the snow falls from the clouds at the same time that it is raised from the ground. During these *vyugas* all travelling ceases; even the mails and imperial couriers cannot proceed.

"Fine cheerful winter days, such as we often enjoy in Germany, are of rare occurrence in the Russian steppes; even the charms of a winter landscape as seen in Northern Russia, with its trees heavily hung with snow and icicles, are as unknown here as the trees themselves. The steppe at this season presents nothing but a melancholy desolate plain, over which nature appears to have spread out one vast tattered shroud, and over which the sky seems to mourn in dull unchanging weeds of heavy leaden clouds.

"The cold is often severer here than even on the Baltic. In the winter between 1837 and 1838, the thermometer, during four weeks, never rose above—10° of Reaumur (9½° below Fahrenheit's zero), and often fell to—30° (35½° below zero of Fahrenheit.) Sometimes, on the

other hand, the winters are exceedingly mild, and how little reliance is placed on these warm winters may be judged from the general costume of the people. The inhabitants of the steppe are just as anxious as their more northerly compatriots to enfold themselves for six months of the year in warm furs, for which there is quite as much demand in Odessa as in Riga. The sheepskin dress of the humbler classes is seldom laid aside before June, and the young men in the German colonies, when they meet in an evening to gossip with each other, or to sing their national melodies, usually make their appearance, even late in the spring, with their sheepskin cloaks about them."

In other parts of Russia the winter brings with it many advantages that are wholly unknown on the steppe. The convenience of sledge travelling in Russia during winter has been the theme of admiration with many travellers, and those alone who have experienced it, can estimate the luxury of gliding over the ground with the smoothness and almost with the rapidity of a railroad, but without the least particle of its noise, smoke or smell. On the steppe, however, the snow never remains to form a sledge road, but is driven incessantly before the boisterous north wind, that fills up the ravines, raises huge masses in particular places, while in others it leaves the surface completely bare.

The spring that succeeds this long inhospitable winter brings at first but few charms with it. The accumulated snows of the winter seem to melt all at once, converting the whole surface of the steppe into a sea of black mire, through which it is impossible to wade without great labour, nor sometimes without danger. Along every ravine is raging a torrent of disgustingly dirty water. About the dwellings of men, and more particularly in the streets of the towns and villages, the accumulated filth of five months, over which the winter had kindly thrown a mantle of dazzling purity, is suddenly exposed to the general gaze, and strong must that stomach be, that can look unmoved on what is usually revealed in a Russian street, when the first thaw exposes to public gaze the various iniquities, that the winter snows had so charitably covered. At this season it is that some of the most important natural changes are effected upon the surface of the steppe. The water forms to itself fresh channels; the edges of the elevated land are undermined; the Limans of the several rivers enlarge or contract their bounds, &c. This state of things frequently continues for several weeks, owing to the immense accumulation of snow that takes place in particular localities, and to the occasional returns of frost, for there is perhaps no country in the world where winter and spring have so hard a battle with one another. One day the whole face of the steppe will be

almost covered with tulips, hyacinths, and crocusses, and the very next day a boisterous north-easter will set in, putting Flora and her attendant nymphs completely to flight, and wrapping the whole gay scene in fresh garments of white. A few days afterwards a north-wester will assert his power, and discharging whole torrents from its heavy-laden clouds, will wash the face of the steppe from the Ural to the Carpathians.

When at length the month of May has come to the rescue and has fairly beaten Winter out of the field, the steppe puts on its gay green robe, while a bright azure sky smiles from above, so that all nature appears for the time to have cast aside every colour but those of Hope and Truth. Nothing can be more luxuriant than the herbage of the steppe at this season, but the vast unvaried surface of green soon wearies the eye, and the unbroken monotony of the scene "almost converts the hue of Hope into the livery of Despair." Green grass, and plenty of it, may suffice for a cow's paradise, but shady trees, graceful shrubs, verdant hills, and bubbling brooks, are requisite to furnish forth a spring landscape in which an English or German eye can find delight. Instead of these—

"Imagine to yourselves, from the Carpathian Mountains to the Mongolian capital at the foot of the Altaï, not one little streamlet murmuring over its pebbly bed; from Hungary to Circassia not one grove of trees; the steppe is passing rich in grass and herbs, but miserably poor in every thing else. For days and nights successively you may gallop along in a straight line for hundreds and hundreds of leagues, with Hope ever smiling in the van, only to lead you through the tedious paths of disappointment. Fields of tulips breathed on by the breath of spring; beds of hyacinths, so rich in blossom that it may be doubted whether all the gardens of Batavia have yielded as many from the days of Cæsar to the present time; natural plantations of mignonet, covering more than ground enough for a dozen royal parks; all these, it will be thought, can scarcely fail to awaken ideas of abundance and delight, and to atone in some measure for the absence of the wood and the brook. These things, it must be admitted, are not without their charms, but they are, after all, apt to be much more beautiful in a description than when seen in their reality. The hyacinths of the steppe must not be pictured too beautifully by fancy's pencil. They are mostly yellow, have a short and crippled stem, and bear as little relation to the hyacinth of a Haarlem florist as a berry on a thorn-bush does to the luscious pear of the horticultural artist. The mignonet is good for nothing, as it is only to long and patient cultivation that it owes its perfume. The gay and variegated tulips remain for the admirers of a Tartar spring, and to an ardent admirer of the flower, a spring campaign in the steppe may not be without its charms; but he must consort with the nomadic tribe, for to live with the agriculturist in the steppe is insupportable even in

spring. It is inconceivable how so perverse an idea could ever have suggested itself as that of driving the ploughshare over the steppe, whose very nature protests against settled habitations ; whose every law is a law of motion ; whose soil, while it rejects all plants that attempt to strike a deep root, is boundless in the profusion with which it caters for the flock and the herd ; whose unchecked gusts of wind invite you to emulate their fleetness ; while the very monotony of the flat plain reminds you that gallop whither you will, you may gallop a long way without the fear of encountering any natural obstacle."

We must claim the credit of introducing into England the poetry of the steppe or Ukraine, for which we refer our readers to the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, No. 52, which partakes largely of the scenes of its inspiration.

If however the spring is so little attractive, what shall we say to the dry and sultry summer that follows? The quickening rains and dews of April and May seldom extend far into June, and in July every trace of moisture disappears. The heated soil of the steppe cracks in every direction, and seems vainly to implore the heavens to shed down a little water to still its parching thirst ; but no, for even should a heavy cloud show itself over the horizon, it passes unpitying along, either to waste its favours on the mountain ridge, or to lavish its abundance on the thankless waves of the Euxine. At this season the sun rises and sets as a globe of fire, whereas during noon the sky is obscured by the strong evaporation raised from every object in nature by the incessant heat. Almost every trace of vegetation seems to be burnt away ; the green robe of spring is cast aside and a blackish brown mantle is assumed in its stead ; men and cattle hang their heads, and look meagre and dejected ; the wild horses, fiery and ungovernable in May, become as tame as lambs in August ; wells, ponds, rivers, nay the very lakes dry up ; water becomes an article of speculation, and the few springs that continue to yield must be carefully watched and guarded, if the legitimate owners wish to secure a refreshing draught for their own flocks. Thousands of animals perish miserably at this season ; and though it is true that the description just given does not apply to every year, yet the return of these thirst and famine summers is but too frequent. The following years are mentioned by Mr. Kohl as remarkable for their dryness, 1822, 1823, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1830, 1831, 1833, and 1835. The years 1837 and 1838, on the other hand, were distinguished for the moistness and consequent luxuriance of their summers.

Towards the end of August the dry season draws to a close. Night dews afford then some refreshment to the parched soil,

and the thunder storms are followed by showers that suffice at least to clear the atmosphere of the intolerable black dust that lately hung suspended over the steppe. Men, cattle, and vegetation all revive in September, and the privations of summer are quickly forgotten amid the beauty and abundance of autumn. Short and fleeting, however, is this season of delight, for in October already occasional snow storms announce the approach of Winter, who before the end of November has generally set his house in order, and established himself comfortably for the next six months.

Our author gives an amusing account of the herds of wild horses that form a characteristic feature of these boundless plains. Not that the horse is really found in any part of the Russian steppe in a state of nature, but many of the wealthy landowners have from eight to ten thousand horses grazing there, and derive no inconsiderable portion of their income from the sale of the young animals. The greater part of the Russian cavalry is mounted on horses foaled upon the steppe, and many of the principal fairs in different parts of the empire are supplied from the same source. The *tabuntshiks*, or herdsmen, of these wild horses are described as the heroes of the steppe, as a race of dare-devils of whom their very masters stand in awe. The *tabuntshik* has generally a *taboon* of eight hundred or one thousand horses under his care, and if he succeed in keeping the wolves and the horse-stealers at bay, he may grow rich in a short time; but for every missing horse a deduction is made from his wages; to avoid which he usually endeavours, when one of his own herd has been lost, to make up the number by stealing from another *taboon*. The wolf is the enemy from whom the herd has most to dread, and against the wolf therefore the *tabuntshik* is bound to be continually on his guard. In spring, when the foals are young and the wolves still hungry from their winter fast, the most furious battles often take place, but the *esprit de corps* that reigns among the horses enables them almost always to come off victorious. The rearing of horses is not so profitable on the steppe, nor is it carried on to the same extent as the rearing of sheep, but the *tshabawn*, or shepherd, though probably a more estimable being, is of less interest to a stranger than the wild *tabuntshik*, whose graceless pranks and proverbial roguery do not prevent his being looked upon by all the pretty girls of the steppe as the conquest most to be prized, and by the youths as the model to be most carefully studied.

The Russian government has long been sedulously engaged in the hopeless task of converting the nomadic tribes of the steppe

into a fixed agricultural population. In the immediate vicinity of such cities as Odessa and Taganrog, the attempt has not been unsuccessful. The German colonists, who have been induced to establish themselves there as farmers, have, for the most part, prospered upon their farms, and the native nobility have sometimes been induced by the premiums offered them to collect around them all the semblance of a thriving plantation. These premiums, however, lead frequently to acts of deception, of which the following extract may afford some idea :—

“A man who happens to have a little ready money, buys himself a principality in the steppe, where he may often obtain one on easy terms. He begins to plough his land, and contrives to allure as many people about him as he can, Germans, Russians, Tartars, Bulgarians, &c. He plants a few trees, tends a flock of sheep, and arranges a vineyard or an orchard. Above all things, if he can, he induces a few nomadic Tartars or Calmucks to fix themselves for a while near his house. At the end of two or three years he begins to blow his own trumpet, and to make representations to the government of the great things he has done. He will say ‘he has sacrificed all his fortune, but by dint of perseverance he has succeeded in converting so and so many wandering Tartars into industrious agriculturists, has planted trees, reared sheep, and brought a large number of acres under the plough.’ Commissioners are sent down to inspect the property, and the most ludicrous devices are often brought into play to impose upon these eyes of the state. Trees and vines are put into the ground merely for the day. Bee-hives are borrowed from all the neighbours round. The same flock of sheep is made to muster on several points of the estate. The commissioners, meanwhile, having been sumptuously entertained, are in raptures with every thing they see, and make the most pompous report of the wonders that have been effected in so short a time. The upshot is, that the government, by way of rewarding the enterprising owner, purchases the estate at four or five times its value, or remunerates him by a large grant of land, or makes him a pecuniary present, or confers rank, office and decorations.”

Our author devotes several chapters to an account of the German colonies on the Black Sea. The strangers appear to have had much to endure on coming into the new country, but they gradually worked their way, and are now, for the most part, in a prosperous condition. They are in the enjoyment of many valuable privileges, and, as they form a community altogether distinct from the rest of the population, they are likely to retain much of their national character for several generations to come.

Not the least attractive portion of the work before us is the author's lively description of a tour through the Crimea, a country which, not many years ago, was hardly deemed within the range of the tourist, but which may now be visited with the most perfect

convenience, a regular line of steam-boats existing between London and Taganrog. Indeed, there is now scarcely one of the important towns of the Black Sea, which a cockney-traveller may not reach with the same facility as Margate or Boulogne, due allowance being of course made for a somewhat larger expenditure of time and money.

The Crimea, or rather the southern coast of it, is rapidly becoming a sort of Russian Italy. The mountains in the centre of the peninsula shield the country against the boisterous north winds that exercise so unfavourable an influence on the climate of the steppes. The consequence is, that the southern coast (the *Yushnoi Bereg*, as the Russians call it), is famed from one end of Russia to the other for its genial atmosphere, and for the quality of its wines, olives, oranges, &c. The real *Yushnoi Bereg* is, however, of small extent, and includes only that portion of the coast which lies between Alushta and Balaklova. The beautiful climate of this small but favoured land was known even to the ancient Greeks, and was, at a later period, duly estimated by the Genoese, who have left behind them numerous marks of their partiality for the country. To the Russians, however, it must be invaluable, being, throughout their vast empire, almost the only spot that can be said to enjoy an Italian climate. It will scarcely excite surprise when we add, that many of the wealthy nobles of Russia are ambitious of possessing at least a little pleasure-farm in the *Yushnoi Bereg*, which in due time is likely to be wholly occupied by the villas of the Muscovite grandezza. The climate of the northern portion of the Crimea, where there is little or no shelter from the destructive north wind, differs little from that of the steppe.

The steamer in which our traveller embarked at Odessa stopped at Yalta to land passengers, and then proceeded on her way to the sea of Azoff. Yalta is a town that will be vainly sought for on maps even of a modern date, for the place is one whose geographical existence can scarcely be said to go back more than three or four years. It was only in 1838, we believe, that Count Woronzow induced the emperor to raise Yalta to the dignity of a city, and to fix upon the spot as the most convenient point for maritime communication with the "south coast." Under the Genoese there existed a small town on the same site, under the name of Gialita, but during the barbarous ages of the Crimea every vestige of Gialita was destroyed, and the little town that now occupies the ancient ground is entirely new. "The little place, with its bran new houses," says Mr. Kohl, "looks so dainty and diminutive, that one might fancy it, at the first glance, as a suitable new-year's gift to a child. There are three little inns, a little cus-

tom house, three or four pretty little shops, a little apothecary's house with a couple of little cypresses before the door, a little quay in front with a pier of about two yards long, two little streets, and on a little hill behind, a little posthouse, and a very little church ; *et voilà Yalta !*"

The Tartars of the Crimea, so terrible at no very remote period to the whole of Southern Russia, and at times even to Poland and Hungary, are now among the most peaceful subjects of the Russian sceptre. In some of the towns and villages they are mingling with their conquerors, and with the German and Greek colonists who have been induced to settle in the country ; but in general, the Tartars keep aloof from the foreign intruders, and in Bakstshisaraï, their ancient capital, no Russian or other stranger, with the exception of the government employés, is allowed to establish his residence. The characteristic features of the place are thus preserved, and as the town lies completely out of the route of tourists, we shall probably do our readers an agreeable service by presenting them with a few extracts from our author's description of the antique residence of the Tartar khans.

"Baktsha is a Tartar word signifying garden, and Baktshi-saraï therefore means the seraglio of gardens. This place was for several centuries the capital of a remarkable state, the last wreck of the Mongolian empire in Europe, and extended its baneful influence far into the regions watered by the Dnieper and Dniester, and sometimes even into the valleys of the Volga and the Vistula. Here, in a narrow chalky ravine, on the extreme border of the steppe, resided the mighty khans, at whose name the ancient city of the czars felt a periodical dread at each returning spring, whose friendship was eagerly and simultaneously courted by the Pole, the Russian, and the Turk. Here, at the passes of the mountains, were wont to muster those daring hordes of mounted barbarians, whose constant incursions scared away the husbandman and his plough from the plains, and for centuries together condemned thousands of square leagues of fertile land to remain unoccupied by man. The Tartars, who since the annihilation of their political power have shrunk into a quiet inoffensive nation of mountaineers, retain a strong partiality for their ancient capital. This feeling is not only tolerated, but even encouraged by the Russians ; and the city whence numerous armies marched so often to carry fire and the sword to the very gates of Moscow, has not only been spared by its conquerors, and invested with peculiar privileges, but even the palace of the khans, those sworn foes of the Moscovite, has been carefully preserved and enriched with fresh ornaments.

"The city, therefore, shows no symptoms of decay, but is full of life, music and song, and as thoroughly Tartaric at the present day, as though the khan were still sitting on his throne. The place not only offers a striking contrast to the two adjacent and modernized cities of

Sevastopol and Simpheropol, but is in itself one of the most singular towns in all Europe.

“ Having been built in a chalky ravine, the town was naturally limited in its latitudinal extension, and has therefore stretched itself out all the more in length. It consists of one long main street, with only trifling ramifications. This street is more than two versts in length, and excessively narrow. The Russian cities are so large and straggling, and the streets of such endless breadth, that it is impossible to enjoy in them any thing like a comprehensive picture. In Baktshisaraï, on the contrary, every thing is brought so close together, that every step enables the eye to embrace a new group. Moreover, things that with us are withdrawn to the innermost recesses of the house, are here open to the public gaze, and the street wanderer is at once familiarised with the domestic arrangements of each house. The little closely packed houses are all without windows, but the side towards the street consists almost entirely of wooden boards that admit of being opened, and that mostly remain open the greater part of the day, to let in the light and air. These boards, in many instances, let down, so as to form tables or counters, on which various kinds of goods may be exhibited for sale. In one house you may see a baker mixing his dough, and insinuating it into his oven, the heat of which may be sensibly felt in the street; in another house you may survey at a glance all the manipulations which the Bussa (a Turkish beverage) must undergo before it can acquire the legitimate flavour. A little further on you may see a tailor and all his men busily engaged about the habiliments of his customers, and altogether indifferent to the inquisitive stare of the passer by. The entire organisation of a Tartar kitchen is elsewhere thrown open to your gaze. The cabbage kettles are steaming away, and the roasting joints of lamb are sending their inviting odour into the public thoroughfare. It is difficult to believe that in a kitchen where every operation is thus carried on in public, there can be any very serious tricks played in the concoction of the viands. The hungry passenger stops in front of such a shop, he is helped to a plate of soup out of a huge boiler that boils all day long; he eats his soup in the shop, carries away a slice of the roti to devour as he goes along, and with that the man has dined. Among the most remarkable shops are those of the saddlers and harness-makers, with their beautifully twisted kantshu whips, and their elegantly embroidered morocco leather. The tobacconists with their enormous piles of Turkish tobacco, and their endless varieties of oriental pipes, will be certain to attract attention; nor will a stranger be likely to overlook the fruit-shops in which the exquisite produce of the Crimean valleys and of the south coast are offered at astonishingly low prices. At the coffee-houses there are covered galleries that look into the street, and in which you may see certain animated statues sitting the livelong day, sipping their coffee, and smoking their series of pipes. In one of our streets a man feels solitary and isolated; but here he is every moment made conscious that for the time being he is one of the community. In such a Tartar town there is of course no need of a newspaper to make known the local gossip of

the place. There is no behind-the-scenes in all Baktshisaraï, and every piece of news runs at once, hot and fresh, from mouth to ear, till it has penetrated into every nook of the little commonwealth.

"The crowds in the street were chiefly composed of Tartars, but there were many Russians there, the day of my visit happening to be the annual festival of a neighbouring convent, celebrated far and wide for its sanctity, among all the Christians of the Crimea. The clumsy dark-visaged Tartars of the plain were easily distinguished from the more light and well-formed mountaineers. Here and there might also be seen the white turban of a baggi; for even from these northern regions there are not wanting pilgrims to Mecca. Of Turks there were very few. Now and then a Tartar woman closely veiled would hurry timidly through the crowd, in which the Russian wives tricked out in their gaudy trappings made themselves the more conspicuous, and not the less so, as owing to their corpulence, so great a charm in the eye of a Russian, they generally occupied quite as much space as would have sufficed for two Tartars of ordinary dimensions. Some pretty girls from the Greek colonies were likewise to be seen, and the Carait Jewesses were everywhere busy. The desert ship, the patient camel, with its lack-lustre eye, was meanwhile threading its way through the multitude. Riders were there in abundance, and every now and then there would dash along a restless clattering Russian troika, like our own, which is always certain to stir up the whole sediment of an oriental crowd. We kept our postilion in check as much as we could, and yet, what with his scolding, bullying, and clattering, I believe we occasioned more open and suppressed vexation during our tour through the street of Baktshisaraï, than during all the rest of our journey through the Crimea."

We pass over the description of the khan's palace, and do so the more willingly, as with all his ability in sketching popular peculiarities or the characteristics of a country, Mr. Kohl seldom succeeds in imparting much interest to his descriptions of public buildings. This deficiency on his part is felt more strikingly in his recent work on St. Petersburg, in which the least attractive chapter is that dedicated to the imperial palaces. The harem of the khan remains, and many of the chambers are still furnished with the divans, the commodos, and the mirrors, in which the fair sultanas were wont to delight. There are even legends connected with the harem, and duly retailed to every stranger that visits it. The harem, by the bye, is small, and not calculated for the accommodation of more than four princesses, for the khans, we are assured, were all pious and moderate men, and none of them was ever known to exceed the limits of an orthodox Mahometan in the number of his matrimonial establishment.

At no great distance from the ancient capital of the khans, lies Simpheropol, a new city, built by the Russians, and now the seat of government for the Crimea. The place, however, has as yet

but little to attract a stranger. Kertsh is another Crimean city that may be looked upon as a Russian creation; but, in a political point of view, the most important place in the peninsula is Sevastopol, which the Russian government have made their great naval station for the Black Sea.

Sevastopol also is but a city of yesterday, few of the government buildings having been completed before the accession of the present emperor, but should the system now acted on be persevered in, the city must in a few years become the most important of the Euxine. The permanent population is estimated by Mr. Kohl at 10,000, but this includes neither the crews of the ships of war, nor the 30,000 troops encamped in the vicinity, and chiefly engaged in working on the fortifications. The works, however, in Mr. Kohl's opinion are not likely to prove very durable. They are all constructed of the soft and porous stone peculiar to the steppe, a stone which, though it looks handsome enough when it first comes out of the hands of the builder, begins in a few years to rub away into dust, giving a ruinous tumble-down look to buildings, that only a few years ago wore the aspect of palaces. The houses of Odessa already bear the appearance of decay, and those of Sevastopol will probably before long assume the same look.

We have seen the Tartars in undisturbed and exclusive possession of Baktshisarai, but at Sevastopol the ancient lords of the land are not even tolerated. Jews and gipseys also are but rarely admitted, and the whole city has a genuine Russian look about it. The naval docks, when complete, will be among the largest in the world, but many years will probably elapse before their completion. Yet the chief labour has been performed by the hand of Nature herself, a considerable inlet of the sea having been judiciously taken advantage of by the original designer.

After his return from the Crimea, Mr. Kohl appears to have made but a short stay at Odessa, whence he returned to Germany through Moldavia and Hungary. His reader, however, he allows to accompany him only to the frontier town of Novosselidze, near which, by stepping across a brook, a traveller may have the satisfaction of standing nearly at the same moment in the dominions of three emperors, those of Russia, Austria, and Turkey. Many are said to have travelled to Novosselidze with no other object in view than this fanciful disposal of their *understandings*, and among these curious pilgrims, no less an individual is mentioned than the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria. Russian and Austrian sentinels stand looking at each other in bold but silent defiance, for they are strictly prohibited from interchanging a single word.

The Turkish sovereign, meanwhile, appears to think this portion of his dominions safe from foreign aggression, for not a single Ottoman sentinel is to be met with for many miles about. Perhaps the sultan thinks it useless to assert his rights too ostentatiously, feeling, as he must, that a rough breeze from the Russian steppe may at any time sweep away the last vestige of his pretensions.

Here then we will bid our agreeable travelling companion farewell. His observations, though frequently superficial, carry an air of truth with them, that commands the confidence of his reader, and his pictures of popular peculiarities are so full of life, that while we listen to his narrative we fancy ourselves assisting in the scenes which he describes. Respecting many points we should not have been sorry to have had fuller and more scientific information than is to be found in the volumes before us; for instance, we could have wished for some details respecting the geology of the steppe, for meteorological tables to enable us to compare more closely the climate of these singular regions with that of other portions of the globe, and above all we must regret the absence of those progressive statistics respecting the commerce of Odessa, which it could not have been difficult to collect during a prolonged residence; but these are matters which enter not into our author's plan, who shuns all dry tabular lore, and seems to aim rather at amusing his readers, than at surprising them by the profundity of his own erudition. The work is that of an intelligent and well-informed man, who knows how to tell his own story agreeably, and aims at no more.

- ART. VII.—1. *Statistik öfver Sverige, grundad på offentlig Handlingar. 3dje Upplagan, betydligt tillökt och förbättrad, &c.* (The Statistics of Sweden, grounded on Public Documents. 3d edition, considerably enlarged and improved. By Colonel C. Af. Forsell, Chief of the Landsurveying Department, Knight of many Orders, &c.) Stockholm. 8vo. 1836.
2. *Reise durch Schweden im Sommer 1836, &c.* (Tour through Sweden in the Summer of 1836. By Baron F. von Gall.) 2 vols. 18mo. Bremen, 1838.
3. *A Tour through Sweden in 1838, comprising Observations on the Moral, Political and Economical State of the Swedish Nation.* By S. Laing, Esq. 8vo. London, 1839.
4. *Darstellungen aus einer Reise durch Schweden und Dänemark im Sommer des Jahres 1839, &c.* (Notes on a Journey through Sweden and Norway in the Summer of 1839. By Baron F. von Strombeck.) 8vo. Brunswick, 1840.
5. *Recueil des Exposés de l'Administration du Royaume de Suède, présentés aux Etats Généraux depuis 1809 jusqu'à 1840. Traduit du Suédois.* Par J. F. de Lundblad. 8vo. Paris. 1840.
6. *On the Moral and Political Union of Sweden and Norway, in Answer to Mr. S. Laing's Statement.* [By General Count Björnstjerna, Swedish Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.] 8vo. London, 1840.*

SINCE the general peace there is perhaps no country which, in proportion to its relative importance, has enjoyed a greater share of the public attention of Europe than the ancient kingdom of the Goths and Swedes. Even within the last ten or twenty years not less than two or three score tours in its provinces have appeared in England and on the continent, and of late interest in its fate and fortunes has considerably increased. People begin to think that the comparatively virgin and untraversed land of the great *Vasa*, that grey-haired Gustavus, who was at once the restorer and the father of his country, and of the second *Adolf*, that glorious Gustavus who checked for ever both pope and emperor, and established on a sure foundation *the liberty to think*, sealing by a martyr-death on the plains of Lützen the triumph of liberty and of Protestantism; and of the twelfth *Charles*, that "mad soldier," whose rough hand overturned thrones as the child his

* As might have been expected, Mr. Laing's book has been translated into *Norwegian*, and Count Björnstjerna's reply into Swedish.

house of cards only to build them up again for others, and whose daring genius gave Russia a lesson and Europe an example which neither have yet forgotten; such a land, people now surmise, may be at least as interesting and instructive as the hackneyed routes and eternally-repeated connoisseur phrases of immoral democrats or of long enslaved quasi provinces. Accordingly every year adds something to our stock of Scandinavian travels, and the Scandinavian polemique now exciting so many journals and so many circles show sufficiently that the subject is an interesting one. In one word, Sweden begins to be no longer regarded as the land of bears and brandy, and its literature challenges already the attention of all Europe. The elaborate and elegant history of this country by Professor Geijer has appeared in a French and a German dress,* and translations of Swedish *chefs-d'œuvres*, which are daily appearing in so many languages,† naturally tend still further to excite curiosity as to the people from whom they sprung.

But in addition to this general ground for devoting some pages to a view of the present condition of the Swedish North, there is another reason which is not without its weight on our judgment. On examining the last tours the stranger will find statements so contradictory, pictures so opposite, and political systems so adversely argued by appeals to the same institutions, that it is almost impossible to form any distinct idea of the state of a country so variously described and apparently so possessed of a Protean suitability to every theory and to every eye.

We have thought it then a task not unbefitting our position, and which would not be regarded with ungrateful carelessness, to present to our countrymen such general sketches and such comparative statements taken from the latest and most correct sources of information, and digested from impressions received during long residence in the country itself, as would enable our readers to judge for themselves of the real facts of the case, and perhaps agreeably instruct many inquirers into the remarkable changes now going on in the north of Europe. This attempt will be made with every regard to the difficulty of the undertaking, and the slenderness of our abilities to do it justice, and with a firm resolution to be biassed by no interest, led by no light but that of truth herself.

The revolution of 1809 was a solemn sanction to popular

* And why not also in English? Is it that our literature and our taste have of late grown too shallow to permit the publication of a work so renowned for depth of research and philosophical and poetical views?

† Bishop Tegner's Frithiof's Saga has already appeared in about twenty different translations, among the rest into Russian, Polish, Modern Greek, &c. &c.

government, a solemn preparation for an entrance into that great European family of constitutional states now spreading so rapidly around us. Swedish history presents a remarkable picture of national freedom gradually overwhelmed by the arts of a Catholic hierarchy and the force of a powerful aristocratic phalanx, until the strong arm of Gustavus Vasa and the wholesome caustic of Charles XI. broke the one and mutilated the other, and gave room for the yeomanry—that life-element in every state—once more to bloom up in the shadow of the throne which protected them. Under many dynasties and stormy contests and remarkable changes the people have been constantly regaining something of their old rights, and the despotism of Charles XI. and of Gustaf III. laid the foundations of real popular power on the ruins of the mighty noblesse whom they eluded and overawed. The developement of this regeneration has been constant though slow, and this principle it was which gave to Charles XIV. John his double crown. The whole reign of this prince presents, if narrowly examined, one long unbroken *period of transition*. This period has been, it is true, criminally and weakly lengthened; efforts have been systematically made by the government rather calculated for retrograding than advancing in the career of social and political civilization; and the successful *swordsman* who now sways the Swedish *sceptre* has preferred founding his fame and his dynasty on a *juste milieu* of despotic law, rather than on the new ground of vigorous and liberal institutions. But still public opinion has ripened; home views have been enlarged and purified; an immense mass of knowledge has been circulated among all classes, while a sad experience of its *representative* failings has excited earnest wishes for a better organization of the *state machine*; and the prosperity of Norway gives rise to vivid hopes of similar success from principles similarly applied. In this respect, then, the period since the accession of the present king, in point of fact embracing a course of nearly thirty years, a whole generation of human life, has been not only busy with incident, and not destitute of advance, but of the deepest importance for the future welfare of the Swedish people.

The question then naturally arises, what is the result of so many years of preparation? How are we to regard the present position of Sweden as respects every thing submitted to human control and human influence? What is the general aspect of its cultivated soil, manufactures, morals and political standing? What has been the consequence of the union with the sister-state, and what are we to expect as to its coming fortunes?

Bold outlines of statement in reply to these important queries cannot be without interest to the great majority of our readers.

We must take care, however, to avoid writing an essay instead of a series of pictures; and, at the same time, we must not forget that we profess to give a review rather than an independent treatise. We consider it therefore as most advisable to take up our travellers in chronological order, extract from their works whatever we may regard as most characteristic or entertaining, and interweave the whole into a form which shall leave few points of general interest untouched.

We begin then with Ferdinand von Gall, who passed the summer of 1836 in visiting the Swedish capital and many of its provinces. This writer is instructive and sufficiently lively, without being either very profound or very trifling, and generally gave himself time and took the necessary trouble to acquire correctly whatever information he thought worth imparting to his readers. Accordingly his volumes display more real knowledge of Swedish affairs than many which have enjoyed much greater celebrity. He does not look at the country with an eye jaundiced or gilded by party politics, and is generally rather inclined to praise than to blame both government and people. As a specimen of his style in landscape painting, we select a description of the celebrated and beautiful lake Mælar, that splendid body of isle-studded wavelets, ranked by Dr. Clarke with the world-renowned *Lago Como*, *Loch Lomond*, and the *Derwentwater*.

“Thus we found ourselves on the famous lake Mælar, which its 1300 islands distinguish as one of the most remarkable land-seas in the whole world. It exceeds twelve miles in breadth, and is upwards of six in length. Not less than 130 castles and seats, sixteen parishes, and 900 farm-houses surround its waters. Its islands alone, seven of the largest of which are parishes for themselves, constitute twenty extensive manor properties. From all this one may easily conclude that the environs of the Mælar lake are more inhabited than any other district in Sweden, a circumstance which adds much to the beauties of a passage along its waters.

“The northern mythology states the Mælar to have had the following origin:—Gylfe, king of Sweden, enchanted by the charming song of the goddess Gefion, and wishing to reward the pleasure her melodious voice had afforded him, gave to her so much land in any part of his kingdom as she could plough up in one day by the help of four oxen. Gefion, relying on the strength of her four sons, changed them into oxen, and they laboured so indefatigably as to separate from the main land a large extent of country, which their mother immediately took possession of, and planting it in the sea opposite Fünen, founded the present Zealand. The spot in Sweden from which this mass of earth

was torn is now the Mælar lake, and the present islands therein are the places that happened to be untouched by the plough.”*

Our author next indulges in a long disquisition on the coquetry of the Swedish ladies, a fault which we believe, it must be confessed, is sufficiently common among them; and then describes the feelings of delight with which he approached the picturesquely beautiful capital. He of course visits every thing remarkable there. Of the famous Devil's Codex, written on parchment prepared of 300 asses-skins, and now preserved in the royal library, he says—

“From the museum I proceeded to the library to examine the well-known ‘Devil's Codex,’ which is only of interest, however,† as being the largest manuscript in the world. On beholding this giant book, in which every letter is, as it were, painted rather than written, one cannot understand how a single man, without supernatural aid, could ever bring it to a conclusion.

“In this Devil's Codex, which was brought by the Swedes from Prague, and whose title will be explained by the following legend, I saw for the first time a representation of the devil with talons and claw-feet.

“A poor monk, condemned to death, was promised pardon on condition of copying in a single night the whole manuscript. Scarcely expecting a prosperous issue, and rather in order to mock his misfortune, they brought into his well-guarded cell the original volume with ink and parchment. But as man grasps at every thing that can promise him rescue in his need, as the drowning sailor seizes even the swimming straw to hold him from going down into the watery abyss, so the unfortunate monk laid hold of his pen, and in all the energy of despair began his impracticable labour. Too late, however, he perceived that his own hand could never save his life. In an agony at the prospect of his approaching fate, and probably supported by the conviction that he should nevertheless be well received in the other world, he invoked the assistance of the devil, promising him his soul if he would only deliver him from his terrible situation. Good Mr. Diabolus, who was this time not quite so bright in his ideas as usual, did not suffer himself to be called twice. Hoping to gain a soul he quickly appeared, concluded the contract, commenced his work, and showed himself so skilled in swift-hand writing, that the whole was completed early on the following morning.

“Thus was produced this immense tome, every one of whose leaves is a proof that all the works of the devil are not so very bad!”‡

Among the curiosities preserved in the palace at Stockholm is the old Swedish crown, concerning which we are presented with the following anecdote:—

* *Gall, Reise durch Schweden*, vol. i. p. 121.

† So it is commonly reported. The fact is, however, that this volume, which is of various hands and ages, contains several very curious treatises, though most of its contents are gospels, calendar-tables, &c.

‡ *Gall*, vol. i. p. 176.

"On the marriage of Louisa Ulrica, sister of Frederic the Great, to Adolf Frederic, King of Sweden, the Grand Marshal, among other curiosities, also exhibited to her this crown. The queen considered it with much attention, and then observed, comparing it in her thoughts with the crown of Prussia, '*Cette couronne est très belle, mais je trouve la couronne de Prusse plus brillante.*' '*Sans doute, Madame,*' replied the Marshal with delicacy and address, '*mais celle-là a le prix de l'antiquité.*' The queen was wise enough to smile at an answer, which in her heart made a far different impression than merely the apparent one."*

In almost every country Midsummer's-day is still celebrated with festivals and rejoicings, slowly vanishing fragments of old customs connected with the worship of the god of day. A variety of these ceremonies is yet kept up in many parts of Sweden; nay, even in the great towns and the capital they have not yet entirely disappeared, and undoubtedly are a source of glad and refreshing and innocent amusement to all classes of the people.

"The next day was a festival more honoured in Sweden than any other, during the course of the whole year, namely, Midsummer's-day. People of every rank regard it as a season of pleasure; and it is a custom observed through the whole country that not only the outsides but also the insides of the houses, and especially the dwelling-rooms, shall be variously hung and adorned with boughs and leaves. In the chambers of the lower classes the floor is strewed yet thicker than before with fir-twigs, among which are mingled, in honour of the day, whole and sunder-plucked flowers. The majority of the educated classes do not, it is true, strew their floors in the manner now described; but in the rooms of some very considerable families I have observed, that on this day a narrow streak is drawn along the wall of fir-leaves and flowers cut very fine.

"In the towns at the places of public amusement, and also before the solitary country-house, are erected high trees stripped of their bark and twigs, and on which are fastened up to the very top a multitude of white sticks running horizontally in every direction. Round these trees and their barren arms are wrapped chequered or coloured papers. Standing on the sticks, or suspended therefrom, we behold empty eggs, little flags, wind-mills, dolls gravely treading the thin air, paper-clippings, figures whose meaning no one can discover, mills with clappers, and a thousand other things known and unknown, at all calculated to add to the general effect.

"On Midsummer's-eve it is a custom, both in the country and in the towns, to dance and make merry round these trees. But besides these larger poles there are smaller ones also of the same kind, only still more gaily decorated, to which are hung playthings and sweetmeats, &c. and which are given to the children like the Christmas-trees among us."†

* *Gall*, vol. i. p. 184.

† *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 222.

Our author, after a long exposition of the organization of the Swedish army, which is, as our readers are aware, a kind of enlisted landed peasantry and landed body of officers called the *Indeldta*, thus paid by the rent-free occupation of plots of the crown-lands, proceeds in his second volume to discuss a point which is amusing enough.

"The Swedish peasant is so mild and ready to oblige, and is often so exceedingly attentive to the traveller, that he could wish no better companion, if he would only govern a little better his insatiable curiosity. Scarcely, the whole journey through, had I seated myself in my cart, when the torrent of questions immediately began, opened by the usual, 'Who I was,' 'Whither I went,' and 'From whence I had just come.' If, in order to cut off any further examinations, I answered that I did not understand Swedish, the only result was often just the contrary of what I had intended. For then, either this or that word was to be explained,—a thing accomplished with wonderful dexterity and abundance,—or the questions were so crossed and repeated, this way and that, that it was impossible for me not to understand them. Whoever, therefore, will make himself speedily master of the Swedish language, cannot do better than travel for some time in the company of the good Swedish peasants. But it was not myself alone that excited their desire for every possible explanation; the same fate was shared even by my luggage also. My portmanteau, my travelling-bag, my umbrella, my stick, and my pipe were abundantly handled, examined, and submitted to numberless questions. And if I happened to look at my watch, my driver frequently laid hold of it *sans façon*, scrutinized it on every side, and then usually asked whether it was of gold, and what it might have cost! But what particularly drew their attention was my air-cushion and my cigars, and the smoke of the latter seemed to give them especial pleasure.

"To this curiosity was united a loquacity in every respect as astonishing. The Swedish peasant *must* talk, whether one answers him or not. If I wished to put a period to the indefatigable loquacity of the *Skjutsbonde* by assuring him that 'I did not speak Swedish,' the stream would indeed cease for a few minutes at the utmost, but the peasant would then commence anew, telling me whole stories at a stretch, and troubling himself but little whether I understood him or not. Determined to try whether this irresistible talkativeness could never be worn out, I several times decided, from the moment I mounted my car till I again descended it, to answer no question, to speak not one word, and to make as if I had not the least idea of all my companion was saying. But in spite of all this it is really a fact that, notwithstanding my apparent deaf-and-dumbness, many of the peasants continued talking incessantly the whole station through, without being in the least disturbed by or in any way taking ill my total want of sympathy in their communications.

"To all who are competently acquainted with the Swedish language, however, this familiarity of the better peasants, who are said mostly to

possess a very sound clear judgment, must be highly interesting. The traveller is in this way enabled, almost at once, to investigate and ascertain the genius of the people down to the most exact details. Unfortunately enough, I understood the common language so little,* that what might have been a pleasure to others was to me rather a source of painful regret."†

Ferdinand von Gall sums up the total impression made upon him by the Swedish scenery with the following very pertinent remarks, although we should bear in mind as we peruse them that he had not visited the *most northern* Swedish provinces. Generally speaking, the districts south of Stockholm and those north of the same are as different in character, as England south of the Tweed and Scotland to the north. Indeed, it must be evident that great varieties of aspect and of climate must be expected in a country stretching from fifty-five to sixty-nine degrees of north latitude—nearly one thousand long miles—and reaching from the warm and fruitful and sandy Skåne up to the eternal snows of the desolate Lapland. Still the prevailing characteristics of Sweden may be easily seized upon,—endless forests, endless rocks and islets, and roundish scattered petty hills. The following, therefore, must be understood as chiefly applying to the south of Sweden:—

"Although in preparing for my journey I had occasion to peruse many works on Sweden, I yet, even up to my visit to that country, shared with many others very false ideas on the character of the Swedish scenery. I had imagined it for the most part a very hilly land, with high picturesque mountains covered with unbounded and impenetrable forests; I had pictured to myself wild, rugged and romantic Alpine glens, through which leaped raging streams and impetuous floods, and had not the least idea that I should meet such extensive districts of cultivated soil as I really found. One ought not, therefore, to traverse Sweden with any such expectations, which can only lead to disappointments, scenery of this kind being, with some few exceptions, entirely unknown.

"We can divide the Swedish territory, as all other extensive countries, into flat, hilly, and mountainous. We must remember, however, what is characteristic of this country, that the principal provinces resemble each other so much as to show us nearly all when we have seen but one.

"Almost entirely flat I found a great part of West-Gothland, Nerike,

*The author seems not to have remarked another difficulty, in the shape of the various *provincial dialects* which meet the traveller at every turn, many of which are difficult to be understood even by the Swedes themselves.

† *Gall*, vol. ii. p. 8.

the south of Oerebro-Län, Westmanland, Upland, and the south of Wermland. Hills I only saw in East-Gothland, and a part of West-Gothland and Nerike. Continuous heights, which in some measure deserve the name of mountains, are only to be found in Dalarne, the north of Oerebro-Län and eastern Wermland. Under this head we can scarcely reckon Kinnekulle in West-Gothland, which is quite an isolated hill. The plains are mostly characterized (at least as far as the eye can reach from the highway) by great cultivated levels, broken by innumerable enclosures, and in which we seldom see any considerable and continuous forest. The soil, which is in many places nearly covered by large stones, is of a light-grey colour. Small lakes occur less frequently among the plains than in the hill-country, and are still more numerous among the rocky mountains.

"The hills in the above-mentioned provinces have never any considerable height, though, for the reasons already mentioned, they appear more elevated than they really are. Pointed peaky tops, rough high walls, and in general any great variety of outward form, are qualities quite foreign to the Swedish landscape. The one not very widely stretched dome-like hill so much resembles the next, that the eye is scarcely struck by any differences among the mountain-districts, and this naturally enough gives a character of great uniformity to the several provinces.

"Forests are now, at least as far as my experience goes, seldom to be found stretching in unbroken masses over the country. Excepting in Dalarne, Wermland, and Oerebro-Län, I did not meet with a single wood extending some miles in any direction. Smaller solitary woods, however, are common enough, but the road seldom runs past them for more than a quarter of an hour at a time, without either altogether losing sight of them or at least meeting large cultivated patches. This did not at all agree with the expectations I had formed, that one often in Sweden might travel for hours through the forests, without finding the least tokens of human cultivation. The ridges of the hills in Dalarne, Wermland, and Oerebro-Län are, indeed, covered by continuous woods; but even here the vallies are so cultivated, that the road only runs through in order to gain the level again; a circumstance common enough in Germany itself. The supply of timber in Sweden is, however, extremely great, especially in proportion to the number of the inhabitants."*

In reference to this subject, the timber and agriculture of Sweden, we may as well take this opportunity of adding further information taken from other sources.

That Sweden is, in itself, an immense timber-country is evident from the following table:—

* *Gall*, vol. ii. p. 137.

Country.	Woodland proportion of its whole Territory.
England	0,048
Danish Continent.....	0,02
Scotland	0,05
France	0,09
Danish Islands.....	0,12
Prussia	0,24
Bohemia	0,28
Rhine-countries	0,30
Hungary	0,33
Sweden	0,91 *

Notwithstanding this, however, Sweden may almost be said to have but little available wood. The forests are generally neglected, and in some districts naked rocks and sandy heaths now occupy the place of noble woodlands. South of Stockholm, especially, the woods are rapidly diminishing, a circumstance usually followed by injurious effects on the agriculture of the district, the bare plains having then no shelter from the sweeping and icy blasts. Stockholm is mostly supplied with its fire-wood from Finland, and the total Swedish exportation of timber is comparatively trifling, being *under* 250,000 fathoms (twenty-five millions solid cubic feet.)†

The common statement, that Sweden annually produces 270,000 millions of timber for home and foreign use is immensely exaggerated.‡

One cause of the lamentable neglect of the Swedish forests in many districts is, the difficulty of communication and the consequent comparative worthlessness of the tree when felled.

Of late years, however, the public attention has been drawn to this important subject; private enterprise has commenced improving the private forests; the woods existing on the crown-lands have been examined, and enlarged by plantations containing several hundreds of thousands of young oaks and firs, &c.; and an Institute has been established called *The Forest Institution*, which has under its care the national forests, and is expected to spread useful information in every quarter.

Swedish agriculture is daily making great advances. In 1777 there were imported 640,000 barrels of grain annually; in 1810 this number was reduced to 233,000; while in 1832 the importa-

* Adapted from *Forsell's Statistik*, p. 150.

† *Forsell's Statistik*, p. 150.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 148.

tion had ceased, and the *exportation* amounted to 177,589 barrels, besides a considerable quantity of flour.*

Since then, partial failures of the crops have of course led to occasionally heavy importations, but in average years Sweden now sends abroad considerable quantities of both grain and flour.

There were sown of grain and potatoes—

In 1805 .. barrels 1,231,000 and reaped barrels 4,924,000

„ 1822 .. „ 1,726,136 „ „ „ 8,295,293

Between 1805 and 1828 the population has increased 18 per cent. while the grain produce has increased 42 per cent.

Commonly in Sweden $2\frac{1}{2}$ barrels of grain are regarded as consumed by each individual, great and small, but this depends on the quantity of grain and potatoes used in distilling brandy for exportation.

The rapid increase of potatoe-growing may be observed from the fact that, in 1805, 90,000 barrels of potatoes were planted and 360,000 barrels reaped, when, in 1832, 545,337 barrels were sowed and 3,756,176 barrels gathered in.

If rye is regarded in volume as 100, then in

		SWEDEN.		ENGLAND.		FRANCE.
<i>Rye</i>	being	100	..	100	..	100
<i>Wheat</i>	will be	133,8	..	150,94	..	166 $\frac{2}{3}$
<i>Barley</i>	„	73,6	..	75,47	..	83 $\frac{1}{3}$
<i>Oats</i>	„	52,1	..	50,94	..	58 $\frac{1}{3}$

The result of long continued observations shows that, generally throughout the kingdom, of seven years, three are fruitful, three moderate, and in one the harvest fails entirely.

We add two tables, which cannot but be highly interesting, and which are rather *under* than over the mark. They proceed from South to North, and exhibit very curious effects of climate on vegetation. The total average is about similar to that exhibited by the North of Germany and by Poland.

* This and the following statements are selected and adapted from *Forsell's Statistik*, p. 55 and pp. 138—144.

TABLE OF AVERAGE PRODUCE,

During Ten Years, from 1823 to 1833, according to the Quinquennial
Accounts of the Lord-Lieutenants of the Counties.*

AVERAGE PRODUCE, (THE SEED-CORN BEING FIRST DEDUCTED.)							
Name of each Län, (District or County.)	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Meslin.	Peas.	Pota- toes.
	Fold.	Fold.	Fold.	Fold.	Fold.	Fold.	Fold.
Malmö, or Malmöhns Län..	8 $\frac{1}{6}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	5 $\frac{1}{6}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{5}{8}$
Christianstad	7	5	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	5	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	9
Halmstad, or Halland	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	3	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	7 $\frac{3}{4}$
Carlskrona, or Blekinge ..	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	5	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Wexiö, or Kronoberg	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	3	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Jönköping	4	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	3	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{8}$	6
Calmar Län with Oland ..	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$
Linköping, or East-Gothland	5 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	6	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Mariestad, or Skaraborg	4 $\frac{5}{6}$	4 $\frac{5}{6}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	4	5 $\frac{2}{3}$
Wenersborg, or Elfsborg ..	5	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	2 $\frac{7}{8}$	2 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Götheborg, or Bohus	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	4	4	9
Wisby Län, or Gottland ..	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$
Stockholm	6 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	5	6 $\frac{7}{8}$
Upsala	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{1}{8}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Westerås, or Westmanland	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{6}$
Nyköping, or Södermanland	9	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{7}{8}$	7
Orebro, or Nerike	6	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	4	5 $\frac{7}{8}$
Carlstad, or Wermland	5 $\frac{1}{6}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	3 $\frac{1}{8}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{8}$	6 $\frac{2}{3}$
Falu, or Stora Kopparberg	6	6	6	5	5	5	5
Gefle, or Gefleborg	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	4 $\frac{1}{3}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	6
Hernösand, or West-Norrland	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{5}{6}$	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Östersund, or Jemtland	—	6	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	5	4 $\frac{1}{3}$	7
Umeå, or Westerbotten	5 $\frac{1}{3}$	8 $\frac{1}{3}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	3	4 $\frac{3}{8}$	—	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Piteå, or Norrbotten	—	11 $\frac{1}{3}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	6	7 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	9
Medium of all the Läns ..	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{3}{8}$	4 $\frac{5}{8}$	3 $\frac{3}{8}$	4	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{7}{8}$
„ „ Towns ..	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	6 $\frac{1}{6}$	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	5	5 $\frac{1}{6}$	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
„ „ Kingdom	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	5 $\frac{7}{8}$	4 $\frac{2}{3}$	3 $\frac{5}{8}$	4	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	7

* Forsell's Statistik, p. 56 ; Ditto, Anteckningar, p. 67.

A TABLE

Derived from the Quinquennial Statement of the Lords-Lieutenants in 1832, when about *seven-ninths* of the Population was engaged in Agriculture.*

City of Stockholm.	DOMESTIC ANIMALS KEPT IN THE YEAR 1832.							Ten years' Medium, from 1816 to 1826, of the Value of One Day's Labour.
	HORSES.	OXEN.	COWS.	YOUNG CATTLE.	SHEEP.	SWINE.	GOATS.	
	3,223	59	1,017	—	147	580	27	Skil- lings.†
Täns, or Counties, continued from the preceding Table.	40,951	22,023	33,947	25,452	60,285	46,645	160	18
	34,907	17,205	43,148	32,519	68,677	49,877	1,876	23
	13,740	9,945	38,152	22,316	47,158	15,128	339	18
	9,451	12,554	25,602	17,894	32,803	29,987	761	24
	8,624	17,266	49,534	29,794	73,072	19,798	5,520	21
	13,110	22,805	52,688	30,673	83,937	22,327	9,375	21
	20,608	23,625	55,757	28,316	89,393	30,595	968	22
	22,495	22,664	50,626	16,545	64,891	39,120	2,857	17
	27,125	28,434	49,693	41,263	80,126	36,342	694	17
	20,071	14,358	67,909	26,984	89,177	30,992	1,609	17
	16,763	2,832	42,407	19,988	54,846	18,091	380	20
	10,640	3,530	12,197	8,097	37,842	7,621	1,491	17
	22,444	7,016	39,628	11,990	69,511	25,877	326	22
	18,443	6,479	29,918	15,414	60,388	32,460	203	24
	12,284	8,930	29,412	16,883	33,445	20,005	2,639	20
	12,550	18,049	34,118	16,800	56,674	32,712	753	18
	9,704	12,980	42,095	15,327	45,060	14,590	4,021	18
	12,352	3,777	50,984	13,673	70,381	22,838	1,976	18
	14,708	1,666	51,196	16,065	76,160	9,340	45,080	25
	11,908	1,422	47,672	10,229	53,728	9,330	31,853	21
	11,955	1,526	44,746	9,404	49,106	4,565	13,173	22
	5,880	1,667	20,922	6,706	37,625	2,228	24,888	32
	6,373	1,339	25,208	6,897	40,305	3,164	2,630	24
	4,750	430	23,791	3,713	37,952	765	540	32
Total for the whole kingdom. Total in 1832 }	385,059	262,581	962,367	432,913	1,412,689	524,973	154,139	21½
	377,055	246,966	873,210	391,221	1,336,063	471,115	167,350	—

* Adapted from *Forsell's Statistik*, pp. 134, 135.

† At an exchange of 12 rix-dollars, 24 sk. banco—2½ skillings to the penny sterling.

We now proceed to make some mention and give some specimens of the volume of Strombeck, which has also lately been published in a Swedish translation.* This gentleman visited Sweden in the summer of 1839, and his book is not without all interest. He was so short a time in the country however, merely making one or two steam-boat trips to its principal midland towns, and examined its institutions so very superficially, that we must not expect much that is new from his pages. His views exhibit nothing uncommon, and his whole work would almost appear to have been *got up* with another object than the ostensible one. It is, in fact, a violent political brochure, bepraising everything old, and confounding everything new (unless such novelties should fortunately belong to the crude changes introduced by the present government), representing Sweden as an El Dorado (thanks to its illustrious and unequalled and immortal sovereign!) and its governors as so many Solons, and attacking the present constitutional opposition in the most unmerited terms. But the book is *light* enough and is easily enough got through, especially when we consider that the author's ignorance of the character and history and language of the people he came to explore, has not led him into any troublesomely profound speculations. But whatever his common readers may think, Charles John, at all events, has no reason to be dissatisfied with his labours.

We would mention, ere we go further, that Strombeck, as others had done before him, refutes† the idle and mischievous fable of the *Codex Argenteus* in Upsala having been despoiled of some of its leaves by an Englishman. The whole statement is a groundless and impudent forgery.

We cannot proceed better than by translating a lively description of the *park* and *women* of the capital:—

“*Djurgården* (the park), which contains a circuit of about an hour and a half, and consists of a rocky and often thickly-wooded peninsula, lies to the east of Stockholm, and is almost entirely surrounded by *Saltsjön*, a bay of the Baltic running deep inland. One reaches *Djurgården* over a bridge from the north-east of Stockholm, or *Ladugårdslandet*; but a still readier way is from the west of the town, boats plying there from certain stairs to the park all the summer through. They are rowed by old women, and their far from elegant attitudes in a

* With the *silently inserted* addition, by the Swedish editor, of the Beauties of “Charles XIV. John,” or short extracts of the best-sounding phrases contained in his letters and speeches, &c.

† “Professor Afzelius (the under-librarian) denied what was reported in Germany some years ago, that some leaves of this codex had been stolen by certain Englishmen who had employed it for literary purposes; and Schröder, the librarian himself, with whom I conversed on this subject in Copenhagen, was of opinion that the missing leaves had been taken scores of years (‘*geraume Zeit*’) ago.”—Strombeck, p. 81.

labour so severe cannot but excite the commiseration of the spectator. This rocky peninsula, whose circuit forms the park, extends in its longest part from west to east, and contains, especially on the stone-bound strand which fronts the south, a number of pretty country-houses, most of which command a charming prospect of the sea and the capital, particularly the opposite rocky suburb of *Södermalm*. But also the middle of *Djurgården*, and even its northern strand, is not without a variety of buildings; and in this respect they are fully equal to the Prater in Vienna. Confectionary and coffee-houses, small theatres, a circus for equestrian sports, dancing-rooms, &c. follow close upon each other; and between them run broad roads for carriages and horsemen, and even and beautiful paths for foot-passengers. Picturesque groups of rocks, 'oaks of a thousand storms,' and green-towering heights from which the eye can freely range over the sea and its shipping, often embracing the beautiful town itself,—these form a whole, perhaps unequalled in Europe as a place of public recreation; I, at least, have never seen any thing comparable to it in all the countries I have visited. Let us fancy such a spot as this, echoing with lively music and exhibiting thousands of groups of cheerful visitors, and we shall willingly allow that it is well worth while to visit 'Djurgården' on a Sunday, when fine weather favours the promenade. It is while sauntering along these walks that we can best decide, whether the Swedish women deserve their character for distinguished beauty or not; and certainly we shall at least admit, that if our German fatherland, and especially its glad south, is in nothing inferior to Sweden as regards the charms of its ladies, the fair Swedes, generally speaking, possess a grace in their movements of which the German women can seldom boast. Compare the grimace supposed to represent 'quality' with which most of our ladies answer a salutation, and which cannot but prevent every one possessing a taste for the beautiful from ever saluting at all, with that movement with which the fair Swedes—even the peasant and the beggar-girl—salute or return a compliment or a gift, and we shall be forced to admit that our beauties (for why should we disguise the truth, that they would all willingly please the men) might learn much from the Swedish females. It is, indeed, extraordinary that extremes should so meet! Here in the high north we find once more the beauty of the charming daughters of Tivoli and Albano, although in Sweden more in the style of a Venus or a Ceres* than a Juno, united to the grace of the young Parisian. When I first observed the graceful bend and the friendly mien with which, at the *table d'hôte* on board the steamer Svithiod, the Countess * * * * first saluted the gentlemen who were already seated when she sometimes came too late, I was convinced by this single circumstance that I no longer found myself in our prosaic Lower Saxony, where a stiff British bearing threatens to annihilate every trace of grace in the manners of the fair. The worst of all is, that the adept in human nature, or he who fancies he is so, often sees a want of ease and virtue in the stiff and prudish conduct of many a maiden, when it is frequently only the ab-

* "Flava Ceres, tibi sit nostro de rure corona spicea."

sence of that innate grace which education can only so difficultly and so imperfectly supply.*

After a long description of Upsala, in which the new and enormously expensive, although yet unfinished library-building is deservedly though too slightly censured, we are treated with a formal and minute journal of the author's interview with King Charles John. We extract the most interesting passages:—

“The king, who has a handsome and majestic exterior, looks like a fresh old man of fifty, although, as is well known, he is not less than seventy years old.† His gaze was serious, but at the same time kindly and inspiring confidence. He was in uniform, wore the badge of the Seraphim-Order, and stood near the entrance of the chamber. After having addressed me a moment in language excessively kind, he seated himself, and pointed to me to take a place quite near him on the sofa. I have not thought it without interest to give these details, as they are characteristic. They show that the king, when he received me in such a manner, although I could only have been known to him in my capacity as a writer—something not only of no moment to most of the great, but even sometimes creating prejudicial suspicions—esteemed learning, literary reputation, and the endeavour to be useful by one's compositions. But this esteem, if not a blind feeling reposing on vain nothings, requires individual learning, or at least a knowledge of literature and its importance to popular life in general. I also soon felt convinced, that I was in the presence, not only of a celebrated monarch and victorious warrior, but also of a man of penetration and learning. My attempts connected with criminal jurisprudence, and especially my ‘*Entwurf eines Strafgesetzbuches*’ (Sketch of a Code of Penal Law) were not unknown to him. The fact of discussions now going on both in Sweden and in Norway, relative to the introduction of an improved Criminal Code, afforded his majesty an occasion of entering upon the subject of the principles on which a system of penal punishments should repose. Of none of the theories on this head was the king ignorant; he laid them all open, the one after the other, with such admirable language and logical precision that I cannot remember any French work—the king spoke French—which states them with equal clearness. But, at the same time that the king's learning and penetration astonished me, I also felt charmed by the mildness and humanity pervading all his sentiments. To all cruel punishments he expressed the most decided objection, as also to capital punishments, with some few exceptions in which he would have them retained, namely, when the crime risks on the whole the welfare of the state and therewith of the individual, as in *high treason*. On my remarking to the king in objection to this, that a sentence given by men, and reposing, even when founded on the offender's

* *Strömbeck*, pp. 33—37.

† Marshal Bernadotte, now King of Sweden and Norway, was born at Pau, in Bern, on the 26th of January, 1764, and is therefore upwards of seventy-seven years old. He is still (July, 1841) wonderfully vigorous.

own confession, on indicatory proofs (in the widest and most philosophical meaning of the term) might be erroneous, and that it was therefore highly desirable to free the prisoner thus acknowledged to be innocent from the evil of his punishment wherever this might be practicable, but that a corpse could not be raised from the dead—his majesty admitted the possibility of a sentence thus erroneous, and himself instanced the horrible case of Calas. He added, that this should therefore be one reason more for limiting the punishment of death to very few crimes, and for never acknowledging or *confirming* it without the very clearest evidence, as far as it could be grasped by a human eye. But altogether to do away with capital punishments his majesty found, with regard to the public benefit itself, by no means advisable. 'My maxim is,' concluded the king, 'to be compelled to punish is always an evil. Therefore we must try, wherever it is possible, to enlighten the people by education, and to open out to it sources of employment. Barbarism and poverty are the two great springs of crime, and these we must endeavour to stop up. When, however, we are compelled to punish, we must try to reform the criminal by the punishment itself; at the same time, by instructing him in some art or trade, we must give him a means of obtaining his livelihood. Our prisons here are grounded on these principles.' I was delighted to be able to inform his majesty, that I acknowledged with admiration the execution of these principles in the Female House of Correction in Stockholm—an institution I shall describe hereafter.

"On my permitting myself in the course of the conversation to communicate to his majesty my views as to the insufficiency of the law faculty in Upsala, or at least that of the lectures in jurisprudence detailed in the official catalogue, for the solid formation of a practical jurist, whether judge or lawyer, his majesty was graciously pleased to explain to me why it ought not to excite my astonishment that Sweden did not possess such numerous and complete law faculties as were commonly to be met with in Germany. 'Here,' added the king, 'neither the Roman nor the canon law has any force, not even in subsidiary legislation; suits are not here so complicated as in most other European states; on the doing away of feudal institutions the mutual relations of the citizens became far simpler; besides natural law, the law of nations, and even state law, are treated of in the lectures of the professors of the philosophic faculty.' The advantage of a solid study of the Roman law his majesty appeared to admit, and acknowledged its great importance; nay, if I do not mistake, his majesty confessed the truth of my remark, that an addition ought to be made to the courses of juridical lectures now delivered in Upsala; indeed I have since learned that my observations have not perhaps been left entirely without attention."*

Our author mentions above that he would afterwards describe the Stockholm House of Correction for female offenders. To this passage we now turn, only adding that it is the best establishment of the kind in Sweden, and in its discipline and

* *Strombeck*, pp. 95—99.

effects an immense contrast to the correction houses for male prisoners, which are one great source of the fast-spreading demoralization of the Swedish lower classes.

"The situation of this extensive building is very healthy, and large gardens and yards are attached. The different apartments required for its interior economy are sufficiently roomy, and are excellently arranged, while in the passages, the halls and the bed-rooms we find a cleanliness and freshness which prevent the least ill smell, so that one might fancy the whole some kind of almshouse instead of a prison. We first entered the room of the mistress, for in this house, the object of which was the punishment and reformation of *women*, we no more met a man than in a Catholic nunnery." "We proceeded to the chambers and halls intended for silk production, and found women of all ages engaged in every stage of an employment so extensive, and which demands such delicate attention. Last of all we were shown considerable masses of beautiful gold-coloured silk, which is afterwards manufactured in the Stockholm factories. We next entered an apartment exhibiting very comfortable women's work. Here were plaited-straw bonnets, both of the common make and also of the finest and most elegant forms. Next—although I will not be quite sure that I always state the exact order of our visits—we reached a room in which woollen carpets were woven from those of the simplest sorts up to such whose brilliant colours and modern patterns might satisfy the gaze of the most elegant lady. From this chamber we went to several halls set apart for common work in wool. In the one room were woven all sorts of stuffs, in another was a worsted spinnery, and we also saw linen-weaving and flax-spinning. This latter however was only the employment of such individuals as were not skilful enough to be employed in more difficult work. The object of all these various occupations, which were suited to the talent and inclination of every prisoner, was to give them an opportunity of gaining an honest livelihood by their acquirements as soon as the period of their imprisonment should be ended. With these branches of labour only compare the employments with which in so many German countries female prisoners are still engaged! There we find long rows of girls and married women spinning, spinning, and spinning. Nay! can it be believed, that even strong men are there employed, at least in the winter time, in this occupation, which teaches nothing, and by which scarcely any thing can now be earned. At all events, however, it is better than being obliged to pound bits of glass and brick for putty powder, an employment in which they inhale death. And then, when they are let loose on society, we are astonished that they are so soon brought back, guilty of new thefts and deceits! What, then, had they learned! They had been caged almost without any labour in hothouses for crime.

"For offences committed in this Stockholm prison by the prisoners themselves various punishments existed, but they consisted of solitary confinement, and not of whippings, which act so injuriously on the female constitution, and especially on their nervous system. We were shown many of these solitary cells. They were narrow closets lighted

by a window at the top of the wall, and in which there was neither chair nor table, only a thick woollen blanket on the floor. The offenders were quite unemployed, and it was just this which made their punishments so heavy. As soon as the door was opened and we entered each little room, its inmate approached us in the Swedish fashion with a curtesy so elegant, that no *ballet-danseuse* could have executed it better. This inborn grace of the Swedish females is, as I have before observed, something really remarkable. At the same time the prisoners had such moving countenances, that the councillor Turgeneff (who accompanied me) and I could not help begging the governor to remit their sentence; in two or three instances our intercession succeeded, and the freed prisoners once more expressed their respect by a deep salute.

"The character of the whole administration in this extensive establishment, in which some hundreds were waiting to undergo their periods of punishments, was humanity and a serious endeavour to reform. This object, as I generally heard in Stockholm, is obtained to a very great extent. The Crown Prince Oscar does not fail personally to ascertain that in this respect his royal father's benevolent wishes are properly seconded; indeed he seems persuaded that the noblest pleasure a good prince can enjoy is the advancement of every thing good and the fulfilment of duty."*

The last extract we shall make from our good German courtier† relates to a subject interesting enough, and not altogether frivolous. It is one of those *straws* which show which way the national *trade-wind* usually blows.

"But before I leave the North I will add one or two reflections more. Of the Swedish ladies it is reported, and not altogether without reason, that, together with their many noble qualities, which we can never sufficiently admire, they also suffer from a *vanity*, whose false chace after an empty shadow (as a celebrated author, Arndt, says)‡ has, even when carried to extremes, something amiable, or, at least, full of cheerfulness. This play, as he observes, shows itself most clearly in the *names* of the Swedish nobles. 'I defy all comers,' continues Arndt, 'to point out anything equal to it in the whole of Europe. Every thing § sounding, glittering and fair, noble and heroic in the metals, stars, flowers and animals—every thing knightly and glorious in human affairs and human exploits, has been plundered by the Swedish house of nobles. Thus, for instance, under the single word "*lager*" (laurel), we have laurel-twig, laurel-branch, laurel-leaf, laurel garland, laurel-beam, laurel-mount, laurel-ray, laurel-helm, and laurel-sword.'|| This is certainly sufficiently remarkable, but it probably results in a great measure from

* *Strombeck*, pp. 130—134.

† Our readers will not be surprised to learn, that his Swedish majesty has just conferred on Herr von Strombeck an *order* decoration in brilliants. *Exemplum docet*.

‡ *Schwedische Geschichten*, p. 36.

§ "Even to the very stars of the firmament."

|| Lagergrist, Lagergren, Lagerlöf, Lagerkrans, Lagerbjelke, Lagerberg, Lagersträel, Lagerhjelm, Lagerwård.

a certain *æsthetic** feeling, which would render it disagreeable to be compelled, as is so often the case in our Germany, to bear a family-name given by ill-natured malice to its first owner, and which every one who has the least feeling for melody or beauty of words tries to get rid of as fast as he can, if his birth has unfortunately thrown such a one in his path;† nay, such a name may even decidedly injure its bearer. One can easily imagine a beautiful girl with an ugly and offensive‡ family-name. *Exempla sunt odiosa*, but we can very well understand how many a lover would be terrified by such an appellation; and even when the name refers to some malformation! Nay, away with it! Who would not rather choose some fair young *Minna Lily-Garland* than a *Minna Goose* or *Hogsflesh*?—and even these names are not so bad as many others which point out offensive employments or even physical infirmities. With quite as good reason therefore could we conclude, that a kind of ill-will attaches to the German character (and indeed it is not quite foreign to it), as that the glittering and sounding names usual in Sweden point out a degree of national vanity. The subject deserves consideration, some truth there is in it. Nothing would be easier than to mention a whole string of German nick-names disgusting throughout, and in lines far longer than those of the god and hero names spoken of by Arndt. But it is not my intention altogether to deny the Swedish vanity, and, generally speaking, I think I have found vanity more common in the north than in the south. I have often been present at dinners *in the country* in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen, where almost every one in the company was adorned, not with a modest ribbon in the button-hole, but with broad order-ribbands and glittering stars, so that it was a rare exception to find any one who had no such decorations.§ At a country feast, however brilliant, in the neighbourhood of Paris, Mailand, Florence or Naples, and probably also of Berlin, Weimar, Dresden or Vienna, we should undoubtedly never see any thing of the kind. And indeed I saw in a shop window in Copenhagen, besides the portraits of the celebrated Gottingen *Seven*, a tolerably inferior lithograph representation of an eating-house dinner party, none of whom had neglected hanging their several decorations in

* When Gustaf IV. Adolf ennobled Major *Fleischer* (Butcher) of the dukedom of Brunswick, he gave him the name “Nordenfels” (Northern Cliff.) This was probably caused by an æsthetic feeling. And who would not rather be called *Northern-cliff* than *Butcher*?

† A German author lately found it necessary to announce on the title-page of his volume of poems, that he *was not* the creature implied by his (ichthyological) family-name.

‡ *Honi soit qui mal y pense* is a good rule; but notwithstanding this, many of our English names are almost more than offensive.

§ In Sweden titles and orders are still eagerly sought after, notwithstanding the opposition to this rage by individual critics. We have known very large sums to be given to some public institution favoured by the court (such as the new military hospital or the great foundling institution), in order that the title of knight might be the accidental consequence. This however was in the good old times, and will scarcely be repeated, partly because Swedish stars and ribbands have of late years sunk considerably in value (there being now more than 2000 *decorés*), and partly from public opinion setting in against this child's play.

due order over their napkins. Thus even on the spot we find this *decoration rage* eagerly caricatured. To be honoured by a prince is certainly desirable, and it cannot but be agreeable to find one's merits acknowledged. But to carry this distinction as it were to market, and take every opportunity of announcing to every company '*See how meritorious I am!*' this must be regarded as perfectly ridiculous; and never more so than when *favour*, which is so often unworthily bestowed, and not *merit*, however seldom the latter may be entirely neglected, has been the source of the boasted distinction."^{*}

It should, however, be observed, in connection with the above remarks, that the high-flown names commonly assumed by the Swedish nobles are merely enjoyed by them as the distinction of their *caste*. To the *nation* they are quite unknown. The *oldest* noble families, (for most of them are modern, and have in numbers of cases been founded by foreign adventurers,) as well as the old names celebrated in Swedish history, exhibit appellations as common and vulgar as those met with in the other countries inhabited by the different branches of the great Gothic family. Nay, even the famous Gustavus the First was the son of *Eric Wheat-sheaf* (Vase); and the richest of the ancient noble houses is that of the *Peasant* (Bonde). To this day among the commons we seldom find other genealogies than that simplest of all—that each good yeoman is his father's son!—that is to say, Lars Larsson is *Lars* the son of Lars; the next heir is, perhaps, Erik Larsson; and the third, Erik Erikson, and so on; just as our own Johnsons and Thomsons formerly arose. This principle even extends to the female peasantry. Thus, after the same example, if the first-mentioned countryman had a daughter baptized *Karin* (Catherine), her name would be *Karin Larsdotter* (Lars's daughter), or *Eriksdotter*, as it might happen. The local denomination, taken from the lands or estate, or *settlement* possessed by the family, is the other and more solid and powerful, and, at the same time, more uncommon and necessarily aristocratic source. The Swedish *på* or *af* in this respect answers to the German *von*, the French *de*, and the English *of*. That the Germans, English, and Dutch, as well as all other nations of northern stock, often preserve disgusting or ridiculous family-names merely because they were borne by their predecessors, is a fact well known. We often wonder why such patronymics are not more generally abandoned. In Sweden a certain form is gone through, before a change of the family-name is allowed.

But it is now time for us to pass on to a notice of the work of Mr. Laing, which has excited so much opposition both at home and abroad. A complete translation has appeared in Norway,

^{*} *Strombeck*, p. 240—243.

and large extracts have been made in Swedish journals, so that it has been canvassed pretty widely in the north. In Sweden it is, naturally enough, regarded as a book too much *à la Mrs. Trollope*, and in general we believe it to have the following serious faults. *First*: It was written almost entirely under the impression of a Norwegian bias. During his long residence in Norway, and in consequence of his *à priori* prejudice in favour of all outward democratic forms, Mr. Laing not only saw every thing around him in that country in the *couleur de rose*, but he beheld every thing over the hills in the *couleur de noir*. He had, in one word, *Norwegian spectacles* on. Who would ever have thought of going to the English commonalty under King William—the third of that name—for a character of Scotland and the Scotch; or, *vice versâ*, to bonny Scotland for a “full, true, and particular account” of the Southrons over the border? Certainly, it would not have been more absurd than it now is, to judge of Sweden and the Swedes from the accounts and feelings of the long-embittered often Swede-battling and still Swede-jealous Norwegian peasantry. An immense fund of prejudice still exists in both countries, and we believe with equal injustice. At all events, whatever grounds the Norwegians may have had for quarrelling with their *Norwegian king and government*, who have so often attempted to intrigue and persuade them out of their liberties, the *Swedish people* surely ought in no wise to be dragged into the quarrel merely from the fact of their monarch being *also* king of the independent Norway. But, *secondly*: It was highly imprudent in Mr. Laing to publish a work professing to be *elaborate*, merely after a tour (principally on steam-boats) of only two or three months in the country. However great the talents of the traveller may be, and however short a time may be requisite to sketch a scene or paint a popular group, we shall always be of opinion that a nation can by no means be properly appreciated after the scanty intercourse of some few weeks of modern locomotion. In Sweden especially, the character of the northern districts is not that of the south, and almost every province has distinct psychological and often ethnographical as well as geographical features. So it is more or less in every country; and hence it follows that the mass of travels in modern times are so flimsy and meagre, and trifling. The land traversed has never been *dived* into. Most of the locomotive journals, afterwards spawned by the press, are even written by men “*deaf and dumb*,” as Mr. Laing very properly expresses it; that is, by people who can neither speak nor understand the language of the race among whom they sojourn. Mr. Laing knew something, it is true, of both the language and the literature of Sweden, and this little he

employed with great zeal and goodwill; but though the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak. *Lastly, and thirdly*: Mr. Laing has been guilty of a fault serious enough. Convinced as he was of the *weight* of the charges he intended to bring against Swedish morals and legislation, he ought to have been exceedingly anxious to suffer no statement to escape him calculated to weaken, by its want of correctness, the general impression on the reader's mind. Instead of this, with a careless and overbold self-confidence, he refused to hear the explanations given him of the incompetency of the Swedish statistical tables to decide the matter on either side, and then had the simplicity to register his imprudence:—

“I have conversed with several enlightened Swedish gentlemen upon this extraordinary comparative state of the criminal calendar of the country. They all ascribe this apparent excess of crime entirely to faulty legislative or judicial arrangement, by which mere police transgressions (such, for instance, as the peasantry of a whole parish neglecting to mend their roads, or to appear with their horses in due time at the posting stations to forward travellers) may be punished with fine, or even imprisonment on bread and water, and these cases are registered and accounted as crimes. In towns, in like manner, the neglect of sweeping chimneys, mending and cleaning streets, and so on, being punished by fines, and, if these are not paid, by imprisonment, the apparent catalogue of crimes, they say, is enlarged to what I state it to be; but that in reality the modern delinquency in Sweden is small.”*

Notwithstanding this confession, Mr. Laing permits his tables to be enormously swelled by cases of *drunkenness* and *offences against decency*, neither of which are included in the English and Scotch Criminal Statistics, while he overlooks several other important features of the argument. Nay, he even allows certain lines of figures to overpower the testimony of his own senses and experience. Thus, to his sweeping denunciations of Swedish misery and barbarism, we may oppose his own descriptions of the comfort of the population on the north-east coast of Sweden, —“in some respects the difference appears to me in favour of the little towns here” as compared with those of “our own Scotch country people;”†—of the elegant taste of the Swedes, “I infer, from the whole of the objects which the traveller sees in this city (Stockholm), that the taste of the Swedish people for the beauty of form in the fine arts, is far more advanced and developed than ours;”‡—of the national colonized troops, “remarkably fine-looking grenadiers, well dressed in white round jackets with yellow epaulets, and blue trowsers, and all their appointments seemed substantial, clean, and soldier-like, . . . men

* *Laing's Tour in Sweden*, p. 134.

† *Ibid.* p. 167.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 73.

well set up, evidently well drilled, and at ease under arms;”—and of the spread of education, “It is, however, to the honour of the common people of Sweden that they alone, of all European nations, have outstripped the schoolmaster, and are so generally masters themselves of reading, and even writing, that parents in the lowest circumstances have no more occasion for a schoolmaster to teach their children these elementary branches of education, and also the church catechism, than they have for a baker to make their bread, or a sempstress to make their clothes, &c.”†

This indefensible self-assurance has, as might be expected, only redounded to his own hurt, and the injury of the arguments and deductions built up with so much labour and talent. *All* his statements have been accused of equal incorrectness, and the benefit which might have been accomplished by calm and temperate and friendly criticism, has been in a great measure neutralized by the *slashing* character of his assertions and the bitterness of his tone.

Faults, such as these, would have annihilated any common tourist. But Mr. Laing is *no* common tourist. We have no hesitation in classing his work with the highest of its kind in our literature, with the good old standards of a Coxe and a Clarke. Partaking of the Tocqueville character, it is at once a book whose style and contents will always amuse, while at the same time there is much in its pages calculated to raise or gratify trains of independent thinking, and leading us to study in their proper light foreign countries and their institutions. And this, surely, *should be* the end of all superior works of this kind; for it must never be forgotten, that if contemporaneous translation is forestalled immortality, so is *philosophic travelling* the only method of getting at forestalled historic developments. Then it is that, studying other nations and their progress apart from the upas-bias of party and one-sided education, we look round, as it were, with four eyes, and afterwards revert to our home-land with simplified ideas and a vastly enlarged experience. It is thus we are compelled to *dig out* the first principles of society, and to examine the extent to which these principles are built up into our national fabric, so as afterwards, like good architects, to judge whether our own loved towers and temples are settling on their foundation, or merely stand in need of outward ornament and local repair. But Mr. Laing, to no inconsiderable extent, and notwithstanding all his sins of omission and commission, is a philosophic traveller. He is an exaggerator, Count Björnstjerna, if you please, and often a faulty theorist, *but no libeller!*”‡ His

* *Laing's Tour in Sweden*, p. 55.

† *Ibid.* p. 186.

‡ “In conclusion, we appeal to the feelings of justice of the Scotch nation, a

errors were evidently not malignant and preconceived misrepresentations, but the result of over-hasty conclusions from premises too hastily examined, and slightly warped by the prejudices of his party. Nay, the numerous extracts given by the Count to prove his *contradictions*, will, at all events, show that he knew how to praise, although it militated *against* his own system. A pre-determined libeller would not have been so negligent.

Of course we shall not dwell at any length upon such parts of Mr. Laing's narrative as disputation has rendered familiar. Our article, at all events, will, in spite of all our efforts to the contrary, be much longer than we had contemplated. With reference to the famous dispute as to the morals of Sweden, a copious reply will be found in Count Björnstjerna's pamphlet, pp. 25—32, although simply a translation *without acknowledgment* from the Swedish of the great Professor Geijer, in his "Litteratur-Blad," No. 8, for August, and No. 9, for September, 1839. The Count, however, has *carefully omitted* Professor Geijer's closing paragraph:—

"To conclude, after all these subtractions from Mr. Laing's calculations, we are painfully compelled to acknowledge that the number of gross crimes among us, in proportion to our population, is and has been uncommonly great. This fact, whose general causes* we have endeavoured to point out in our present article, has also by no means its least source in our still perpetuated† and far too severe enactments as regards 'laga försvar,'‡ and the promiscuous crowding together of all sorts of criminals and 'försvarslöse'§ in our houses of correction, as they are called." ||

nation assimilating in language, extraction, and religion, with the Swedish, with mutual glorious recollections ever since the thirty years' war, when so many brave Scotchmen fought valiantly side by side with the Swedes for religious liberty, under the victorious banners of Gustavus Adolphus and his lieutenants;—we appeal to this generous nation, and ask, whether there is a single individual among them (always excepting the gentlemen of a certain Review¶) who, placed in the jury-box, in an action against Mr. Laing, for libelling the Swedish nation, would not pronounce the verdict of—GUILTY." —Count Björnstjerna's Answer to Mr. Laing, p. 64.

* The Professor attributes much of the advance of crime in Sweden, to the increase of a population rendered pauper by an antiquated system of commercial and trading and industrial monopoly, and to the additional number of able-bodied cotters thrown upon their parishes, sometimes by local and climatic changes, and sometimes by *selfish* agricultural improvements, (that is, when the law fails to secure to the cottager a home).

† Though a comparatively *modern* tyranny.

‡ Liability to imprisonment for an indefinite period, unless the *free* Swedish *serf* can obtain some bondsman for his taxes!

§ The wretches who are hunted by hundreds into the Swedish Correctionhouse-dens, for not being able to procure any such bondsman. "Försvar" properly means a guarantee or answering for, and is in this place a certificate, often *sold* by better-dressed knaves in the great towns to the worst characters. So much for the *protection* (a new-coined word instead of demoralization) given by such laws!

|| Geijer's Litteraturblad, p. 150.

¶ The *Edinburgh*, which gave a regular Whig-democrat article on Mr. Laing, and greedily adopted all his statements—for want of being able to control him, and because he was a "Scotch Radical."

Colonel Forsell in his last work observes as follows :—

“ A foreigner (Mr. Laing) who travelled through this country in 1838, and directed his attention more especially to the moral worth of the people, particularly in reference to their purity of manners and their obedience to the laws, has judged us very severely, and in my opinion very unjustly. Mr. Laing places us, as regards the number of crimes, below even the so-much-spoken-of Irish population ; but he has forgotten to take into account that our criminal lists, besides being more exact than those of most other nations, include a great number of minor offences and infractions of various economical regulations which in other lands are very properly regarded as belonging to the department of police. Mr. Laing best refutes himself, for he remarks at page 133, ‘ Whatever may be the want of morals in this country, there is no want of manners. You see no blackguardism, no brutality, no revolting behaviour. You may travel through the country, and come to the conclusion that the people are among the most virtuous in Europe.’ At page 136, ‘ At one place only in my whole journey I saw a party of peasants rather tipsy, but by no means drunk when they separated.’ And again, page 140, ‘ This remarkable safety of person and property is not the effect of any superior system of police ; it must be ascribed to the morality and honesty of the people.’ After this tirade, Mr. Laing adds very unjustly, ‘ I agree perfectly in the fact, but not in the conclusion.’ ”

“ As a further proof what weighty reasons Mr. Laing had to suspect our criminal tables, and confide more in what he had before his eyes, and what passed during his long journey through the country, we may add his observation at page 144 : ‘ The stranger is liable to be imposed upon by paying in Banco instead of Riksgäld paper, and the seller quietly taking his payment in a money one-third more valuable than he asked. This happened to me, however, only once or twice.’ ‘ This,’ as he observes in addition, ‘ considering the temptation and opportunity, says more, I think, for the honesty of the common people than if my portmanteau had come safely from Torneo to Gottenburg.’ ”

“ In the mean time it would be well if Mr. Laing’s disadvantageous and exaggerated description of our country had the same effect upon us as Mrs. Trollope’s upon the North Americans. At first they were very angry and very embittered at her observations ; but afterwards they thought over the matter, and corrected those faults and bad habits which she had justly pointed out. May Mr. Laing’s remarks produce the same result among us also ! ” *

In connexion with the above, it may not be uninteresting to perceive at one glance the truth and the proportion of the increase of crime in Sweden, by the following summary and simplified statements :—

* *Forsell’s Anteckningar*, p. 3—5.

The Population was in	The number of Condemned Criminals.*	Or one in every
1805 2,412,772	630	3830 souls.
1815 2,465,066	1307	1886 do.
1825 2,771,252	2251	1231 do.
1835 3,025,439	3352	902 do.
1838 3,100,693	3665	846 do.
1839 3,115,169	3721	837 do.

At the same time, the prisoners in Stockholm were in 1835, as 1 to 35 of the population of the capital, but in 1838 they were as 1 to 15.

In order the better to avoid all mistakes and misrepresentations from any quarter, we will add a *specification* of the criminal offences committed in Sweden, in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, omitting all of minor importance, or that can in *any way* be regarded as cases of police:—

	In 1837.	1838.	1839.
The cases† of Blasphemy	1 ..	2 ..	1
Murder (by violence)	33 ..	24 ..	35
(by poison, &c.)	4 ..	7 ..	4
(with arson, &c.)	0 ..	1 ..	0
(child)	13 ..	12 ..	12
(abortion)	8 ..	18 ..	15
Arson	3 ..	5 ..	5
Burglary and highway robbery ‡ ..	6 ..	8 ..	9
Sacrilege	3 ..	13 ..	15
Bestiality	11 ..	6 ..	8
Incest, &c.	12 ..	9 ..	17
Perjury	11 ..	17 ..	4
Forgery	150 ..	187 ..	159
Rape	0 ..	0 ..	1
	255§	309§	285||

* Imprisoned malefactors. The number of persons (not debtors) under arrest in 1837 was 12,285, and in 1838, 14,712.

† The number of *cases* is usually much *less* than the number of *criminals*.

‡ The better to avoid all disputation, we have altogether omitted above the separate Swedish rubric *theft*, as it is difficult to distinguish in its cyphers between *police* and *assize* cases. The total number of offences under this head was in 1837, 2,456; in 1838, 3,290; and in 1839, 2,814. We give these as well as the preceding figures, *not* to prove the utter demoralization of Sweden, but to show that the *progression* of this demoralization, about whose amount we shall not stop to quarrel, is fearfully rapid.

§ These columns are arranged and abridged from the official "Justitiæ-Stats-Ministerns Berättelse om Brottmålen, &c. under Coppet af 1838." Stockholm, March, 1840, pp. 22 and 40; and ditto for 1839, p. 15 and following.

|| This column is arranged from a similar official "Berättelse" published in August, 1841. We cannot give any *later* returns, as the "Berättelse" for 1840 will not appear till 1842.

In 1830 the number of specified <i>suicides</i> was	....	159
1835	.. .. .	129
1838	.. .. .	172
1839	.. .. .	188
And the annual average from 1830 to 1838	.....	165*

Count Taube, in an article on the necessity of improving the Swedish prisons,† gives a variety of statements relative to the criminal statistics of his country, and arrives at the unfortunate and disheartening result, that its increasing demoralization has *not been lessened* by the increase of popular education, and that it is most developed in those provinces which can *least* complain of poverty and an unfruitful soil. He therefore very justly concludes, that other causes than ignorance and poverty are actively at work in forwarding the progress of Swedish crime. That *one* of these causes is that stated by Count Taube, the dreadful condition of the Swedish gaols, is undeniable. That there are other both religious, social and political reasons, which Mr. Laing asserts, can also not be denied. But that the *root* of the whole is the loose *tone* of public morals, the increasing weight of taxation, the prevalence of the cheap corn-brandy drinking, and the serfage of the lowest classes, is indisputable. Among other sources for this prevalent debased national feeling, Mr. Laing mentions the "corporal chastisement"‡ to which the whole of the labouring population is exposed.

"Accordingly," says a Swedish writer,§ "we free Swedes are the only people in Europe among civilized nations where such a power can be exercised; for not even in the despotic Russia is any master or mistress *legally* permitted to strike a servant or a maid. It is true that there is an exception from this rule, so far as regards the powers of the landholders over their serfs. But if a serf, by permission of his master, enters into the service of any other person, the latter has no other rights over him than over all others not belonging to the servile class. Thus, in a social point of view, Sweden is beyond comparison, and in so far more despotic in its enactments than even Russia itself. In France, a servant would rather receive the stab of a knife than his master's blows. In such countries the masters have the great corrective—of being at any moment able to dismiss a miserable servant."

But we may as well add a word or two here relative to Swedish *taxation*, also one of the causes stated by Mr. Laing to be

* See the above-named "Berättelse" for 1838, Table No. 5, p. 3.

† Inserted in "Aftonbladet" for January 27, 1841, and a following number.

‡ Laing's Swedish Tour, p. 277.

§ We translate from "Aftonbladet" for Sept. 10, 1839.

increasing its poverty and immorality. According to Colonel Forsell,* the taxes in Sweden amount to

	Of the National Capital.	Of the Annual Production.
	1-19	5-21
		(nearly one-fourth.)
In France	1-27	1-6
England.....	1-56	1-10

Count Björnstjerna however, though without pretending to refute the above calculations as far as regards his own country, asserts that Sweden is among the *lowest taxed* of all the European states. This we cannot help considering a most wonderful asseveration. As long as no one can deny the severity of the Swedish climate, and the consequent necessity of every effort and of great economy in order to obtain food for man and beast, especially during the long winters, so long must it remain undeniable that no nation compelled to furnish *one-fourth* of its annual production to *state and municipal rate-and-tax consumers*, can be among the *lowest taxed* of the many rich and flourishing and fertile European nations. Certain it is, that the mass of the Swedish peasantry complain bitterly of their burdens,† and can seldom lay by *one single* dollar at the end of the year, after discharging all the demands of the landlord, the priest, and the tax-gatherer. That this is a *miserable* policy, in more senses than one, all must admit. To plunder the people of their last shilling on pretence of supporting establishments for their defence, is merely to render them careless of their country's fate, because it at last contains nothing worth *their* fighting for. How shall the serf feel the holy enthusiasm of the "*dulce et decorum est pro patriâ mori*," when the gold and the gladness, the land and the laws for which he must shed his blood and offer his last rye-sheaf, are monopolized by an omnipotent and unfeeling middle-cast? The whole system of European finance must undergo a severe revision, or it will end in general European demoralization.

The nearest approach we have seen, to a correct statement of the wealth and poverty of the Swedish people, is ‡ as follows :—

* Statistik öfver Sverige, p. 276. For certain reasons we would beg to observe, that this statement has been *repeated* from the first into the second and third editions.

† At the opening of the late diet the House of Peasants answered the boasting and flattering speech from the throne by an address to the king, breathing the most determined contrast, asserting that though the "*finances*" might flourish, the people were becoming every day more impoverished, and demanding practical measures of reform, reduction, and simplification of legislation. This address was with difficulty even received, much less did his majesty pay any attention to its sentiments.

‡ See the Quinquennial Tabular Commission's Report for 1825. Other *preceding* statements are not to be relied upon, and are much more unfavourable.

HOUSEHOLDS IN 1825.

	In good circumstances.	In decent ditto.	In want.	Total
In Stockholm	1,314	8,777	4,345	14,436
In all other towns	2,635	27,482	10,077	40,194
In the country.....	33,978	327,781	105,666	467,425
In the whole kingdom....	37,927	364,040	120,088	522,055

Thus about three-thirteenths, or nearly one-fourth of the whole population, are paupers, or approaching thereto. The proportion, however, becomes annually more unfavourable. Singularly enough, the two extremes of society, the nobility* and the labourer, become continually poorer, and property is more and more centralized in the hands of an increasingly powerful middle and manufacturing class. Some years back,† the landed and other real property of the

Nobility was officially valued at 75 millions of dollars banco, or about £6,250,000 sterling.

Clergy 1 do. ..or.... £83,333

Burgesses 35 do. ..or.. £2,916,500

Yeomanry 172 do. ..or.. £14,333,333

We find however that the nobility—as a class principally consumers—on an average of the last seventeen years, from 1822 to 1839,‡ diminish their real property by sales to the amount of about 696,110 rix-dollars banco (or 58,000*l.* sterling) *per annum*, of which sum about 31,000*l.* is annually added to the property of the wealthier untitled classes, and about 27,000*l.* to that of the yeomanry. We must not therefore be surprised that this last class, “*Sveriges Allmoge*,” the commons of Sweden, whose labour produces all and pays all, whose numbers are as sixteen to one of all other classes put together,§ and which owns and with its own hands cultivates about three-fifths of all the land in their country, should become more and more indignant at the continuance of constitutional enactments which give them only a one-fourth part in the representation and legislation of the state.

It is remarkable enough, that with the above-mentioned steady

* The entailed estates of the Swedish nobility may now (since 1809), at any time be broken up and may be purchased by commoners, so that the old aristocratic possessions are continually diminishing.

† Forsell's Statistik, p. 320.

‡ See the reports of “Justitiæ-Stats-Ministers-Embetet om förhållandet med in-tecknad och såald fast Egendom.”

§ Forsell's Statistik, p. 324.

progression of poverty* and crime, there is in Sweden, as in so many other countries, a corresponding increase of production and commerce. This can only be explained by remembering that modern legislation confounds production with prosperity, and manufactures with morals, and sacrifices the dreadfully burdened yeoman and unrepresented mechanic to untaxed machinery and middle-class monopoly.

For our present Number we must, from an immense press of matter from nearly all quarters of the world, here conclude our notice, reserving for the next further details and statistical tables of the commerce and manufactures, navy, representation, criminal jurisprudence, and mortality, together with the present claims of Sweden to the attention of, God-be-praised, a Conservative ministry at home, and of the world at large.

ART. VIII.—*Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, depuis leur Origine jusqu'au XIV. Siècle.* Par M. A. Bruce Whyte. (History of the Romance Languages and of their Literature, from their Origin to the 14th Century. By M. A. Bruce Whyte.) 3 Vols. Treuttel and Wurtz. Paris, 1841.

THE work before us, which must have cost the author many years of hard labour, though it appears in the French language was composed by an Englishman in his own tongue, and then translated into French. The celebrated author of Vathek, we believe, proceeded on the reverse principle, and his French is even considered to equal his mother tongue. The reasons which induced Mr. Bruce Whyte to adopt this singular plan were the following: first, his own residence in France, where it is nearly impossible to get English printed correctly (and certainly where the French have tried their hands, unhappily, on Mr. Whyte's own poetry, they have made sad work of it); next, the constant superintendence required for such a work; and, lastly, that the French feel more interest in the history and analysis of Romance than the English. On this last point we avow our incredulity; the taste infused by our great romancer into England, and which,

* See Forsell's Statistik, p. 385. Swedish pauperism is increasing so rapidly, and is assuming so threatening an appearance, that the government lately appointed a commission to inquire into its causes, and to draw up the heads of a new poor law. Their report has already been presented, and some decisive change will doubtless be made at the next diet on this important question. The late diet has empowered the king to take measures for that purpose, on principles which they have drawn out. One of these, for the first time in modern European legislation, makes the manufacturer to a certain extent and in certain cases liable for the support of his poor work-people. This precious and golden enactment, "the beginning of the end," was the motion of Professor Geijer.

like the spell of the wizard, works its way even after his entombment, is, we think, scarcely appreciable by those Englishmen who have not been domiciled here, and thus enabled to trace the mutations of their native isle. Mr. Whyte has given up to the tracing of the origin of the Romance* tongues so much of time and leisure, and has so diligently examined the foreign libraries to illustrate his subject, that we forgive him this ungentle treatment of his own land, considering that few English bestow their time on the Continent so well, or seize with the same avidity on its advantages. The view taken of the origin of the Romance tongues gives them a far higher antiquity than is commonly assigned them; still there is great difficulty in referring them to anything like the era of classicism, and Professor Jäkel and some other German writers seem rather disposed to place classicism at a far more modern period. We refer our readers to No. XX. of this Review, in which "The German Origin of the Latin Language and of the Roman Peoples" is curiously considered, and the derivation tried the reverse way; and deeply should we injure Professor Jäkel did we not fully admit that he has thrown considerable light on many points. It is an extremely difficult question to determine how tongues so discrepant as the eastern, the classical, and romantic, could ever be fused into one compound, and become tongues in existing parlance; but it is assuredly the case, and the further investigation proceeds, the clearer does the truth of the Scripture, with respect to one great common language, become predominant. With this question, however, we shall not, on the present occasion, interfere—though we admit that into this, the ground that we are at present breaking must lead—but look simply to a part of this great question, the origin of Romance. The researches of our author are not eminently encouraging as to its era, since at the commencement of his work he informs us:

"Jusqu'ici le but principal des auteurs semble avoir été de simplifier la question et d'assigner à l'origine de Romance une date positive et un lieu special, où il prit tout à coup naissance, et d'où il se ramifia sur divers points jusqu'à ce que par son énergie propre, il se repandit dans toute l'Europe Latine, en étouffant complètement les dialectes indigenes de chaque peuple. Nous avouerons franchement que quant à nous, après les recherches les plus assidues, nous n'avons pas réussi à déterminer, ni même à conjecturer, *la date ou le berceau de cette langue*; et ici nous devons faire observer que, si nous parlons de son origine dans le titre de notre ouvrage, nous ne prétendons pas remonter au delà des preuves, qui

* We are greatly at a loss in English for expressions of this character. The Dictionnaire de l'Académie gives "*Romane*, adj. *langue Romane ou Romance*, composée de Celtique et de Latin, qui fut en usage en France sous les deux premières races;" obviously not the full extent of the term, giving only the species for the genus.

ressortent, soit de l'idiome même, soit de la tradition ou de l'histoire, soit de sa comparaison avec les langues mortes ou vivantes."

With this opinion thus expressed, and further that the discovery of the origin of languages is as untraceable as that of the nations who used them,—but with the full conviction also that no national dialect can ever be uprooted,—our author proceeds to inform us of the views and motives on which his book has been constructed: 1st, to repair the injustice with which Latin Europe has been treated in all the middle age details; 2d, to indicate what circumstances, moral and political, have favoured the development and progress of the common tongue; 3d, to combat the idea so commonly entertained that the Arabs have powerfully influenced the revival of science in Europe; 4th, to prove that all the branches of the family have created their literature by a spontaneous effort in the mutual interchange of words, idioms, phrases, rules, and forms of their respective poetry.

Some idea of the extent of the work conducted on the above principles may be formed from the subjoined statement. It commences with the popular hypotheses to explain the origin of the Romance tongues; reviews the system of M. Raynouard, to which the author opposes his own. The ancient inscriptions of Italy are next considered; then the origin of the Basque language, which is followed by a chapter on the permanence of indigenous dialects. The unity of the language in France follows, next an analysis of the Wallachian, then a comparison of the primitive verbs; the Romaunch or language of the Tyrol; the gradual corruption of the Latin language, with the fusion of this with Romance. A view of the middle ages follows, and the first dramatic attempts. Our author here raises his standard against the Arabs, and then proceeds to the origin of chivalry, with which he closes his first volume. The second contains an account of the Nibelungen, the Arabic tale of Yokdhan, with the introduction of Arab tales in general. The development of Romanticism follows. A view of the inferior character of the old Italian is followed by one of Provence, the Troubadours, with the declension of the Provencal tongue in France, together with its advance in Catalonia. The progress of the Spanish language is next considered, the origin of the Langue d'Oïl, and the elements of the French, with which the second part closes. The third embraces the poem of Charlemagne, the lays and songs of the Trouveres, with the Fabliaux and chronicles of France. The rise of Italian literature is next considered, the French influence on Italy, with a review of Dante and Petrarch; and though we think scarcely within the limits of the proposed subject, many new details connected with these writers are brought

forward with boldness and considerable ingenuity. Such is the outline of our author's labours. To attempt to do more than slightly touch upon these numerous points would far exceed our limits; but this we promise, though more than outline we cannot hope to give. To the attentive observer of languages it will be perfectly apparent that in the European, more especially in the French, Italian, and Spanish, there exists a kind of general analogy between them which would appear to indicate a common base. Various writers in these countries have indited learned works on their individual tongues; but any thing like an attempt to deduce principles from the general analogy has not been made with any degree of success. We think the time is probably past when we shall begin to trace every thing in language back to the classical tongues, and when we shall begin to see that there must have been nations, and those of high civilization, independent of them. A history, for example, of Etruria, of which the Roman historians have furnished no details, and to which every day contributes something additional to our previous information, might have led us to a very different position in the view of the present subject to what we are at present enabled to command. In the consideration of these questions we are further embarrassed in the use of terms. The terms Roman and Romance are never used by the writers of the middle ages to designate *Latin*, but to express the popular dialects derived from various countries which were in use under the Roman rule. The French in their vanity would confine them to Provence, which is absurd. Scholarship has exhausted itself in efforts to show that French, Italian and Spanish, are of Latin origin, to but little demonstrative efficacy. There are four principal theories on this subject; 1st. That which derives Romance from a gradual corruption of grammatical or classical Latin: 2dly. From the *Sermo Rusticus*, or patois: 3dly. That which deduces it from the mixture of Latin and Gothic: 4thly. From the Romance or Provençal. Now no man will assuredly, when freed from the fetters of classicism, admit the first. The Latin is a language in all respects *sui generis*; the forms of its verbs, the inflexion of its cases, are alike unique and wholly varying from any modern language, saving its passive, which is formed the same as the Welch. Modern languages are certainly insusceptible of case or declension. It is impossible to consider that any derivative tongue from Latin only could so completely lose all traces of its original. At the same time the image that Mr. Bruce Whyte has employed to convey his notion of this discrepancy is most unfortunate, inasmuch as we do not see that it is impossible that the Greeks could derive their architecture from Egypt. On the contrary, we believe they did, and we trace in the Egyptian temple the basis of the Greek, and conceive the Corinthian very

clearly traceable out of the Egyptian orders. Still, though the illustration fail, the principle receives our cordial support. The second hypothesis fails from similar reasons. Patois never varies so essentially from the original language as to throw off all affinities. Supposing Italian to have been thus generated, French and Spanish remain yet to be explained. We are not quite clear, however, that Italian does not maintain many resemblances. It assuredly does, as we have shown in Art. I. in this Number, in freedom from aspirates, which appears to have prevailed at a very early period, even in the second century; but this alone, and many other points of similarity, are not adequate to even the demonstration of Italian forming this patois, and we are on the search for a principle that shall extend to many tongues. The third hypothesis has Emanuel Thesaurus for its author. This writer says, in his life of Theodoric, "Allora di due popoli si fece un popolo, e di due lingue uno linguaggio; in cui latinizzando la barbarie e barbarizzando la Latinità nacque la bella lingua Italiana." Muratori and Tiraboschi incline to this opinion. Great names, doubtless, but on a diligent comparison of all extant of Gothic, the version of Ulfilas, the notion of the possibility of such an origin as this becomes still more complicated than even the rise of the Latin itself. Our last point alone remains to be treated. Numerous French authors of the present as well as the past century, struck with the resemblance of the Romance dialects, and satisfied of the weakness of the previously adduced arguments, thought that they had arrived at the solution of the mystery by asserting that the type was formerly extant in their own land. According to them a language arose, formed out of the barbarous jargons into a beautiful system, from the darkness of the middle ages—a language which, preceding the period of the Troubadours, gave rise to Italian, Spanish, and all the other Romance idioms. Numerous distinguished writers have espoused this notion; but M. Raynouard united their conjectures and guesses into a system, and gave a grammar of the Romance tongue; a work not free from the charge of plagiarism, and whose leading hypothesis of a declension of the Latin into barbaric terms is attempted to be supported by quotations of certain periods in which this is exemplified. Thus, for example, that murderer of Priscian, Gregory I., is introduced stating his sentiments in the following words: "Non metacismi collisionem fugio, non barbarismi confusionem devito, hiatusque motusque etiam et præpositionum casus servare contemno; quia indignum vehementer existimo ut verba cælestis oraculi restringam sub regulis Donati; neque enim hæc ab ullis interpretibus in scripturæ sanctæ auctoritati servati sunt."

Yet we quite agree with our author in rejecting the notion that the period of barbarism, when the formal structure of the Latin language became depraved, was capable of the production of a perfect language, which is only a mighty absurdity. Grammatical instinct exists not. The Provençal unquestionably did not start into its perfection at its birth. The genius of the Provençal is evidently totally distinct from both Italian and Spanish. Certainly the peculiarity of these languages in their definite article, while it demonstrates them underived from the Latin, equally clearly shows that the Provençal is not the base. In the Provençal, and also in Dacic-Roman, we find the article following the noun as it occurs in a Boustrophedon inscription. Muratori, in his *Thesaurus Veter. Inscript.* tom. iv. cl. 25, has this note on the words of an inscription, "*Ita della dicta Echiesia.*" "Such inscriptions were not composed in remote periods, but simply when the common Italian emerged from the Latin. Here you see blended together Italian and Latin words, and you gain the information that from *Ecclesia* arose *echiesia*, then *chiesia*, lastly *chiesa*." These examples certainly, however numerous collated, do not establish the fact that M. Raynouard has sought to educe from them, that the article was invented and introduced into the sister tongues by the Provençal. M. Raynouard attempts to trace the origin of all to the Romane of France, by following out a list of terminations of nouns, and he depends principally on those in *a*, such as *batalha*, from which he traces *I. battaglia*, *S. battalla*, and Portuguese *batalha*, &c. This proves not only community of origin, he adds, but also the existence of a common intermediary type, which has modified either the Latin or other tongues, by the operations of which we trace still the characteristic impression and perfect unity. Community of origin may be conceded, but we cannot assign this infiltration of all into one germ to the virtues of the Provençal. We shall not proceed to annotate further on the system of M. Raynouard, which our author examines carefully, and disproves by careful inspection through all the parts of speech and the terminology of the nations of the Provençal type. This grammar has the high merit of an accurate statement of what Provençal is, of clearing up many usages of the Provençal writers, and indicating that they are not arbitrary; it has rendered Provençal intelligible, but it has not made it the solvent of all other language into one common base. The language of the Troubadours is of great and leading importance on all these inquiries, and M. Raynouard has shown the component parts of it in such a manner as to induce us to refer all readers of that literature to his work, which illustrates the period admirably. We next proceed to the hypothesis of our author. He divides it into five propositions:—1st. At an

epoch of a very remote period, and far anterior to the historical era, different dialects of an unknown mother tongue must have prevailed in the west and south of Europe, where they had produced the Gaelic or Celtic, and the ancient languages of Italy, Spain, and Great Britain. 2d. We are led to think that under the Roman rule the illiterate classes of Italy and of the provinces never entirely abandoned their national dialects, but that some words, Latin and others, having been introduced by the Roman proprietors into the conquered countries, in the end prevailed in use in those countries, with modifications however among each nation, according to the genius of the mother tongue, and according to the different circumstances which exert an influence on the pronunciation. 3dly. We are authorized to conclude, from the historic testimonies and others, that, counting from the reign of Trajan, the Romance dialects must have existed in substance in all parts of Latin Europe. 4thly. After the dismemberment of the empire these dialects, homogeneous in their character and general construction, but different in forms and details, received a great number of additions and modifications derived from the idioms of the nations who established themselves in Italy and in the provinces; but they were called Roman or Romance because substantially transmitted by the Romans, comprising under that appellation all those who obtained the right of citizenship. 5. Lastly, it is sufficiently proved that from the commencement of the middle age the Romance language had sufficient stability to influence the Latin of that period, which, acting in its turn on the Romance, has gradually ripened and transformed it into the languages of Italy, Spain, and France.

Of his first proposition our author candidly admits that he cannot claim any credence to it from adducing examples of it, nor any historical trace of its diffusion, nor even tradition. Still he argues, and we think rightly, that this is not a gratuitous and baseless supposition; and assuredly historical and traditional notices of the earlier nations of the world are so extremely scant that his inefficiency to establish what no one has any means of doing does not amount to much against his proposition. A few nations, the Egyptian, yet that not much, the Greek and Latin have usurped the records of time; and though this journal has bestowed no small pains on bringing to notice the Sclavonian and other great stocks, with a view to dive into the past history of the species, and into the origin of tongues, yet have our materials, like the Germans in Greek, to use Porson's doggerel, been "sadly to seek" (whether this might not be reversed, we shall not stop to inquire): and we have had to draw largely on hypothesis, where materials were neither afforded to construct upon the

solid basis of analogy nor remains. Our author has then to show all that is left open to him, the traces of the invisible past language in other tongues, that common type from which the rest have been derived, and he proceeds to the ancient inscriptions of Italy, to remains of the ancient Breton, the Armorican, and the Basque, for the detection of the lost mother tongue. Our author has here not founded his observations on the coincidence of isolated expressions, which may arise from a multitude of causes. It is on general affinities of structure, analogy, and government, that he attempts to establish his point. The ancient question of the first inhabitants of Italy, equally insoluble and unprofitable as a question of debate, he abandons.

The striking relation of Oscan and Etruscan to the ancient monuments, which diminishes as the Greek gains the ascendancy, he indicates. The Breton he views as closely analogous to them. Latin also as identical with it. The formation of the passive in this language he ascribes to a root even at the present day preserved in Welch. The generality of our readers are fully aware that the passive in Latin is formed by the simple letter *r*, thus *amo*, *amor*, &c.; and they are equally aware that there existed in use down to Virgil's time certainly, nay to Juvenal also, infinitives passive, such as *amarier*, *legier*, *mittier*. Now it is certainly singular that in Welch the passive sense is given by this suffix. Thus *caru*, *amare*; *carer*, *amari* or *amarier*; *wilaw*, *plorare*; *wilawer*, *plorari*, &c. The active *torri* or *tori*, "to break," becomes passive by adding *er*. The root is *tor*, "breaking." Thus "Tor-er pen y den," "Let this man's head be severed." We cannot fix the epoch of the Latin passive flexions, but we do know that they preceded the conquest of Magna Græcia, since Ennius has them. We think this a tolerably fair opening on the part of our author, of the antiquity of some lost early type, which the dialect has preserved. We shall now proceed to notice the ancient inscriptions of Italy. The first on which an attempt is made, to interpret "a parte post," is the "Arval Hymn."

ENOS LASES JUVATE

Nos lares juvate

NEVE LUERVE MARMAR SINS INCURRERE IN PLEORES

neve luerem marmars sines incurrere in flores

SATUR FUFERE MARS LUMEN SALE STA BERBER

ador fieri Mars lumen maris siste berber

SEMUNES ALTERNEI ADVOCAPIT CONCTOS

semones alterni advocate cunctos

ENOS MAMOR JUVATO

nos mamuri juvate

TRIUMPE TRIUMPE

triumphe triumphe.

The above is the hymn with Lanzi's interpretation, with the single exception of *sale* for *sali*. Here our author corrects Lanzi in several places by the help of the dialects in question. For MARMAR, mamers, he reads from ancient Breton, Armorican, and Romance (to which by the way *marmor* might as easily have led him, which is in the Latin) *mare*, which certainly aids the interpretation of the passage. In the same manner, he views *Luerve* as an error of the graver (probably transferring the *ve* from the previous *neve*). *Luer*, then, he views as equivalent to *llwgr*, or, as pronounced in ancient Breton, *loogr* (*lues*). If this reasoning be correct, the immutability of *case*, or rather the defectiveness of *case* in modern tongues, was a property of the Latin also in its original form. *Pleores* he does not translate *flores*, as Lanzi, but according to Ducange, who gives *pleuras*, *fields*. And it is evident from Ducange's citation, Consuet. Bituric. c. 66, "Et chacune *pleure* donet au seigneur l'an une quart de froment," and other authorities, that this is the fact. The Bas Breton gives *pleu*, *champ*, *champagne*.

These emendations place the line wonderfully clear—

maris
"Neve luem marmoris sines incurrere in prata."

The words "*satur fufere Mars*," are rendered "*satorem fove Mars*;" assuming *satur* invariable in *case*, and taking *fufere* for *fovere*, and assigning to this an imperative sense, after the Greek usage of the infinitive. In Armorican, *sat* implies *sowing*. In the same manner he proceeds to assign a sense to *berber*, of baron, lord. In ancient Breton, and in Romance, this word is of frequent occurrence. "Fust, prince, un *ber* un eschençon," (Guil. Givast. A.D. 1214; Ducange, v. "Barones.") "*Berbone* lo stesso che barone" (La Crusca). These words are not traceable in primitive Latin, yet they appear in its dialects—old French and Italian, ancient Breton and Armorican. A series of similar illustrations are appended, and from them we select the word *pareceidad*. On this word, in the law attributed to Numa, interpreters have had much controversy as to whether it was confined to our sense of the word *parricide*, or used in a wider extent. The Welch gives it as the *slayer of his equal*, *par* (*æqualis*), and *cwyddad* (*slayer*). The attempts to explain the Etruscan inscriptions by Welch and Breton are equally successful; and while under this head, we have to return our acknowledgments to Mr. Stratton, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, resident in Toronto, for his transmission of two valuable papers, one containing a most useful table of affinities between the Gaelic or Celtic of Scotland and Latin, and a similar paper pointing out the analogy of it with the Greek. Right glad are we to hear from this gentleman that the article on the

Magyars, in No. iv. F. Q. R., and that on Professor Jäkel, No. xx., gave the first impetus to his exertions, which will not, we trust, end with these branches, but will be carried on through others yet unexplored by him, and which, in common with the labours of Mr. Bruce Whyte and others, must succeed in throwing light on the difficult point all seek equally to elucidate. The Etruscan inscriptions certainly give way before the applications of this gentleman, and in inscriptions which Lanzi had evidently given up in despair. Neither does the presence of cases in Etruscan remain to prove any thing against our author's hypothesis; for, as he justly remarks, the Etruscan had probably then culminated; and though in its early state, in common with the ancient Breton, the Armorican, the Welch, the Bas Breton, and the Basque, it was originally monoptot in the form of its nouns, yet this was a later innovation on the language.

The Oscan inscription found at Avella near Naples confirms this view, and the facility of interpretation of this by Passeri proves how analogous the Etruscan monuments must be to it. These points, then, conduct us to the question of a mother tongue of simple form without cases, and probably with verbs, as in the Welsh, of one uniform conjugation. We now pass to the Basque language, a people that have lately attracted considerable attention by their support of their "fueros," and who have lived detached and isolated from both Moors and Spaniards, and retained their usages and habits probably unaltered for many centuries. Now Strabo (iv. 199) tells us that all Spain was occupied by Celts. Pliny says "Celticos a Celtiberis ex Lusitania advenisse manifestum est sacris, lingua, oppidorum nominibus." (B. iii. 1.) Lucan says,

"Profugique a gente vetusta
Gallorum, Celtæ miscentes, nomen Iberis."

Strabo further informs us that in Spain the dialects are extremely varied, and of these dialects we can scarce imagine any, from its isolation of ages, so likely to exhibit traces of the primitive language of Spain as the Basque. What we should be led thus naturally to suspect would be the case is proved by the elements of the language. The Basque forms the language of all the country between the Bidassoa and the Ebro. It contains 19 radicals, some correspondent to the classic tongues, others not. Each of its vowels is long, short and medial. In this respect it maintains an analogy with Hebrew; and prosodiocal distinction we are quite prepared to find a later innovation, and arising from written and not from oral languages. Like the Russian it wants generic, abstract and technical terms. It has a definite article, *haren*, and uses a pronoun, *batec*, for the indefinite article. To remedy this deficiency, the Basque authors have had recourse to Latin or modern

Spanish. It is unquestionably a poor language in words. Don Astorleo has asserted that it contains 4,426,554,929 words, independent of trisyllables, which is of course an immense lie. It is however highly picturesque, maintaining a strong Celtic affinity in that particular. Thus *Yaincoa*, the name of God, literally signifies *He who is on high*; *Iguzguia* (the sun), *he who gives day*; *Ilharguia* (the moon), *that which shines in the dark*. The numeration is extremely curious and perfectly primitive. From *hamar*, ten, to *hogoi*, twenty, they add the units to *hamar*; thirty is rendered by *hogoi eta hamar*; but the multiples of twenty add simply the number of units before it; thus, *hirur hogoi* (sixty) or *three twenty*. The first point of affinity requisite to support the general analogy with the Welsh and Breton is in monoptots or indeclinable nouns, making no more alterations in this respect than we see effected in Hebrew, the case appears plain. But as to the verbs, Larramendi made out that they had twenty-three conjugations, including neuter, passive and irregular. But this was nothing to that redoubtable child of La Mancha, Don Astorleo, whose details on the copiousness of the tongue, as they began in a lie, were carried out in the same. In 1803, in an "Apology" for the Basque language, he assigns 206 different conjugations, eleven moods, and gives himself the trouble seriously to name all this illegitimate issue. As to the flexions, these he modestly admitted did not exceed 39,152.—*Apology*, p. 151. These men in buckram were reduced by M. Lecluse to *four*, and even these may be reduced to *one*. Thus does a plain tale put down exaggeration. Such words as the following, given by the Abbé d'Iharce, as a proof of the copiousness of the language, are a perfect absurdity, since they surpass any mortal intonation.

"Aitarenarenarenanicaco-arenarenarenarequin."

Basque, if attentively studied, is extremely simple in base, having neither active, passive, nor neuter verbs, forming distinct and complete conjugations. The verbs often combine with them, as in Italian, French, and Spanish, the object of the discourse. The auxiliary verbs, in all languages singularly analogous, are remarkably so in the Basque and Welch. Modern Welch, however, having adopted the Latin letters, has rendered written Welch very different from oral Welch. In the ancient Breton, no word begins with *r*, and it is still unknown to the people, yet in books we find it repeatedly. In similar manner we find in Wales *rhwy* (*rex*), which a Welshman sounds *errhwy*, and which coincides wonderfully with the Basque *erriguea*. In this respect, as has been justly remarked in the article on Brittany, in No. LIII.,

the Welch has become corrupted by being written, but the Irish, to whom writing was known at a very early period, is least corrupted when well written. The analogy of the Welch and Basque prepositions is remarkable, but the two languages differ singularly in gender. The Basque has but one, the Welch three. This is easily to be reconciled, from the fact that one had a literature and its expressive wants from a very remote period, and the other never enjoyed this. In the singular mode of numeration above alluded to, the Welch is identical with the Basque. Thus, W. trigain, and B. hirur-hogoi, *sixty*. The names of the months, in both languages, indicate their respective temperature. Tense exhibits equal conformity, for Taliessin, Merzin, Owain, and the bards, are not a fair illustration of the language in its primitive form. Dr. Rhyss allows that the tenses in that language were generally confused. After some subtle divisions of his own, he adds, “Sed hæc omnia, tam apud autores quam apud vulgum, sæpe numero confunduntur.”—*L. Cymr. Inst.* p. 36, 592.

When we consider all the analogies thus enumerated, one language almost oral, and the other in high literary cultivation, any apparent want of proximity is not wonderful. Basque, then, we view as a descendant from the common mother tongue which we are seeking; and we trust, since demonstration cannot, from the nature of the case, be possible, that we have shown strong grounds for believing that the isolated Cantabrian possessed, with his primitive habits, also large portions of the primitive language. We now proceed to the investigation of our second and third propositions.

Our author long hesitated whether he should not except the Spaniards from the second proposition. Six different dialects prevailed among them. Pliny numbers twenty-five complete Roman colonies in Spain, which alone would be quite sufficient to lead us to expect a great intermixture of Latin with all the national dialects. Larramendi has traced out a parallel to the Basque and the Castilian, and clearly identified the most polished, with possibly the most barbarous portion of the country. Ancient Spanish, Breton, and Armorican, may be fairly shown to be of the same character. Welsh, Irish and Basque roots occur nearly similar in sense and form. Neither do we think, as has been too often imagined to have been the case, that there was much disposition to diffuse the Latin, to the extinction of the common dialects, on the part of the conquering Romans. A passage given by our author, from Ulpian, seems to infer the contrary:—“Fidei commissa quocunque sermone relinqui possunt; non

solum Latina vel Græca, sed etiam Danica vel Gallicana, vel alterius cujuscunque gentis.”—l. 32. c. 11. Proofs are next tendered of the unity of the language of the Franks, but of course of no very high antiquity, not higher than the ninth century; still there is no question that the existence of these dialects was recognized at a much higher period, as we have shown, and we next proceed to the Wallachian, or Dacic-Roman. In this language the coincidence with old Italian is very remarkable in the position of the article. This, obviously, in such words as *fratello, cavallo, sorella*, was not in the front of the word as at present, but at the end; the roots of the above being *frate, caval, suora*, &c. The correspondence in the roots with the Italian is perfectly astonishing, though we cannot find space, we regret to say, to illustrate their analogies; and similar violence we must do our feelings in not transcribing a simple chanson which Mr. Bruce Whyte has translated from this language: we refer the curious to vol. i. p. 229. The primitive verbs are also well investigated in the five forms—Wallachian, Italian, Castilian, Provençal, and Romaunch, or Tyrol or Rhetian. While under this head an important observation must not be passed over on the pronoun *si*, or *se*. This, in Romance, discharges very important functions, answering to the French *on*, as is well known; and it also indicates that the verbs neuter are employed transitively, and actives and neuters also are employed passively. Raynouard even does not give this, which is surprising. In the following line from Petrarch the sense is quite clear.

“Ma spesso nella fronte il cor *si* legge.”

Legge here receives a passive sense. In similar manner in Dante,

“Ma visione apparve che ritenne

A se mi tanto stretto per vedersi,

Chè di mia confession non mi sovvenne.”—*Par. c. 3.*

Here also it gives the verb a passive sense. This particle, borrowed from the Gothic, discharges these functions in it as well as in Anglo-Saxon and Swedish. Thus in Gothic: “*Iah is silbo vedovo.*” (Et illa ipsa vidua erat).—Ulph. Luc. vii. 12.

We next proceed to the Romaunch, or Rhetian or Tyrol. The term Romaunch was probably the name given to the language shortly after the edict of Caracalla, by which the Rhetians became Roman citizens. The French and German even probably issued from the Gothic, and had no inconsiderable intermixture with the Romaunch. This was a portion of country which Theodoric was anxious to secure, and took under his especial charge. The influence of the Ostrogoths was not extensive

however in this country. Charlemagne deputed to Tchudi, whom he named to the command of this province, all his rights. The inhabitants of these countries seem to have been amongst the first to favour the reformed doctrines. The celebrated Swiss historian, Müller, informs us that the sale of indulgences by a Cordelier of Milan, named Samson, who offered plenary absolution to all for money, and proportioned his charges to the offence, led to their abandoning the faith of Rome. The celebrated monks of St. Gall, in the tenth century, had already manifested strong symptoms of independence of the see of Rome. They took upon themselves the task of pronouncing on the vexata quæstio of the line of apocryphal and canonical Scriptures. The Franciscans also boldly denounced the iniquities of Rome. Had the reformers not arisen, there were materials in the breasts of the Romish adherents quite sufficient ere long to have produced important changes. No one can avoid being struck with the style in which Dante, Machiavelli, Petrarch, Boccaccio, treat the Romish Church. Such men were in themselves a nucleus for reformation. In 1516 the celebrated Zuingle commenced his career, and the monks of Einsiedlin were among his firmest supporters. They also appointed him curate of the village. Campel, the historian of Rhetia, was among his most fervent admirers. He far exceeds Tchudi in local knowledge, though inferior to Müller in imagination, and to Tchudi in philosophic disquisition. In 1560 the New Testament was translated into Romaunch, and the whole country turned to Protestantism. A copy of the Old Testament in the dialect called Ladin, now in the British Museum, bears the date of 1745. During the sixteenth century, after the translation of the New Testament spoken of above, the Romaunch became closer in all its affinities to the Italian. Before this period it possessed no distinct flexions for the past, perfect, and future, in its verbs, and had no conditional. In 1647 the emperor recognized the independence of the Cantons, and ceded all rights of sovereignty over the Grisons for 75,000 florins. The dialects of Romaunch are various, but still mutually intelligible. It bears the same character as the other branches of Romance. Celtic appears the base in the oldest roots. It contains a vast number of French and German words, and also a bastard Latin. Its pronouns and verbs partake strongly of German and Italian. We subjoin one specimen of the Romaunch in the Engadine dialect, that our readers may not accuse us of quitting the Tyrol without exhibiting some of its ancient minstrelsy. The translation is by Mr. Bruce Whyte, faithful though not very flowing or elegant. It is entitled "The Lover of Weinsberg."

1.

Eau volg bain alla mia bella,
Ed ell eir vuol bain a mi,
Na nel muond nonais co ella
Che plaschar m'poassa pli.

2.

Nus vivains in allegria,
In plaischarla union,
Non sentin otra fadia,
Co nel temp ch'eu l'abbandon.

3.

Ma noass cours taunt s'assumaglien,
Ella vuol quistue ch' eau vo;
E pissers* ma non s'travaglien,
Quelo laschains nus a sien lo.†

4.

D'el sutur eis l'amatura,
Ed eir eau unguota main;
El trampelgt‡ va tuot suot sura§
Cura chia nus duos sutain.

5.

Escha sun con otr'intraischia
Ils olqs m'ho ladiieu|| adoss
Ma ella no'ls ditumar laischia
Ne d'oters vuol ne tuchiar l'oss.

6.

Escha vein la generala¶
Cuerr in prest a la pigliar
L'accompang na be mar schiala**
Ma in stuva poass entrar.

7.

Edu allr ch'ungiens non sainten
Chiosas dischains da taunt dalet
Che noass cuors quasi s'alguaintent††
Per amur e per affet.

8.

Sch'un colomb eis ella prisatt‡
Inuoainta sch un agné
Eis miviglia, eis bendisa§§
Eis per amur, eis pura fé

9.

Taunt ardeinte eis sia ogliæda
E taunt tener eis sien cour
Scha Weinsberg fass assediæda
Ella gniss a m'portar our.

1.

I love a maid beyond compare,
And well I ween she doats on me;
There is not in the world a fair
Can give me such delight as she.

2.

Our days glide on pleasantness,
In union of the soul and heart;
We know no hour of wretchedness
Save when reluctantly we part.

3.

Our hearts are so completely pair'd,
That all I wish she wishes too;
Strife never yet our bliss impaired,
Him we abandon to his crew.

4.

She loves to thread the dance's maze,
Nor less than her the dance I love;
The rest in mute amazement gaze
When we on airy tiptoe move.

5.

If with another pair'd I dance,
On me her eyes are fixt—be sure
From me they never turn askance,
Nor other sight nor touch endure.

6.

Soon as the signal ends the sport,
Eager I fly her hand to press;
Nor merely down the steps escort,
But to her bower obtain access.

7.

Oh, then exchange we thought for thought,
Converse so sweet none ever heard;
Our hearts as if to fusion wrought,
Melt with delight at every word.

8.

She's tender as the female dove,
And as the lambkin innocent;
Playful, yet holy, pure her love,
Pure as the faith with which 'tis blent.

9.

Such courage flashes in her eye,
Such tenderness her bosom warms,
If Weinsberg were in jeopardy,
She'd come and save me in her arms.

* W. Pwys, sadness.

† Lo. B. Lien.

‡ G. Trampelg.

§ I. Sottosopra. || G. Laden.

¶ Generala. "La danse finale d'un bal."

** I. Scala.

†† To change into water. B. ag. eau.

‡‡ W. Hastening. Prisa.

§§ W. Bendigaid, holy.

The following metre probably approaches close to the modern Tyrol:

“Lein l'aura schar p'ls larischs dar
 E lein la glient schar battarlar
 La regla sei il nus plischer)
 La Harmonia nies voler.”
 “Free let the wind through larches wind,
 And joy enfold the rustic hind;
 Pleasure the law to which we bow,
 And Harmony our only vow.”

We have to apologize to Mr. Bruce Whyte for not inserting his translation here, which does not give the rhythm of the original.

A very ingenious chapter on the gradual corruption of the Latin, in which the mutations of the letters by the nations which received it, according as the genius of their own language led the way, follows, and the result may be easily foreseen; the language began to fail among them, and when this was succeeded by the incorporation of their own terms with Latin, a barbarous jargon was soon the result. The following instructions to gold-beaters prove that Latin was soon subject to a state of metamorphose. It is from a MS. of the eighth century, entitled “*Compositiones ad tingenda musiva, pelles, et alia, ad deaurendum ferrum, &c.*” Our readers will find it in Muratori. (*De petalo auri.*)

“Batte lacmina . . . et si una longa fuerit vel curta, per martellum adequatur tam *de* latum quam *de* longum. De illi—duas octo petra fieri debent. Scaldate illo in foco; batte et tere illud cum tenalia ferrea, sed tornatur de intro in foras.”

In similar manner in Spain inscriptions show that a mingled style was beginning to be in vogue, and the laws of Lombardy furnish us with complete proofs that Romance had affected the Latinity of that epocha. Peter the Hermit, and the other Crusaders, must have addressed their followers in some general language intelligible to the mass. The monks doubtless kept up the classic Latin during the middle ages. Thirty MSS. of Terence, with notes, illustrations, figures, fully evincing their sense of each laughable scene, attest that they were then in full classical vigour. They also did their best to insure the preservation of the MSS. Muratori gives a catalogue of those pertaining to Bibbio, which embraced Cicero, Horace and Terence, Juvenal, Martial, Lucan, Pliny, and several historians and geographers. The historian Luitprand also and others somewhat redeem this period from barbarism.

We pass on to the first dramatic essays of this period; Gallicanus, a religious drama of the tenth century, by the Nun Roswitha, and Babio, a comedy with a tragic denouement of the

fourteenth. The MS. of the first was discovered in the fifteenth century by a German monk and published by him. It contains just such an action as the confined views of a nun were likely to exhibit. A Roman warrior, Gallicanus, is in love with Constantia, the daughter of the Emperor Constantine, and proposes to the emperor for her hand. The emperor and his daughter mutually deceive him. The daughter had vowed the oath of an eternal chastity, and Constantine wishes to insure the successful leading of his troops by his favourite general.

On the faith of an accepted lover Gallicanus proceeds with the army, and is on the point of being discomfited when two monks assure him that if he becomes a Christian the victory is certain. He does so. A giant warrior, whose arm nothing can resist, with an unknown host appears in the fight for the Romans and the victory is theirs. On his return to Rome he announces his determination to give himself up to the service of Christ, and to renounce the hand of the emperor's daughter. The applause with which this motion is received by the emperor and his daughter may be imagined when a nun details it—this terminates the first act. In the second the Apostate Julian figures, and Gallicanus becomes a Christian martyr at Alexandria. The work has no originality, and of course little save monastic feeling, combined as usual with much duplicity and Jesuitism. But *Babio*, of which a copy exists in the Bodleian, is really no bad successor to the lost "Iepores" of Plautus and Terence; and though the slave Fodius lacks the wit of Davus, and possesses more than his proportion of malicious daring, yet the miser *Babio* is well sketched. *Babio* has a young ward, *Viola*, somewhat of a jilt, who has a lover young and wealthy, *Croceus*. The old man does his utmost to prevent their union, which is advocated by the authority of the Prince, whom the miser fears to displease; he is of course unsuccessful, and falls a victim to the artifices of his house-keeper, *Pecula*, and the slave *Fodius*, and with his death the piece closes. It has one singular peculiarity, the personification of *Fama*, or Rumor, who informs *Babio* of the evil doings of his household, and it had been better for him had he never listened to her fatal story. The whole comedy is in elegiac poetry, we presume in deference to its tragic close. We select a few lines indicating the miser's passion for his ward.

B. "Qua ratione queam *Viola* caruisse sodali

Cujus in ore favum mellificatis apes.

Sidera sunt oculi, quales fers, *Phœbe*, capilli;

Phillis inest digitis, in pede pes *Tetidis*.

Fert *Helena* faciem gracilem. Corinnam

Meridiem risu, dente coequat ebur.

"Tota nitet Viola, niteat si pectore fido
 Si mecum maneat, si procul ire neget.
 Cum Croceo Violæ sunt convenientia nulla,
 Ut color est impar, sic fore corda precor."

He proceeds to address Viola, contrasting himself with his rival.

"Esto mihi domina—salvo tibi subter honore.
 Vult fore rex Croceus, Babio servus erit."

She replies,

"Quid mihi cum Croceo? Sibi quam vult eligit ille.
 Vi, prece, vel pretio non ero pignus ei.
 Auro si pascat, Tirio si me tegat ostro,
 Orbem si mihi det, non mihi carus erit.
 Occidet ante polus, pelagus siccabitur ante,
 Quam, Babio, Viola desinet esse tua."

(*Aside,*)

Vita foret sine te, mors est mihi vivere tecum.
 Nunc utinam rapiar, est mora pœna mihi."

The concluding words of Babio, after ward, slave and wife have failed him, are very terse.

"Ecce! Fodi, Peculam tibi do, non utere votis,
 Experto crede, nostraque fata time!
 Croceus et Viola valeant et vos valeatis.
 Felices ævo, germine, divitiis.
 Babio testis adest—hæc ultima verba tenete,
 Sunt incredibiles uxor, alumna, cliens."

We regret we have no space to afford for the whole of that beautiful specimen of this period, the *Expansio Rosarum Virgilii*, as yet unpublished and little known. Six lines will show that the elegance of Tibullus was not extinct. The whole poem is beautiful and touching in its strain, the last six lines are all that we can give. The caducity of the flower is thus described:—

"Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
 Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.
 Sed bene quod, paucis licet interitura diebus
 Succedens ævum protegat ipsa suum.
 Collige virgo rosas, dum flos novus et nova pubes,
 Et memor esto ævum sic properare tuum!"

The lines bring powerfully to the recollection Ariosto's beautiful passage, "*La verginella e simile alla rosa*;" which, however, heightened in beauty and modern delicacy, is copied nearly verbatim from the "*Ut flos in septis*" of Catullus, in his *Carmen Nuptiale*.

We now pass to the influence of the Arabs on literature: a question on which Gibbon, Ginguené, Sismondi, are all opposed

to our views. Gibbon, however, with all his well-known partiality for the Mahometans, appears not to feel perfectly assured of their high advancement in science. His anecdotes, by which he seeks to establish this point,—as, for example, that of the private doctor, who refused the invitation of the Sultan of Bockara because the carriage of his library would have required 400 camels, and of the Omniades of Spain having formed a library of 600,000 volumes, 44 of which were employed as the catalogue, are to be taken “*cum grano salis*.” In similar manner we must treat the stories of Andalusia, which was said to contain 70 libraries, and to each of its mosques thousands of children are described as coming to receive instruction. Abulpharagius, on whom most of these stories rest, was unquestionably, as Bayle admits, a very inaccurate writer on European points, and could scarcely at his era be checked in his Asiatic statements. We fear a just appreciation of Arab civilization at that period is scarcely now attainable, since the fatal fire in the Escorial, where so many of their MSS. perished. A high degree of refinement certainly appears to have prevailed in Spain, and many of the Moorish ballads are beautiful, but still not comparable to those of the Campeador. Sismondi on these subjects is no authority: he understood neither Arabic, Spanish, nor Provencal. That gorgeous description of Arab pomp, in Gibbon taken from Abulfeda, is the narrative of one proud of his country; and we know an Arab’s pride of country is not confined to the description of what is, but reaches the very limits of hyperbole. Thus Almamon is related to have distributed 2,400,000 gold dinars before he drew his foot from the stirrup. At his nuptials, a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride. The reception of the Greek ambassador is described as follows:—

“The caliph’s whole army,” says Abulfeda, “both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of 160,000 men. His state officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were 7000 eunuchs, 4000 of them white, the remainder black. The porters or doorkeepers were 700. . . . In the palace were hung up 38,000 pieces of tapestry, 12,500 of which were silk, embroidered with gold. The carpets on the floor were 22,000. A hundred lions were brought out, with a keeper to each lion. Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen large branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. While the machinery effected spontaneous motions, the several birds warbled their natural harmony.”

Through this scene of magnificence the ambassador was led to the foot of the caliph’s throne.

Now all this appears highly incredible in detail; and supposing it true, would rather indicate want of civilization than the plenitude. If we further try the Arabs by the test of what they have done, where stands their fame, their high accomplishment? They were at least burners of books as well as collectors, to begin with; and looking at them from various points, we cannot trace this wonderful knowledge. Is Edrisi fit to be named as a geographer? His book describes many places, but indicates no means of exact measurement. As to the boasted deed of Almammon, asserted by Gibbon on the authority of Abulfeda, that his mathematicians measured a degree of a great circle, and thereby determined the circumference of the globe at 24,000 miles, we do not know whether this was done by Arabian or Greek mathematicians; but we do know that in medicine the Christians held the lead even then, and were retained around the person of the caliph. This achievement of Almammon, too, had been effected by the Greeks. "*Evidentissimis et indubitabilibus dimensionibus constabit universæ terræ ambitum, quæ quibuscunque vel incolitur, vel inhabitabilis jacet, habere stadiorum millia ducenta quinquaginta duo. Cum ergo tantum ambitus teneat sine dubio octoginta millia stadiorum vel non multo amplius diametros habet.*"—*Macrob. in Somn. Scip. l. i. p. 83.*

We admit the progress of the mathematicians of Alexandria, but we cannot trace that of the Arabians. They confess algebra was the production of the Greek Diophantus, and they did not add to his labours. As for their acquirements in natural history, they were beneath criticism; and their idolatry of Aristotle only proves their own poverty of production. Though Dante complimented their Averroes by inserting him in his *Inferno*, the fame of Averroes did not pass his era. He abridged Ptolemy, but did no more to him, and wrote a treatise on astrology. Their merits as chemists are generally acknowledged, and they have impressed on chemistry terms that will probably always remain in the science; but were they beyond the Egyptian? Nothing remains of their works that indicates an advancement equal to his. We will not twit them with the superstitions of alchymy, for all highly eminent men in the early progress of chemistry were similarly weak. But in poetry who does not trace the night-mare of imagination influencing all they did? Are Antar's extravagances to be placed on a level with either the *Ilias* or the *Æneis*? The *Thousand and One Nights*, we except that work, will preserve their memory for ever; and for our own parts we are foolish enough to confess that we read it ever with renewed delight. But from what cause? From its total difference from all that is; and, secondly, probably, from its faithful portraiture of Eastern habits.

In the marvellous story, passing the bounds of all probability, even epic probability, the Arab is unrivalled; but here his excellency endeth, and we doubt extremely that such works were ever the product of a highly scientific period; for we think it nearly impossible, for science breathes into the imagination, and gives even to that a hue from herself, imparting to the heroes of Greece a lustre and sublimity she denies to the warriors of Islam. But it is asserted by some writers that chivalry even descended from an Arab source. Persons who make this assertion are grossly ignorant of the nature of the case. All the Fabliaux, though we admit this to be one-sided authority; describe the origin of knighthood as distinct from the Paynim wholly. The very character of the errante damosel is offensive to all Eastern notions of delicacy, and our readers will recollect the tale in the Fabliaux, that describes the initiation of Saladin into knighthood as a thing as foreign to his country as it was to his faith; and the fact that Hugh never gives him the "accolade," or stroke, that dubs him knight, from different reasons probably to those alleged to Saladin. How could the infidel originate a custom so wholly opposed to his habits, as the following beautiful lines indicate?

"Sire, par cheste chainturete

Est entendu que vo car nete,

Vos rains, vos cors entirement

Devez tenir en virginité,

Vos cors tenir en netée

Luxure despire et blamer.

Dame ne doit ne demoisele

Por nule rien fourconsillier;

Mais s'eles ont de lui mestier

Aidier leur doit a son pooir

Se il veut los et pris avoir

Car femes doit l'en honorer

E por lor droit grans fez porter."

Ordene de Chevalerie, v. 181 et suiv.

Nothing can be more opposed to the love passion of the knight, the love of Lancelot for Guenever, or of Tristan for Iseult, though both unhappy passions, than the wanton oriental; and these deep instances of constancy to one object, where the love was guilty, are deeply censured, and Lancelot especially suffers as a knight from his unhappy attachment to Arthur's queen, the quest of the Sangreal being denied him. The whole principle of knighthood goes on the question of personal chastity, and the knight of La Mancha, the last of his order, is "semper fidelis."

Our author gives us under this head of the origin of knight-

hood the Legend of Pwyll, from the Mabinogion, and then passes on to the Nibelungen; but we shall not follow him through that well known, knightly, and terrible composition. The philosophic tale of Yokdhan, a futile attempt on the part of Ebn Tophail, the preceptor of Maimonides and Averroes, to inculcate a religion of nature, with a dash of Voltaire's *Huron*, not without merit, we shall also pass with as brief a notice. A very ingenious mode of trying a friend is also given in the Arab stories of this period, for which we refer our readers to vol. ii. p. 118. Amid other bold strokes of this century at the corrupted hierarchy, as hard as any of the blows of Petrarch, are the following lines on the Church of Rome.

"Ipsa caput mundi venalis curia Papæ
 Prostat et infermat cætera membra caput.
 Sacrum cerne nefas, utrumque pudentius ævo
 Venditur in turpi conditione foro,
 Crisma sacrum, sacer ordo, altaria sacra, sacrata
 Dona; quid hæc ultra? Venditur ipse Deus."

Henr. Septimallensis Poem. Elig.

de Diversitate Fortunæ, Leyserus, t. m.

The Italian of this period felt less of the crusading influences and became less affected by the romantic than any other tongues of the same source. M. Bruce Whyte has been enabled, by alighting on a MS. of the twelfth century in the British Museum, considered unimportant, to develop the Romance-Italian of this epoch. We extract one passage in illustration:—"Taurus est signum domo Veneris, id est signum stabile, et bonum ad fare core di durare multu tēpu come matrimoniu, e fare possessioni et plātare vingna oy arbore et a serrare vignami et affare âc op' a di laburare cū azza et affare hedefici. I nati in kistu signu serrâ guadente et bouna venturato. Le core ke tu desedera sempre avere c' plimentu. Hic taurus ave potestate e segnuria ad la gula ed allu collu. Q'd la luna e î tauru, guarda no medichinare lu collu ne â cora la gula, ne cavare sangue." This singular MS., to which we trust more attention will be drawn by this notice, is the work of Giordano Russo of Galicia, mareschal of the emperor Frederick. We now proceed to the influence of the provençal over the south of Europe. The Gai Saber, or gaie science, is too well known to need much illustration from us, though M. Bruce Whyte has devoted to it a large portion of his work. The curious in points connected with the Troubadour history and the gallantry of the court of love, where Eleanor of Guienne, the Countess of Champagne and Ermengarde, Viscountess of Narbonne, only gilded profligacy by feminine attraction, will find details quite as ample as the subject requires in the 12th and

23rd Numbers of this Journal. In the latter the entire subject is taken up from the work of Professor Diez on the "Poetry of the Troubadours." We recommend a work, now nearly out of print we believe, *The Fabliaux of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, by W. L. Way, to such readers as are ignorant of the sweet Provençal, and they will attain as much intuition into these tales as is consistent with modern delicacy, which Mr. Way was most careful not to offend. To the Troubadours we are at least, whatever sameness marks their lays, indebted for Petrarch, and Dante could even eulogize one of their members with the words,

"Versi d' amore, e prose di romanzi
Soverchiò tutti."

And he did not disdain to insert the soft reply of Arnaut in his *Purgatorio*, who addresses him in his own sweet Provençal.—*Purg.* c. 26. Amid the larger poems, nearly of this era, none equal in exquisite delicacy of sentiment, true knightly character and stirring incident, the romance of Jaufre and Bruneseut. It is too long to allow of insertion, but it is a lay we think even sweeter than *Sir Lanval*, which was always our favourite among the *Fabliaux*. Of all the craft of the *Gai Science*, of all the beautiful and sparkling minstrelsy of the *Gai Saber*, it is surpassingly the best. We can do no more than simply indicate the course of our author, who next pursues his way and shows the Provençal influence in Catalonia. He then proceeds to illustrate the connection of Castilian or Spanish, from its internal affinities, with the argument before him; and he even discovers traces of Castilian in Welch. The poetry of that singular and unfortunate cavalier, Ayala, and his exquisite Hymn to the Virgin, composed in the darkness of a prison, and of additional interest as containing the captive's vow to her on his liberation, is next considered; and from this he passes to the origin of the *Langue d'Oil*, or of the dialects spoken to the north of the Loire. Two hypotheses have prevailed as to its origin—the first assigning it to a corruption of Latin, the second to the Provençal. Our author pursues his usual plan in extracting, from the language itself, its history. The materials used by him for this purpose are, the *Laws of William the Conqueror*, which possess the advantage of dating themselves; the *Bestiaire* and *Livre des Creatures* of Philippe de Than, supposed to have been composed at the end of the eleventh century, and the Norman minstrels,—Geoffrie Guymar and Benoit, of the same period. The forms of the article in this language are precisely the same as in the Dacic-Roman—*il, lu, li, lo, o*, in the nominative singular; but in the oblique cases there is a singular variation: these are formed by a detached preposition placed before the roots, as *de lu, de li,*

in the genitive; *a lu, a li*, in the dative; *en lu, en li*, in the ablative. In the same manner, in the plural, *de les, a les, en les*. Sometimes the preposition is omitted, as "*Si alquens . . . mesfait as homes de sa baillie et de co atint de la justice lu roi.*"—*Law 11th of William, Selden*. These forms had, however, assumed a more synthetical character before the twelfth century. In the singular, *de lu*, or *de li*, was contracted into *del*; *a lu* or *a li*, into *al*; *en lu* or *en li*, into *el*, in the ablative thus:—"Del attre qui ported l'anel 17 sols *del* petit."—*Law 13th of William*. "*Si home occit altre . . . durrad de sa maubote al Seigneur.*"—*Law 8th of William*.

These forms of the article are not peculiar to the Langue d'Oil; they are common to all the northern dialects, and they characterize the Franks. Provençal cannot be assigned as their origin in the eleventh century. Here then are symptoms of the transitive state of Roman French, from patois to other laws which, by degrees, produced modern French. For the Provençal terminations in *a, an, en, oc, o*, the Langue d'Oil has assumed its own peculiarities in finals; as *e* mute, *el, f, eur, our*. The finals, *el, es* and *eys*, and *olp*, pass into *eau, ois, oup*. The vowel *i* is constantly introduced into the midst of words, the mouillé letters and syllables, and many other peculiarities never seen in Provençal, and which distinguish the French language at present from all the other tongues of Europe. The rejection of the final *a*, and its being replaced by the *e* mute, which ruined the energy of the French language, is another peculiarity. It is however found in the Laws of William, and is consequently of high antiquity in usage. It was not only as a final that the *a* disappeared; it was replaced by *e* in all the words terminating in *at* or *ad*; as, *auctoritat, beltat, veritat*, which were first changed into *auctoriteit, belteit, veriteit*, and at last into *auctorité, belté, vérité*, in the Langue d'Oil. It was at the twelfth century, when the Trouveres arose in the country of the Langue d'Oil, that these changes and many others arose. From this time forms of contraction constantly increased. Nouns in *a, oc, o*, common in Provençal, disappeared altogether. M. Raynouard, and many of the French philologists, appear to consider the finals in *f*, in the *Langue d'Oil*, as anomalous, or at any rate as peculiar to this dialect, and that their type is in the Provençal forms in *u*. M. Raynouard especially notes *clau, esclau, nau, trau*, &c. The reverse is however the fact. The most ancient forms of these words, transmitted by the Gauls, Celts, and Romans, terminate in *f* or *v*. *Clavis* is *chiav* in Wallachian; *scloff*, in B. Breton (slave), *griff*, in Welch (sadness), *neve*, in Wallachian (neige); a confirmation of the opinion of Scaliger, who considers *nivis* the

root, and *nix* the syncopated form. The absence of finals in *rn*, in the Laws of William and contemporary works, is remarkable. It was preserved in all the other dialects of Romance without exception. It is the characteristic element of *carn-is*, *hibern-us*, *corn-u*, *furn-us*, *diurn-us*, roots of *carn*, *ivern*, *corn*, &c. in the Provençal. The Franks, probably, possessing no such termination, rejected it when they adopted the common idiom, so that it fell into desuetude in the *Langue d'Oil*, which uses *char*, *iveir*, *yver*, *cor*, *forin*, *ifers*, *escherz*. The forms in *rn* reappear from time to time, as in a version of the Psalms of the twelfth century; but no example can be found, we believe, in the authors of the thirteenth and following centuries. The pronouns exhibit a remarkable affinity to the Wallachian, and M. Bruce Whyte admits that they have been transmitted from dialects in use during the continuance of the Roman empire. *Eaus* (eux), *nostre*, *vostre*, *me*, *mo*, *no*, *nous*, *so*, *to*, *vo*, *ceaux*, *aquel*, *celui*, were evidently the *avant couriers* of the modern French forms. The verbs furnish remarkable coincidences, especially the auxiliaries. From all that has been pointed out, we consider the case established of a language obviously struggling to attain, in combination with another, its own current laws, and eventually exhibiting an aggregate of terms, the result of the singular circumstances of the fusion to which it has been submitted.

In the work to which we have alluded previously, by Hugh of Tabaria, the *Order of Chivalry*, a work of the twelfth century, we trace the change of *eit* into *é*, affecting a numerous class of nouns, and characterizing modern French; and in the Romance of Tristan also the same are apparent. In the second period of the *Langue d'Oil*, for it had two periods or phases of change, numerous monosyllables in *es*, *e*, *a*, *ai*, *ei*, became transformed into *oi*, as *bues*, *drez*, *dre*, *fez*, *fé*, &c. In similar manner words in *es*, *e*, *ai*, *ei*, are changed into *ois*, of which numerous examples occur in the poets of the twelfth century. Throughout the whole of the Trouveres we find them always intent on getting a full and rounded harmony, reading *our* for *or*, *eur* for *ur*, *oin* for *in*, &c. In this second period *jour* occurs for *jor*, *court* for *cort*, *jongleur* for *jonglor*, *saur* for *sor*, *avoir* for *aveir*, *recevoir* for *ricever*, *savoir* for *saver*. There is another singular point that can be shown from the Poem of Charlemagne, and many of the Fables; and it is this, that the French were then in the habit of rejecting the final consonants and penultimates in pronunciation. In the *Langue d'Oil*, the same use of *si*, to which we have already alluded, prevails. It is often a nominative, as in this passage: "Quant Joffroy li mereschaus de Champagne passa Mont-Cenis *si* en-contra le conte Gautier de Brene."—*Ville Hardouin*, s. 18.

A passive sense to the verb active is given by it in this passage: "Repaire del mal et *si fai* lo bien."—*Trad. de St. Greg.*

With these instances, enough reasons, we trust, have been adduced, to indicate the antiquity of early French peculiarities, and also many of the alterations effected in that language. We pass now to the author's third volume, which opens with the poem of Charlemagne, recently edited by M. F. Michel, from the manuscript in the British Museum. Mr. Bruce Whyte has versified it, but the details of this poem can no more be laid before our readers, than that nocturnal achievement of Hercules, which Oliver is represented as more than rivalling. We pass on to the lays of the Trouveres. These are distinct from the Troubadours, and in Sir Lanval and others, exhibit a superior style of poetry. The Lay of Lanval, as transmitted to us by Marie of France, who translated King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Æsop, is full of exquisite beauty. Its length precludes our transcribing it, but though more faithful, Mr. Bruce Whyte does not approach Lewis Way in conveying the sprightly charms of this class of poetry, to which we consider the Bridal of Triermain as one of the best approaches in our language. Sir Walter Scott was the only living writer of England that combined in himself all the excellences of the Trouveres, the Troubadours, the Bards, the Minnesingers, and the Minstrels. The lay must rest unsung until another can strike that wizard harp. From the lays of the Trouveres we pass to the Fabliaux, which are tales somewhat similar, but principally French in action and incident. Aucassin and Nicolette, Blanche fleur and Eglantine, Griselda, and the Chateleine de Vergy, all translated by Mr. Way, will give an excellent illustration of the style. The Hermit and the Angel, known to the British public in Parnell's Hermit, is of this period. Parnell has followed the Fablier literally, and not even confessed his plagiarisms. He did the same by Beza. A fabliau may be defined to be "a jeu d'esprit," says Mr. Bruce Whyte, "founded on some proverb, anecdote, or familiar adventure, often satirical, dramatic in form, moral in denouement, and ridiculing vice and folly." Le Grand has exhibited the largest collection of them. A considerable portion of the vis comica appears in many, as in the lay of Aristotele. The battle between Carnival and Lent, though full of humour, had obviously even a higher aim in view, the denunciation of the austerities of the Church of Rome. Similar glimpses of higher ends of composition are often manifest. The Jongleur is also of considerable comic excellence. These poems enable us to determine the progress of the language from the twelfth to the thirteenth century. It is deeply to be regretted that the license of the period was so unrestrained, that many of

these stories, even of high merit, can never be given to the English public, since they even exceed the Decamerone in wanton and luxurious imagery. Boccaccio doubtless drew largely from them.

We now proceed to the rise of Italian literature, which will be the last branch of the Roman tongue that will be treated by us. The closer affinity to the Latin, which this language exhibits, is of course the result of its territorial position. We have no vestiges of the early writers of Italy, though Dante assures us that prior to his own era numerous native bards existed, many of whom he enumerates in his *Divina Commedia*. It is somewhat curious, that Cicero also mentions a similar loss. "*Utinam extarent illa carmina quæ multis sæculis ante suam ætatem in epulis esse cantitata a singulis convivis in originibus scripta reliquit Cato.*" The first productions of the Gai Saber are of the eleventh century; nothing from Italy passes the thirteenth. Neither the *Langue d'Oïl* nor the Provençal appears to have affected Italian literature. To enter into the history of the writers anterior, we are neither enabled by materials, nor can we on the present occasion do more than investigate what Dante himself says of his "*lingua cardinalis, aulica, et curialis.*" This, he says, was not the peculiarity of one province, but a selection out of the dialects of Italy, made by men of genius and science. The unhappy Pier delle Vigne evidently composed in a style that differs excessively from Dante.

" Peroch' amore no se po vedere
 E no si trata corporalmente
 Quanti ne son de si fole sapere
 Che credono ch' amor sia niente.
 Ma poch' amore si faze sentire
 Dentro dal cor signorezar la zente,
 Molto mazore presio de avere
 Che sel vedesse visibilmente
 Per la virtute de la calamità
 Come lo perro atra non se vide,
 Ma se lo tira segnorevolmente.
 E questa cosa a credere m' invita
 Ch' amore sia e da me grande fede,
 Che tutt' or fia creduto fra la zente."

Recueil d'Allacci.

This hardly differs, for which his residence at Palermo might probably account, from the patois of Ciullo, who is reported to have written in 1190; and certainly exhibits no higher tone than the Italian literature of this period had assumed; nor is it probable that Sicily should thus precede Italy in a school of bards,

as that nation claims. The Palermo dialect of Italy had evidently been abandoned for a combination of all the dialects into a literary tongue, which appears in Odo delle Colonne, Arrigo Testa, and others, independent of Petrarch. One Sicilian, Monna Nina, has a double claim on our interest; first, because she alone of her sex commenced Italian poetry, and also for the spirit of her writings. Contemporary with Pier delle Vigne, cited above, we have Guido Guinicelli of Bologna, and a single sonnet of his, which we extract, all which has reached us of this writer, conveys a high idea of his style, to which even Dante rendered fitting homage,—

“ Il padre mio e degli altri miei miglior.”

It is as follows :

“ Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore,
 Si come augello in selva a la verdura;
 Non fe amore anzi che gentil core,
 Ne gentil core anzi ch' amor natura.
 Ch' adesso com' fu 'l sole,
 Si tosto lo splendore fue lucente,
 Ne fue davanti al' sole:
 E prende amore in gentillezza luoco
 Così propriamente
 Com' il calore in clarita del fuoco.”

(*Rime antiche de' Giunti*, p. 207.)

Our Italian readers will instantly recognize in these lines that touching passage in the *Inferno*,—

“ Amor; ch' al cor gentil ratto s'apprende.”

“ Love, that in gentle breast is quickly learnt.”

We cannot agree in the heavy censures launched against this writer by Mr. Bruce Whyte. These writers establish the point that there was a language in Italy, totally distinct from Latin, that had early obtained this high character of style. This fact is apparent also from the sacred hymns of the thirteenth century, of some monastic orders, which are in this language and not in Latin. The “*Cantico del Sole*” of St. François d'Assise may be adduced, a document alone amply sufficient to negative the assertion that Italian is of the twelfth century, or of Sicilian origin. Crowds of words entered the Tuscan at the close of the thirteenth from the Provençal and the *Langue d'Oïl*, of which the *Giunti* furnish examples. Fra Guittone, of this period, was clearly a writer of great power, and obviously copied both by Dante and Petrarchi in numerous passages. From him we shall pass to Brunetto Latini, the preceptor of Dante. The pupil, it is commonly thought, did his tutor deep injustice in the fifteenth canto of the *Inferno*;

at least the accusation there made against him was denied by Brunetto in the confession annexed to the *Tesoretto*. Brunetto had been a man of pleasure he owns, but not of infamy; yet the accusation seems inconsistent with the admission of Brunetto's noble and high-minded instruction, which Dante recognizes. We confess we are considerably perplexed as to this question, on which Dante's own language appears scarcely consistent with the implication, and rather seems Ser Brunetto's vindication than the contrary. The *Tesoro* of Brunetto was composed in the *Langue d'Oïl*. Brunetto, and other writers of this period, who, from the parties at Florence, were driven to study the *Langue d'Oïl* at its source, certainly infused its spirit to a remarkable extent into the Italian. Brunetto was the first translator of the classic tongues; his translation of Sallust is among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. He poured into his native Tuscan a vast mass of Provençal terms, and inflected various words in that fashion. The present complicated form of Italian sentences, which has really now attained an absurd nicety in collocation, was introduced into the language by Brunetto from the classical inversions. Passing Maestro Armannino, who wrote a chronicle at this period entitled "*Fiorita d'Italia*," extant in the Laurentian library of Florence only, a writer of no ordinary merit, remarkably clear and perspicuous, we proceed to Dante himself, having brought down the literature to the fourteenth century. His style, to which the expression "*Danteggiar*" has been affixed, is certainly eminently original. His resources for words are astonishing; he seizes on Greek, Latin, Oriental tongues, German, Provençal, the *Langue d'Oïl*, and even Anglo-Saxon (a colony with this language had settled, Muratori assures us, in Calabria in the eleventh century.) Dante's knowledge of Homer is evident from a vast mass of imitative passages, and surely his admiration of Aristotle must have led him to inspect that author in the original tongue. There certainly existed in his day no translation of the *Ilias* from which he could derive his information. He unquestionably enriched Italian with the force of that wonderful tongue. His spirit is eminently Greek; but he did not neglect the advantages that Romance offered to him. The "*Divina Commedia*," that immense repository from all quarters of the world, abounds also in terms of Romance. Thus—

"Col pugno gli percosse l' epa *croja*." *—*Inf.* 30.

"Cercati al collo e troverai la *soga*, †
Che 'l tien legato o anima confusa,
E vedi lui che 'l gran petto ti *doga*, †
Por disse a me, egli stesso s'accusa;

* W. Croen, pellis.

† W. Soeg, laqueus.

‡ W. Dogn, dolium.

Questo e Nembrotto per lo cui mal *coto*,*

Pure un linguaggio nel mondo non s' usa."—*Inf.* 31.

"Che non è impressa da pigliare a *gabbo*."†—*Inf.* 32.

"Non avria pur dall' orlo falto *crich*."‡

The above instances marked in italics, which have the subjoined roots in the note, sufficiently evidence the extensive vocabulary of Dante. So confident is Mr. Bruce Whyte of the power of these languages in the interpretation of the *Divina Commedia* that he asserts that every obscurity in this poem can be cleared up by the Welch and the Bas Breton. There certainly appears no evidence of Dante being acquainted with either of these dialects, nor can we imagine that they had passed at that period into Italy; we can only explain their presence in his writings by the supposition that they are part of that mother tongue which produced the ancient Breton, the Armorican, and the other Romance dialects.

His wandering habits probably threw him into more extensive acquaintance with all these ramifications than any other Italian writer; and we know he was deeply occupied through life in comparing the different dialects of the common tongue, and in obtaining from them those expressive archaisms which have made his style the wonder of the earth. No one ever gave to language such fearful power, or ever made its words shriek forth their fearful meaning. Whether in accents of horror and dread, or tenderest minstrelsy of love and passion, Dante Alighieri, with all the revolting character of the scholiast, with all the mysterious darkness of his style, with all the personages that it presents to us, whose interest is greatly gone, and would be wholly were they not married to his immortal verse,—Dante stands second to none of any age or time, though the greatest of modern romancers, who unconsciously often approached him closely, denies to him the highest niche in the temple of fame. We scarcely dare venture to glance at the fearful episode of Ugolino, unmatched in expressive terms, unequalled in description, or at that gush of tenderness from his soul in the *Francesca da Rimini*. Nothing equals that in any work, ancient or modern. The whirling forms of the eternally-united pair—their lone devotedness—their love in hell and pain—their wish to pray, yet conscious of its fruitless issue—the tale of their love—the unpremeditated result—the closing of Galeotto—the modest veiling of their fearful sin's fruition—

"Quel giorno piu non si leggemmo avante"—

the gushing sorrow of the other spirit, as the tale of their guilt

* W. *Cutt* (pronounced *cott*), domus. † *Gab*, Scotch. ‡ W. *Crych*, stridor.

and sin is told—the overpowering crush upon the feelings of the iron-souled Florentine,

“Che cade come corpo morto cade,”

as the last “parole di dolore” fell from Francesca. Never again will such a tale, and that in how brief a space, meet mortal ear. It is as though the fearful spirits of the lovers had, in their pained semblance, stood before the living and not the intellectual eye of Dante. Again, how wonderfully does all the region of pain present itself!

“Diverse lingue, orribili favelle;
Parole di dolore, accenti d’ira,
Voce alte e fioche, e suon di man con elle
Facevano un tumulto, il quale s’aggira
Sempre ‘n quella aria senza tempo tinta.”

How opposed does it stand to the peace and calm, and quietude and holy brightness of the Paradiso! The eyes of Francesca rain tears of guilt and sorrow; but Beatrice, the abstract of the beautiful, the love of Dante, her eyes lose not their glory, but gather more intensity as she moves from sphere to sphere, ennobling her lover’s thought until o’er all her frame such glory dwelleth,

“Che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.”

Amid all this her angel smile, which called forth the smiles of Paradise, yet was her familiar smile, one familiar to the mortal and remembered afterwards on earth.

“Lo rimembrar del dolce riso
La mente mia da se medesima scema.”

But we should be wildered as the Florentine were we to trust ourselves to continue this subject. And we pass from the Divina Commedia to the lyrics of Dante. These contain exquisite lines, especially one where he reproaches the thoughtless foreigners who came to Florence unwitting of its loss, and knew not that the light of Dante’s life was quenched in Beatrice’s grave. We refer to the sonnet.

“Deh pellegrini che pensosi andate.”

He could not look on even their thoughts of home, or any thoughts directed to any object, save the soul-engrossing one with him, her loss, with common endurance. It was as though an earthquake had displayed its fearful power in his city, had deprived it of all that gave it glory in Dante’s sight, and he wondered at those that gazed on common things amid that fearful clutching from before him of all he loved, of all for which he lived. Passing his friend Cino de Pistoia, equally unhappy with

Dante in the loss of his lady love, and who poured forth in the bosom of that sympathizing friend his sorrow, we come to Petrarch. Here poetry and Laura are so closely interwoven that the first subject that suggests itself is the character of their intimacy. M. Bruce Whyte conceives that abundant passages clearly evidence that this affection was not purely Platonic, and that Petrarch strove to give it this character out of delicacy to the lady. We cannot but own that all our impressions from the Sonnets and Canzoni give a *virgin image* of Laura to the mind. She appears constantly checking her lover's ardour, glorying in his devotedness, but not prepared to sully her maiden fame for the broad earth. Such passages, though in the lips of Laura, as "Fur quasi eguali in noi fiamme amorose," (*Trionfo della morte*, c. 2), are no evidence.

The following language has the aspect of desperate, but not successful, love :

"Amor io fallo, e reggio il mio fallire
Solea frenare il mio caldo desire,
Per non turbar il bel viso sereno,
Non posso piu ! di man m' hai tolto il freno
E l' alma disperando ha preso ardire."—*Sonn.* 200.

Deep as were the artifices of Petrarch, to move her from her maiden or matron pride, by threats of suicide, absence, and many other wiles, she appears to have commanded his esteem as well as passion.—

"Ite caldi sospiri al freddo core ;
Rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende
E, se prego mortale al ciel s' intende
Morte o mercè sia fine al mio dolore."—*Sonn.* 120.

In spite of the Abbé de Sade, we must again repeat our doubts that Laura was married. The celebrated passage which is supposed to indicate that she had borne children, is quite open to a different interpretation : — "*Corpus illud egregium morbis ac crebris ptubs exhaustum multum pristini vigoris amisit.*" *Ptubs* is commonly read *partubus*, which, if so, would at least prove that Laura had borne children ; but many editions read "*perturbationibus*," which appears to suit the context better. With all his delicacy, Petrarch should have remembered that the very effusions of his ardent spirit would by most have been deemed as leading to the inference of a far-gone conclusion. A delicate lady's name is not one to fling forth upon the world's eye as the avowed object of love. Petrarch has done otherwise ; and though exquisite delicacy marks his sentiments of her, they approach not to the feelings of Dante for his Beatrice. Neither is Petrarch original

in any thing. He says things elegantly, touchingly, feelingly, but without high originality. Learning owes to him eternal obligations, for, as a reviver of lost literature, as one highly imbued with classic lore, and eager to obtain and to transmit it, he stands unrivalled. The period of the Sonnet has possibly passed, and the Canzone also, for their composition is too artificial to admit of the powerful expressiveness at which modern language aims. Our author, in his eagerness to enter into the merits of Dante and Petrarch, seems rather to have overlooked the proof of his concluding propositions, but at least he may be said incidentally, if not directly, to have established them. The proof of the basis of Dante being from the lost mother tongue, and the usage by Petrarch and all other following writers of a large portion of the Dantescan expressions, is clearly made out; and on the whole our author may be considered as having advanced in a somewhat desultory manner to most important conclusions. He has demonstrated a hidden current, flowing through all the Romance languages, from some distant and remote region, and, like the Nile, burying its head in the darkness of ages. But still here is the stream, here is its course, here are the rich and glorious developments on its way. The dignified and powerful Castilian, the rougher yet expressive Basque, the singular but tuneful Romaunch, the melody breathing sounds of Italy, the sweet and gentle Provençal, the guttural Welch, the drawling Scotch, the clipping French, with the Celtic and all the other modifications of the language, attest it to have been by the simple evidence that they are. To calculate the effect of Greek, and Latin, and Arabic intermixture, must of course be difficult, for we have shown with respect to the Latin, that it not only imparted from itself, but received into itself numerous supplies from this source. For though we cannot undertake to say that it is our conviction that the Latin was originated by the Celtic, yet it is unquestionably indebted to that language (a position that would not have been listened to from prejudice a few years since) for many of its terms, for much of its idiom, for a variety of its flexions. We here close our labours, thanking our author for a very pleasant, though somewhat extensive discursus, entreating him to continue investigations which are rapidly leading to fresh light, and not to be averted from the prosecution of these labours by the difficulty or the trouble which attends them.

“Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.”

ART. IX.—*La Convention de Juillet 13*, par M. Duvergier de Hauranne. *Revue des deux Mondes*. Paris. 1841.

FRANCE has at length thrown off what M. Thiers called the mantle of dignified isolation, and resumed her place in the councils of Europe. This change which was indeed inevitable has not been effected without much clamour on the part of the admirers of the policy of M. Thiers, who pretend that it was in the power of the government to put conditions upon the abandonment of the system of isolation which they have not attempted to obtain. One of the most furious opponents of the policy of the French government is M. Duvergier de Hauranne, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, not deficient in talent, but who has the vanity of supposing that he can make converts to the policy of M. Thiers at a moment when every thing that is passing around him proves that policy to have been false. In the publication before us M. Duvergier de Hauranne pretends that the primary object of the treaty of July 15 was to lower France; the secondary object the pacification of the East. The first he says has been obtained; the other has failed.

We will not abuse the patience of our readers by quoting the arguments which M. Duvergier adduces to show that by the convention of July 13, 1841, the French government has subscribed to the debasement which he says was intended by the treaty of 1840. These arguments have been brought forward so repeatedly by the opposition journals, in France, and been commented upon so extensively by the English press, that they are well known. Nor is there any thing new in M. Duvergier's defence of M. Thiers. The only point of interest in this question is that involving the disarming of France, which, according to M. Duvergier, arises necessarily out of the convention of July 13, and would, if he is to be credited, be as fatal to her interests as casting off "the dignified mantle of isolation" is, he declares, destructive of her dignity. It is to this question of disarmament that we shall in the present article chiefly direct our attention.

It has been generally asserted by the French opposition journals, that the great powers, in consenting to the conditions on which France has departed from the system of isolation laid down by M. Thiers, exacted a promise that France shall almost immediately commence the reduction of her forces by sea and land. This reproach however is unmerited; not only has France entered into no such engagement, but no formal demand of the kind has been made by the other powers. There has been an understanding that France shall disarm to the extent of the

augmentation of her forces by the ministry of M. Thiers, and in order that neither her dignity nor her safety may be compromised by such a course, it is equally understood that any augmentation of forces by the other powers of Europe, when contemplating the possibility of an open rupture with France, shall also be annulled. But although no formal note calling upon France to disarm has been delivered to the French cabinet, remonstrances against the formidable position in which she has attempted to place herself have been frequently made. The Prussian ambassador and Mr. Bulwer took the lead in these remonstrances, and the latter did not fail to inform M. Guizot that all the powers who were parties to the treaty of the 15th of July, although they abstained from demanding from the French government any specific assurances as to how, when, and to what extent France would disarm, observing however at the same time, that though the augmentation of M. Thiers might have been unnecessary, it was felt by the four powers that care and prudence were essential in the reduction, lest the self-love of the French should be wounded, and the party in the Chamber of Deputies opposed to M. Guizot should gain ground; and also they at the same time laid it down as a principle, that the French government shall, as soon as circumstances will permit, place their effective forces upon a footing in harmony with the equilibrium of Europe and its determination to remain at peace. That both M. Guizot and Marshal Soult are really desirous of reducing the army is, we think, indisputable, although the extent of reduction they contemplate may be considerably less than the other powers appear to expect. The truth is, that the only guarantee at present for the stability of the reigning dynasty is the existence of a large army. As Louis Philip no longer even pretends to be the citizen-king, and as whatever remaining attachment there may be for him in the bourgeoisie is only in connection with public order and the security of property, he has no alternative therefore but to throw himself upon the protection of the army, and gradually to enfeeble the influence of the national guard. Two or three years ago the citizens composing this force still considered the anarchists too numerous and powerful for them to abandon in the slightest degree the cause of Louis Philip, who was in fact in their opinion the personification of public order. This impression has been gradually wearing out, and giving way to a belief that it would be quite possible for the reins of government to be taken from the present king and placed in the hands of some other individual, without the serious interruptions of trade, or the danger of foreign intervention on behalf of the present sovereign.

Louis Philip has for some time been deliberating as to

whether he should seek protection from the people or from the army—whether in fact he should be a military or a citizen sovereign. Many reasons existed against the former which are gradually disappearing. The inactivity of the troops, which is always fatal for the influence of a pacific ruler, inasmuch as there is no fusion of interests, has been in a great measure prevented by the war in Algiers, for although that war has brought neither dignity nor wealth to the French crown, and as regards the nation is perhaps an incubus which, self-love apart, it would be delightful to shake off, yet it has answered the purpose of Louis Philip by enabling him to distribute rewards, decorations, and promotions, and to train up a new soldiery with no more Bonapartism about them than would answer his own ends.

If Louis Philip has not, like Napoleon, had opportunities of winning the hearts of these troops by alternately sharing with them glories and privations, and distributing amongst them the spoil of other states, he has had one opportunity of forming with them a bond of union which Napoleon never possessed—all his sons except one have been educated for the army. They have been placed continually in positions to win the affections of the troops, and to prepare the way for that influence over France by means of the army upon which Louis Philip appears resolved. It is a fact highly significative of the views and intentions of the French sovereign, that never, even at the height of the military insolence of the empire, were such rigid regulations enforced as to the separation between soldiers and civilians. The attempt to effect this separation in France is one of great difficulty and requiring considerable skill. The French army is not composed, like that of England, of men who enrol themselves because they have no longer the means of earning a subsistence as agricultural or manufacturing labourers, and who, as soon as they enter the army, cease to have any relations with the rest of society, regarding themselves as bound to obey, not only without murmur but also without reflection, the commands of their chiefs. In France the conscription embraces all classes, and annually provides the force to replace that portion of the soldiers who have served their time. Even in peace such is the difficulty of obtaining substitutes, that from 1500 to 3000 francs must be paid for each. Now when we reflect that in the rural districts of France a sum of 3000 francs is more than equal, considering the habits of the people, to 300*l.* in England, it will easily be conceived that an immense proportion of the conscripts must be composed of young men, who although unable to pay so large a sum for a substitute, are in that position of life which implies the existence of interests and feelings opposed to any attempt to

make the army ride rough-shod over the citizens at large ; but although an army composed of such materials must necessarily have many of those feelings of citizenship which are unknown to the armies of most other states, it does not follow that these feelings may not be acted upon successfully by a skilful sovereign, and that the classes which supply soldiers may not be conciliated by the consideration manifested for the army. If soldiers in garrison are kept from mixing with civilians, and attempts are made to sink the sense of citizenship recognized by the laws and habits of the French, this is only done in towns where a democratic spirit is evident, and secret societies for fraternization with the military are known to be in existence. Whilst the watchfulness of the French government prevents the identity of feelings between the troops and the populace which might become dangerous, it does not necessarily make the army unpopular, for as every soldier has relations among the people who take an interest in his welfare, every thing that is done by the government to give him importance in the state must give satisfaction to several individuals. The tradesman or small farmer whose son or nephew is in the army cannot but be pleased to see that the army is regarded by the king as worthy of his regard, and the circumstance of promotion being open to every man who has received the first elements of education, is a powerful inducement for the conscript to become reconciled to the service, and to his friends and relations to think well of the sovereign who displays a fondness for the army. The officer in the French army is not indeed an important personage in society like the English, the Russian, or the Prussian officer. On the contrary, it is only with the middle classes, and those too of the lower degrees, that he really feels himself to be something superior ; but even in this circumstance there is security for the sovereign who exhibits a predilection for the army and throws himself on its protection. In other countries the army is less the instrument of the sovereign than of the aristocracy. The common soldier has nothing in common with the citizen, and the officer generally speaking is identified only with the upper classes. It would be very difficult in England for a sovereign to have an army obedient to the throne merely as a throne, and without its aristocratical attributes. In France nothing is more easy. Although the distinction of the epaulette is one to which all soldiers aspire, and which gives a high degree of consequence to the possessor in the ranks of the middle classes, it is of no use as an introduction to the society of either the old or the monied aristocracy, and the necessary consequence is, that the affection for the sovereign who rewards and distinguishes the soldier is an undivided one. What, it will be

asked, is the reason that the officers of the French army are not admitted into the society of the upper classes? The question is a natural one, for we might expect that in a country where equality is in every man's mouth, the military officer would be considered fit company for the noble or the wealthy merchant or manufacturer. In France however equality is more preached than practised. Very few of the old aristocracy or of the mercantile class of the higher degree enter the army; they can afford to pay for substitutes and they do not choose to serve as common soldiers. The only qualification for an officer in the French army is courage and a knowledge of reading and writing, with the exception, however, of the pupils of the Polytechnic School and the Military School of St. Cyr, who receive an excellent education and are admitted at once into the army as officers without serving in the ranks as privates. The generality of French officers therefore are not men of polished education or ornaments for a drawing-room. When in garrison, instead of finding every door open to them, as is the case in countries where the officers of the army are what is called gentlemen, they are excluded from the society of the upper classes, and form a knot of their own in the theatre or the coffee-houses. Here and there indeed we may see two or three officers in the parties of the wealthy and influential inhabitants of a town wherein a regiment is garrisoned, but when this is the case it is owing to some private introduction and totally unconnected with the position of the person. This exclusion from the society of the old and the monied aristocracy, whether unjust or not, and we are inclined to think that it is unjust as well as impolitic,—for if the French officer, generally speaking, has not the polished manners of the gentleman, neither has he any of the prominent or offensive vices of the aristocracy,—must be deeply felt by the officers of the French army, and cannot but offend even the common soldiers, who knowing that they may in turn become officers must resent the slight put upon their superiors, and both officers and men are therefore the more grateful for the attentions of the monarch; the officers, because he makes his own sons their comrades, and the soldiers, because they feel that they are honoured and respected in their officers.

If the officers of the French army mixed freely with the aristocracy, Louis Philip might still be loved by soldiers, but then he could only make the army his instrument with the consent of the aristocracy, of whom he desires to be independent, for it is of heterogenous composition, and with the army at his disposal he can control and defy all parties. We see, therefore, how important the army is to Louis Philip, in his present position; and we may safely assert, that he will not readily submit to any pro-

posal for the reduction of the effective force, for his control over faction must be in proportion with the number of the troops, now that he has discovered the means of attaching them to his interest. In a recent conversation with the Prussian ambassador, Marshal Soult, who seconds this policy of the sovereign, attempted to show, that with an army of less than five hundred thousand men, the government could not be answerable for the maintenance of tranquillity in France, and therefore that the other states of Europe were as much interested in the keeping up of such an establishment, as the King of the French himself, "For," said the Marshal, "if the anarchists were to get a head here, you would all be compelled to increase your forces, in order to prevent propagandism." This mode of reasoning is correct enough, if the army is to continue to do the police of the country; but even in that case it is to be observed, that, deducting the force in Algeria and the other French colonies, the standing army in France gives about one soldier for every fourteen men of the whole population. Add to this the number of the municipal guard and police agents, and we shall find one armed functionary for every eight or nine unarmed Frenchmen. Judging from what we see in England, one would imagine this to be more than a sufficient force; but experience has shown that the armed force in France, now that the apathy or worse feeling of the national guard has become such, that no reliance is to be placed upon it, is really not equal, in all cases, to the maintenance of tranquillity, so turbulent are Frenchmen, and so general and extensive is the co-operation in riot of women and children. Females, and boys of twelve to fifteen years of age, are indeed the most dangerous rioters; this was shown in the revolution of 1830, when the women threw bricks and stones from their garret windows, and the boys, with loaded pistols, climbed up the backs of the horses of the cavalry, and putting their pistols at the backs of the unsuspecting riders, blew out their brains, amid the cheering of the populace. If from the 500,000 troops, which Marshal Soult seems to consider as not too large a force for France in time of peace, we deduct 80,000 for Algeria and the other French colonies, and 120,000 for the different fortified towns, there will be a force of 300,000, and this certainly is not sufficient for France, if troops are to be constantly called in to do the work of the police;—but why should this be the case? Why cannot the government reduce the army at least one-fifth, as a pledge of the sincerity of its pacific professions, and organize an efficient police for the prevention of riot and the maintenance of order, in place of what may now, without untruth, be regarded, as far as the protection of the honest citizen is concerned, the

worst police force in Europe. The answer to this question will be found in what we have said as to the position of Louis Philip—this is not, indeed, an answer which he can make to the remonstrances of the other great powers of Europe, for he would be unwilling to admit that he is endeavouring to become so popular with the regular army, as to dispense with the equivocal protection of the civic militia. As it can be of very little importance to the rest of Europe, whether the possessor of the French throne be Louis Philip or the Duke de Bourdeaux, or any other pretender to it, so that the French do not attempt to transgress their limits and spoliator other countries, they will not object probably to the existence of something like the present standing army, if they feel that Louis Philip has no other motive for refusing to reduce it than the conviction that it is essential for his own security. But is there not something ominous in this forced appeal of Louis Philip to the army. When he shall have given to it, in its own opinion, an importance as great as that which it possessed at the time of the empire—when he shall have shown that to the army, and the army alone, he owes his safety—when, in short, he shall have made use of the army against the National Guards on the one hand, and the aristocracy on the other, and have become both a despotic and a military sovereign—will he be able to keep up the enthusiasm of the troops with such a war as that of Algiers, with his sham-fights of Compiègne, and with such empty foolery as parading through France a regiment which has no other title to the distinctions bestowed upon it, than the fact of its being commanded by one of his sons, who was the co-heir of Sophy Dawes to the property of the unfortunate Prince de Condé?

Louis Philip has, in all his correspondence with the sovereigns of other states, laboured to convince them that he is necessary to the peace of Europe, and to a certain extent this is true,—but so at one time was Napoleon, for he it was who put down anarchy in France; but the French troops were just as much spoliators abroad, after he had taken the reins of power into his hands, as imperialists, as they were as *sans-culottes*, and the ambition of imperial France was as fatal as her republican agitation. The question of disarming therefore in France, as to the land forces, is not one to be easily solved. The arguments for and against it are equally worthy of consideration. Perhaps the first object to be attained, for the repose of Europe, is the conquest over factions in France by an established government, and it must be confessed that Louis Philip is going securely about the task. The triumph of faction there must compel Europe either to invade France, which we think would neither

be very safe nor very desirable, or to expend enormous sums at home in order to guard against invasion. Now Louis Philip will, if not compelled to reduce his army, contrive to keep the French quiet for a time, and, as sufficient for the day is the evil thereof, perhaps it would not be wise at this moment to insist upon reduction. We would merely venture to recommend that whilst he is being allowed to consolidate his power at home, a sharp eye should be kept upon him to prevent the usual display of Bourbon gratitude.

The opposition press in France does not like the government pretend that a reduction of the army is incompatible with the internal condition of the country. On the contrary, they say, openly and boldly, that Europe is, as regards France, just what it was in 1815, and that for her security she must always be prepared for war, and maintain the same footing as if the league, which the partisans of M. Thiers declare will one day be formed against her, had already been formed. The *Courier Français*, one of the most influential of the nine or ten Paris journals in the interest of M. Thiers, says,

“ The treaty of the 15th July had this advantage for us:—it operated a complete revolution in the opinion that was entertained in France of our foreign relations. It proved that Europe remained, as regards France, just what it was in 1815, and that governments, apparently the most opposed to each other in interests and institutions, would, on any given day, coalesce against us. It also became evident that the *status quo* in Europe, created by the treaties of Vienna, to the detriment of France, was no longer respected, except by ourselves. The work of conquest, commenced in war, has been continued under the mask of peace. Every power has aggrandised itself except France, and every nation has sought to organize and develope itself. Prussia has founded in Germany an association rather political than commercial; Austria has extended her domination in Italy; Russia has placed one foot in Poland and the other in Turkey; and England, whilst watching and curbing the progress of continental Europe, has not neglected to extend in the two hemispheres the limits of that empire in which, as in that of Philip II., the sun rises and sets. She has taken possession of the military positions of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea; she has destroyed our influence in Egypt, passed the barrier of the Indus, and planted her standard in Affghanistan, and she is at this moment preparing an expedition against Pekin. In government and manufactures, conquest has not been less rapid or important. Prussia has resolved the problem of cheap government; Austria has perfected her military organization, and brought back commerce to the banks of the Adriatic; England has multiplied the prodigies of her mechanical power, and has developed the resources of her internal wealth to such a point that every thing is possible to her credit, commerce, and manufactures. This progress of rival nations was an accomplished event in 1830, after fifteen

years of peace, which the restoration has rendered sterile for us. After the revolution, every thing was still to be done—roads, canals, railways, commerce, manufactures, public instruction, army, arsenals. It is not astonishing, therefore, that France has not fully succeeded. The French government, whether from blind confidence or apathy, had for six years neglected the army, and made it the focus of economy. The late events have demonstrated even to the most incredulous that France can no more cease to fortify herself than renounce the endeavour to enrich herself. We do not know, or rather we will not inquire, whether France may not, in the course of a few years, have to measure her strength and resources with some power in Europe; but we do know that her interest, her greatness, her existence, require her to be prepared for a struggle. The period between 1815 and 1830, was a lost one as to the foreign influence of France, and the time between 1830 and 1840 was ill-employed as to this object; the period between 1840 and 1850 is an hour of grace, a last delay given to the country to regain the rank which belongs to it. If we do not profit by these short years to restore order to our finances, complete our means of communication, form a military reserve, a formidable army, and an effective navy, to colonise Algiers, and found a system of alliances, France, at the decisive moment, will be conquered, and for ever fallen. We can only repair the disasters occasioned by bad government by the vigorous direction of our affairs. There is not a moment to be lost, for the ministry, after having sacrificed national honour to the demands of foreign powers, contemplates the abandonment of the measures which were inspired by a sense of peril, and which must be followed up as a precaution against future danger. M. Guizot has promised to disarm; shall we have the grief of witnessing the accomplishment of his promise? This is the only really important question for the next session of the Chambers. A people who have the misfortune to have a government without energy, must force it to do what is useful, and prevent it from inflicting mischief. In olden times, faith raised mountains. In the present day, this important lever is public opinion. Let us then endeavour to inspire the government with the firmness demanded by circumstances."

This is the language of all the opposition press in France. The writers assume, first, that there is a general feeling of hostility in other powers against France; and secondly, that the men at the head of the French government are but the executive of foreign powers against the dignity and interests of France. The *Courier Français* says that the *status quo* created by the treaties of Vienna has been respected only by France, which has reaped no advantage from it, whilst all other powers have been aggrandising themselves, and adding to their conquests. The *Courier* forgets the conquest of Algiers. If that has turned out unfortunately for France, it does not the less prove that she was bent upon aggrandisement and spoliation, and that she resorted to hypocrisy and deceit in this attempt to extend her possessions at

the expense of the empire of Turkey, and provide an excuse for keeping up her large military force. It would be difficult to show that any other power in Europe has violated the *status quo*. The treaties of Vienna had reference only to the balance of power of Europe, and to that part of Turkey on the south side of the Mediterranean. Now what state of Europe, except France, has placed the equilibrium in danger? If France invaded Algiers only for the purpose, as she pretended at the time, of putting an end to the piracy of the Dey, and protecting all Christian states from the exactions of an uncivilized chief, why has she retained possession of the territory when the object was accomplished, and by the slightest precautions the Dey of Algiers might have been for ever prevented from repeating the exactions which led to French intervention? If any thing was meant by the conquest of Algiers, it was the establishment of a colony in Africa, which should gradually bring not only Algeria, but Tunis, Tripoli, and even the empire of Morocco or Egypt, or both, under French sway. Would the possession of these territories have been compatible with the safety and integrity of the Turkish empire, which it was the object of the *status quo* to respect? We think not. And it is no palliation of the conduct of France that she has, from want of skill, energy or prudence, hitherto failed in her attempt to disturb the equilibrium of power in Europe.

The lamentation of the *Courier* over the apathy of the French people for remaining idle in commerce and manufactures whilst the other powers of Europe were rapidly increasing both, is certainly no just ground of reproach to those states in which the prudence of the rulers and the activity of the people have led to such results. There has been no coalition, no combination, to exclude France from the markets of Europe. There has been no deep laid scheme to make the French run wild in useless theories, and neglect useful and practical industry. Nor is it the fault of Prussia, which the *Courier* says has resolved the problem of cheap government, that French finances have been brought to so low an ebb. If the French are childish enough to seek amusement in expensive toys and to devote to useless stone walls the money which might have been employed in useful improvements and the propagation of commerce and industry, it is their own fault.

The French pretend that they ought not to be called upon to reduce their army, because, say they, the convention of the 13th July does not offer any sufficient guarantee that the balance of power in Europe shall not one day be disturbed by one or more of the other contracting powers, and prevent the necessity for

France keeping up such a military force as would enable her to protect her own interests in such an event. The supposition of the occupation of Constantinople by Russia is still the favourite theme of the opposition journals in the French capital. The idea of Russia taking, far less keeping, Constantinople, is in our opinion an absurdity; for although she has a greater surface of territory than all the other powers together, yet she is weak from the necessary physical scattering of her people; and Prussia, although the least populous of the five great powers, is and will be for a century, at least, stronger than Russia, and able, if necessary, even alone, without the Germanic confederation, to prevent the realization of Russian ambition in Turkey. Prussia could march 200,000 men, if need were, to St. Petersburg in the course of two or three weeks, and on the way thither she would be joined by as many Poles, discontented nobles and disaffected Russian subjects, whilst the Russian army invading Turkey would also assuredly have to contend against the English, Turkish and French troops and fleets in the Bosphorus; and Austria could with 2 or 300,000 men check any attempt that she would make to reach Adrianople. Nor are we to overlook the important fact, that Turkey, with her new institutions, the spread of education, and the protection thrown over her by the treaty of the 13th of July, must necessarily become powerful in herself against Russian ambition. But are we not over-rating the ambition as well as the power of Russia? Is there any probability that aggression is to be apprehended from the north to the south? It is a general opinion that we must necessarily from time to time have eruptions from the north of Europe to the southern latitudes; but this has by no means always been the case. Tacitus mentions that, when the inhabitants of the left wing of the Rhine became too numerous from the pressure of population and want of subsistence, they divided their numbers into three divisions, and expelled one third across the river, to seek food in the best way they could. We have numerous instances of southern nations forcing their way into northern climates. The history of Greece is full of such migrations both from Asia Minor, the Peloponnesus, and the islands. The Moors found their way into Spain, and many of the followers of Mahomet have located themselves in the south of France. The Carthaginians settled themselves in Sicily and Piedmont, and the Romans in Gaul, Germany, and even in England. May it not even be possible in the course of a century, that the middle of Europe, in an over-crowded state, may seek to locate themselves in the untenanted parts of Russia. When we consider that the population of England doubles itself every forty-six years, and

that of Prussia in about the same period, might not the Emperor of Russia, who has enormous tracts of territory almost unpeopled, be quite as reasonable in dreading an eruption from the Prussians, Austrians, and the English, as the French are in anticipating an eruption of Slaves in the south?

But if we establish our position, that there is no intention to destroy the integrity of the Turkish empire, the French will probably turn round and say to the other powers of Europe, As you do not contemplate foreign conquest, set us the example of reduction of your own military force. One of the Paris journals, the *Commerce*, pretends that M. Guizot has offered to reduce the French army to the extent of 40,000 as soon as the Emperor of Austria shall have commenced a reduction on his side. It is certainly only fair in calling on France to reduce her army to what it was before the treaty of July, that any augmentation of force by other powers since that time should also be reduced. But it cannot be for a moment admitted, if the principle of reduction be allowed, that the French are to fix the number of men to be reduced. The basis of such an arrangement must either be a recurrence to the position of each power before the Treaty of July, or an amicable understanding between the five powers as to the number of troops actually necessary for the internal security of each. If the latter and more reasonable course be adopted, with what face will the French government call upon Austria and Prussia to reduce the numbers of their army, asserting at the same time that a very large army is necessary in France for the maintenance of internal tranquillity; remembering, as it must, the declaration of M. Thiers that Austria and Prussia were ripe for revolt? That M. Thiers in this instance, as in every other connected with the question under consideration, has spoken falsely, we do not hesitate to say; but the sovereigns of Austria and Prussia would be perfectly justified in retorting his declarations as an excuse for keeping up large standing armies, if they were not anxious to show that there is none of that disposition to revolt amongst their subjects which has been attributed to them by M. Thiers.

There is one argument in favour of keeping up standing armies in Austria and Prussia which the French cannot controvert. France, supposing the Austrian and Prussian sovereigns to be sincere in their professions of peace, has nothing to fear, because she knows well that those sovereigns are able to speak for their people as well as for themselves; but is the sovereign of France able to supply the same guarantee? Can he or his ministers pledge themselves for the pacific disposition of the French nations? Can they, for at least many years to come, convince the

powers of Europe that the French as a nation will respect any pledge which they may make in their name? Well would it be for the peace of Europe if that could be done.

It is asserted by persons who pretend to be well informed, that the French government would not be sorry to have an opportunity for reducing to a certain extent the present standing army in France, as the state of its finances is such as to require a reduction of the expenditure, and it is only in the army that reduction could be effected. As regards the security of the country, there really can be no serious objection to reduction, for a hundred thousand men more or less may be raised in France in a few days, and three months are sufficient for the discipline of the French soldier. Such at least is the opinion of Marshal Soult. In one of his speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, he said, "The French are, as it were, born soldiers. Give me a man from the plough, and in three months he shall be fit for the field." But this is not the case as to the navy. The objections to reduction in this branch of the service are, first, that France has not a larger naval force than she ought to have, considering her position in Europe; and secondly, that if the present force were to be diminished, the seamen who would be discharged would find no employment in the merchant service, and consequently, in a sudden emergency, France would have ships but not men. We affirm that the naval force of France is greater than it ought to be, as compared with the naval force of the other countries of Europe. According to the official returns of the number of ships of war in commission, the French have, as to comparative extent of coast, the protection of colonies, and of mercantile shipping, more than as four is to three compared with England. We apprehend that when the governments of Europe come to the consideration of the force which each may keep up without danger to the general equilibrium, or placing things in such a position that any one government would be compelled to maintain a larger force than its own real wants might require, merely as a counterpoise to the preponderance of any other state,—when, in short, the peace-footing is to be established, and confidence is to be placed in the pacific assurances of all the contracting powers, the number of ships to be employed must be chiefly regulated by the number and extent of colonies, and of mercantile shipping. The protection of the coast, even in time of peace, is not indeed to be neglected, for human nature is unfortunately not such that entire reliance is to be placed on the pacific assurances of any government. But certainly in no peace arrangement can any augmentation of force be permitted merely on the ground of the possibility of events against which it is the very object of that arrangement to provide.

If the number of ships in commission in the French navy be not excessive, as compared with that of other governments, then it would be unfair to call for reduction, because it really is true that France, having once reduced her number of ships, and discharged crews which are become habituated to the service, would not in the event of war be able to form new and efficient crews with the same facility as other governments, which, from having a much more extensive mercantile navy, are able in a very short period to man their ships of war with experienced seamen.

It would appear from the correspondence between the English and French cabinets, that the chief objection to the augmentation of the navy in France has been as to the ships of the line. Lord Palmerston has stated that he considers the present number of French ships of the line in commission as much greater than it ought to be, compared with the same description of force possessed by the English government. We have already said that the general naval force is greater in the proportion of four to three, and perhaps it exceeds that proportion as regards ships of the line, without reference to the war in China, which requires a very large naval force of the first class. The idea of the French placing themselves for a moment upon even the proportionate level with England, whilst she has a naval war upon hand, is perfectly absurd; for her to do so with reason, she must be in similar circumstances, which she is not now, nor is she threatened with any thing of the same kind. M. Thiers, when remonstrated with by Lord Palmerston as to the intended augmentation of French ships of the line, acknowledged that the force was greater than relative circumstances warranted, and offered to reduce the number, provided there would be no objection offered to the placing them in frigates and other vessels of comparatively small force, to prevent the necessity of discharging the crews. The present government is quite willing to follow up the offer made by M. Thiers, and the only obstacle in their way is popular clamour. The French are not satisfied with being merely a military power; they would become also a naval power; and they are eternally complaining that the English are attempting to impose conditions on them to which they ought not to submit. It is perfectly true that England only does watch with jealousy the frequent attempts of the French to augment their naval force;—it is quite true that England is resolved on maintaining a preponderance, without which her dignity, her colonies, and her commerce, would be at stake. Her first and leading motive for this preponderance is certainly her interest and self-preservation; but may we not also take credit for the noble feeling of a desire never again to trust the repose of the civilized world to the mercy of a nation whose ambition is only equalled

by its caprice, and whose caprice is such that it can offer no security in the constitution of its government to the rest of the world. Is England, after centuries of struggles to obtain that naval preponderance to which she is entitled by the magnitude and extent of the interests which she has to protect, and which is really essential for the advancement of humanity, to permit France to have a similar preponderance, without the same motive of self-preservation, and without presenting to Europe as an arbitress the same guarantees? English statesmen are but too well aware of the immense sacrifices of men, money, and national happiness, which their forefathers had to endure during the naval ascendancy of Spain and Holland, to suffer any other power, even at the remotest period, to place her in a position to incur the same sacrifices again.

"Tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet."

Any English ministry, Whig or Tory, who should for a moment relax in that zealous watchfulness of France which has been hitherto displayed, and which, opposed as we are in politics to the late ministry, we must be just enough to say Lord Palmerston observed to the fullest extent, would be guilty of treason to the interests of England and her crown. Let us just for a moment imagine the naval force of France placed upon a footing far exceeding our own, as to comparative wants, with the restless ambition of the French people—in what a position would England be placed? The first rupture with any other naval power, nay, the prolongation of the struggle in China, would expose us to maritime aggression on the part of France, and the first check experienced by England would give to France such a preponderance as to enable her to paralyze in a great degree the action of our fleets. Even at the present moment the numerical strength of the French navy is greater than it ought to be, and it is only owing to the physical superiority and nautical capacity of our seamen that this comparative numerical preponderance has not been turned to account. We must not permit France to arrive at such a development of naval power as to place her crews upon a footing with those of England, or permit the possibility of a juncture of any two or more powers dangerous to our own interests. We remember that when Napoleon was contemplating the possibility of a descent in Great Britain, a pamphlet was published under his auspices with the motto, "*Delenda est Carthago.*" This is still the feeling of the masses of the French people; and although the conviction of the impossibility of the working out of their views may eventually change that feeling into one more consistent with our security and the peace

of Europe, the slightest encouragement given to it by apathy or blind confidence on our part would soon fan it into a flame, to extinguish which might cause an enormous sacrifice of treasure and blood. The French say that we are unwilling to allow them to possess a naval force in proportion to their dignity as a nation and their interests. To believe them, England aims at nothing less than sweeping every French ship from the seas, and possessing that element as its own exclusive territory. Is this accusation founded in fact? If Great Britain really did object to the existence of a French navy at all, would she not rather take advantage of her present force, and carry into effect such a scheme? Nothing could be more easy for her, indeed, if such were her policy. England could command of common ships of war, steam-ships and other ships, 1500 vessels for aggression; and, according to our best statisticians, our seamen at home and abroad are nearly half a million of men, so that there would be no difficulty of finding able crews immediately for this large force; and it is to be remarked also, that our arsenals are at this moment well provided with *materiel* of every sort. We are very far from recommending the adoption of such a policy as this; for however short the struggle might be, it would be necessarily attended with the dilapidation of our finances, and would for a time throw all our commercial relations out of joint; but it would be the proper policy, if what the French say of us as regards our motive for naval preponderance were true. The true motive for our naval preponderance is self-preservation, and the retention in our own hands, for good purposes, of that superiority which, in other hands, might be turned to a different account. It is not our interest to sweep the fleet of any nation of Europe from the seas. A day may come when a junction with the French may be prescribed by one common interest, and when we should have a cause to repent the adoption of a policy which should have reduced her fleet below its proper degree of strength. Although it would be dangerous to permit any power to obtain a naval preponderance over England, or to permit the existence of such a force by either, as, when united, would place us in jeopardy, yet we should rather encourage than discourage the existence of a respectable force for each nation, which, in the event of necessity, might be joined with our own for the more rapid suppression of any ambitious project on the part of one or more states. Considering the enormous naval power of England, can it be said she has abused her strength? Has her naval preponderance been exercised for mere conquest and spoliation? and has she not on the contrary always limited that exercise to a consideration of what was due

to her own position and legitimate wants? The naval superiority which we enjoy must be maintained, although to do so we may mortify French vanity. From the moment we should cease to exercise a proper degree of vigilance in this respect, the days of British grandeur would be at an end.

It is not probable that the question of the reduction of either the French army or navy will be one likely to lead to much unpleasant discussion in the present state of things. The English cabinet may think that the moment when the internal state of France requires the display of a large military force, would not be well chosen for a peremptory demand for reduction of the army, although it certainly is no fair excuse for keeping up a large standing army in France to say that it is necessary for the maintenance of order, which is strictly the duty of a well-organized and efficient police. As to the navy, it is evident that nothing in the state or position of France can justify her in seeking to augment it, or in fact in refusing to reduce the present effective force; but what the English cabinet, and indeed all the cabinets of Europe might refuse to concede to the cabinet of the Tuileries, speaking in the name of the French nation, may be conceded to the peculiar position of the French ministry, and that too not merely as an act of courtesy, but from considerations of self-interest. M. Guizot has enough to do to keep down the ebullition of that mass of turbulence and riot in France which was lately brought to the boiling point by M. Thiers. Although he does not aim at popularity, knowing how vain and ephemeral the power built upon the breath of the populace must be, it would not be prudent to do unpopular things. The navy is just now the favourite toy of the French nation. To dislocate it would exasperate the French as a child is driven into a paroxysm by the breaking of its doll. The powers of Europe owe something to Louis Philip and M. Guizot, for without them they would have been involved in a contest which must, it is true, have ended in the discomfiture of France, but which it is equally true would have caused to all a great expenditure of treasure and blood. Nor is it certain that French propagandism would have failed entirely in rousing the discontented of more than one country of Europe to action. The experiment has not been made, and grateful ought Europe to be to those statesmen by whom it has been prevented. The least that can be done therefore for them, is to strengthen their hands against the factions of their own country, and to abstain from any immediate dictation which might excite rebellion and take the power out of their hands. A *status quo* as to the army and navy in France may be tolerated for a time, without being recognised as a right.

There is however another point of equal importance with the development of the means of warlike aggression possessed by France which England will do well to watch. The present ministry in France, in taking upon itself the unpopularity of a policy directly opposed to that of M. Thiers, may have resolved on an effort to obtain by diplomacy what it neither would nor could attempt to accomplish by force. The French are as envious of the wealth of England as of her power; they are quite as anxious to drive her out of the markets of the globe, as they are to deprive her of some of her political influence. M. Guizot, as a friend to humanity, is opposed to war, and as a prudent statesman he is above all opposed to a war in which there would be nothing to be gained by France; but M. Guizot is a good Frenchman, and he is not without the ambition which, if successful, would enable him to show to the French that by his policy they had really gained something, whereas if they had adopted that of M. Thiers ruin only would have been the result. If we do not allow the French to be active with the sword, they will attempt to be active in some other way—they are fond of what they choose to call honour, and are great seekers of the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth; but they are not wanting in energy when they see a chance of competing successfully with their neighbours in the race of trade. There is no man in Europe who understands matters of real business better than Louis Philip, and although he is very fond of talking of his military doings at Jemmappes, and with haranguing the troops as his "chers camerades," because he knows that without the army his throne would not be worth the purchase of a day, he is a keen and clever calculator, and knows that if France would increase her trade she would increase her wealth, and eventually her political strength; for in these times the most powerful nation must be that which has the greatest pecuniary resources at its command. The convention of July 13, by taking from France all dread of hostile attacks, and enabling her to devote all her energies to the arts of peace, opens to her a chance of becoming a formidable rival to England in the trade of the world. Against the principle of legitimate competition by France or any other power nothing is to be said; but our ministry must be constantly on the watch to see that for honorable rivalry she does not substitute intrigue. It must not be overlooked that the very first act of the French government, after the final settlement of the Eastern question, was to propose to Belgium a commercial treaty on conditions evidently directed against British trade. The circumstances under which this proposition was made are peculiarly striking. It will be remembered by our readers that more than two years

ago negotiations were opened between the cabinets of London and Paris for a revision of the tariffs of the two countries. After a preliminary understanding between the ministers of foreign affairs as to the bases of the negotiations, commissioners were named by each government. The president of the board of trade in England selected Dr. Bowring and Mr. Macgregor; the French government chose some of its own employés. Dr. Bowring and Mr. Macgregor began by asking large concessions, on the principle probably of the tenant who, wanting to obtain from his landlord wood enough to make a gate, began by asking for timber to build a house; offering, on the one hand, to admit French wines and brandies, silks, &c. &c. at a large reduction of duty, and on their side they demanded that the prohibition against the admission of certain English manufactures should be taken off, and that iron, cutlery, hardware, &c. should be admitted at a low rate of duty. The taking off prohibition was conceded, but the duties required were very much heavier than those which the English commissioners thought fair. Upon the whole, however, it was thought better to take what was offered, some of the extensive manufacturers in England having been previously consulted as to whether the duties proposed would be prohibitory or not, and having replied that by doing business on a very large scale and at very low profits, it would be possible to find a market in France, the propositions were entertained. No sooner, however, was it found that the English government was ready to subscribe to any propositions on the part of France, which, although not liberal, would still open the way to further modifications, than the most paltry delays and excuses were set up by the French government, and Mr. Poulett Thompson, justly taking offence, recalled his commissioners, and informed the French minister of commerce that he would never consent to a resumption of the negotiations, except on bases previously laid down in detail as well as principle from which the French negotiators could not depart. Whilst Mr. Poulett Thompson remained in office every attempt to wheedle him into fresh negotiations failed; but no sooner had Mr. Labouchere succeeded him than with, unpardonable promptitude, he suffered himself to be made a dupe, and appointed a new commission, composed of Mr. Bulwer and Mr. Porter, to treat with the clever tricksters whom the French minister of commerce had named. There never was a commission, even of the late government, which certainly did not shine in its selections, less calculated to lead to any useful result than this. Mr. Bulwer, who is really an able man as a diplomatist, and who as charge d'affairs in the absence and illness of Lord Granville, won golden opinions from all with

whom he had to do in France, was unexceptionable as regarded mere diplomacy, but his mercantile information was necessarily limited. To compensate for this deficiency Mr. Labouchere sent over Mr. Porter, one of the clerks of the board of trade. This gentleman, whatever may be his capacity at home, was lamentably deficient here. He knew nothing of the routine of French business; nothing of the trickery of French official men, and was weak enough to fancy that he had gained a triumph, when in fact the French commissioners were laughing at him in their sleeves. Mr. Bulwer soon saw through the *bonhomie* of his colleague, and in vain attempted to counteract its effects. Mr. Porter became dissatisfied with Mr. Bulwer, and each of these horses of the state pulled his own way. Had they indeed pulled together with all their might, they never could have dragged fair conditions out of the French, for there never was an intention on the part of the French government to treat on bases of fair reciprocity; but with a commission so composed the English government had not even the merit of keeping up its dignity, and Mr. Labouchere was weak enough to suffer Mr. Porter to remain many weeks in Paris at the suggestion of M. Thiers, who assured him that if any thing should occur to enable him consistently to consent to fresh negociations (they had then been broken off by M. Thiers in consequence of the treaty of July 15), he would let him know. M. Thiers did not condescend to resume the negociations, and Mr. Porter at length quitted Paris. M. Guizot succeeded M. Thiers, but nothing could be done, of course, in the treaty of commerce until the mantle of dignified isolation, which the little historian of the Revolution had placed over France, had been cast off. The convention of July 13 arrives, but what do we hear of the commercial treaty? Does the new French cabinet hasten to say to Lord Palmerston "We are sorry for the trickery and delay of the late cabinet, but we are now disposed to treat honestly on a system of fair reciprocity, and therefore beg that you will allow the negociations to be resumed?" Oh no! nothing of this kind takes place; but the ink of the signatures to the convention of July 13 is scarcely dry, when a commercial treaty with Belgium, hostile to British interests, is proposed, and as if nothing was to be wanting to mark the contempt of the French cabinet for the Whig government, which had been so much insulted and mocked, it was announced that the negociations for the treaty with Belgium would be direct between the Belgian commissioners and the French ministers, whereas in the negociations with England, the French government was represented by commissioners who were merely third or fourth class employés.

It is said, and we believe truly, that it was proposed in the first instance that the basis of the treaty between France and Belgium should be a customs' union, but that the Prussian ambassador at once declared that such an arrangement would be regarded as a breach of neutrality by Belgium. Indeed, a customs' union would have been a first and important step to a political union between Belgium and France, and this Prussia would not permit. The idea was therefore abandoned, and a commercial treaty, such as any independent state may form, was to be discussed. Let us see whether the bases of this treaty, however, are such as can be laid down by France when treating with a state which is only independent in its neutrality? France demands that her wines, brandies, silks, &c. shall be admitted into Belgium at rates of duty infinitely lower than those to be charged upon similar produce from any other state, and in return for this protection France will consent to receive from Belgium, iron, coals, linens, &c. &c. at a much lower rate of duty than from any other country. Will Austria, which became a party to the guarantee of the neutrality of Belgium, permit such an exclusion of the oils, silks and other produce of her Italian territories? Will England permit Belgium to make concessions to France, in exchange for which, Belgium, and Belgium only, is to supply France with coals, iron, linen, and any of the manufactures in which that country carries on a competition with Great Britain? In our opinion a treaty of this kind would be a *casus belli* on the part of England against both Belgium and France,—against Belgium as an infringement of a neutrality which was not to be merely political, for Belgium may, commercially, throw power into the hands of France, as well as by a political union; and against France for seeking thus hastily and rudely to establish those relations with Belgium as to trade which she refuses to England, after more than two years of fraudulent negotiation with the English government. We do not blame M. Guizot for seeking to enlarge the political and commercial influence of France at the expense of Belgian neutrality; we do not blame the Belgians for endeavouring to monopolize the supply of iron, coals, cutlery, hardware, woollen goods, &c. in France. If the governments of these countries can do this with impunity, they are quite right in their course; but will the English government consent to the exclusive arrangement which is proposed? We do not hesitate at saying, that it will not. Either the intentions of the French and Belgian governments must be abandoned, or France must consent to admit British manufactures, a fair reciprocity being, of course, consented to by England, on conditions quite as favourable as those which it is proposed to grant to Belgium. There is no reason to fear

that the interests of British manufactures will be overlooked by the cabinet of Sir Robert Peel.

Belgium could not fail to reap vast advantages from an exclusive commercial treaty with France, and they would be precisely on those branches in which she carries on a spirited competition with Great Britain. The Belgians are an industrious people, they are inferior only to the English in the application of mechanical power, and they have made such progress in some of their manufactures, that only a slight protecting duty in their favour in France would secure for them an important market. At present, many of the manufactures of Belgium are, like those of England, prohibited in France. It is quite time that the mistaken policy of prohibition should cease; but it must not cease for Belgium alone. The French have already made concessions to Belgium as to the coal trade, to the injury of our coal owners, who are thus unable to supply English coals at the same rate as the Belgians, except in certain localities; but this injury has not been extensive. The case would be very different however as to the supply of iron. The demand for English iron in France is even now, notwithstanding the enormous duty imposed upon it, very great; what then will it be when the capital required for the numerous railways projected in France shall have been raised, if, according to the intentions manifested by the French government, the supply of the iron-work for these great undertakings should be exclusively from Belgium, with the exceptions, of course, of that of the iron-masters in France itself. The *Journal des Debats* pretends, indeed, that this would be a nominal concession for Belgium; first, because that country would be unable to furnish the required supply; and secondly, because the French iron-masters are equal in their means of production to all demands. There is no truth in the latter of these statements. We find that in 1837, when Belgium had only 77 high furnaces and 60 common furnaces, she was able to supply all the iron required for the numerous railways then executing in her own territory, and would, if twice as much iron had been wanted, with the productive powers then in existence have been fully equal to the increased demand. Between 1837 and 1841 the number of high furnaces has increased to 117, and the ordinary furnaces from 60 to 72. With only 40 of the high furnaces in constant work, there would be an annual production of 202,000 tons; consequently, if all the productive power of Belgium were in full activity, she would be able alone, if necessary, to send into France more than the quantity of iron which could be required for railways over the whole surface of the country, in addition to that which the French iron-masters could raise. The idea of the whole of the iron necessary

for these railways being produced in France is perfectly absurd. The French iron-masters are not able to supply, within any reasonable limit of time, enough iron for railways of less than 100 leagues in extent. To protect the importation of Belgian iron, therefore, by excluding the English from all chance of competition, would be a manifest injury to the English iron trade, against which, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, the English government has a right to protest.

But it is not merely in the supply of iron for railways that Belgium would have a manifest advantage over England from the conclusion of a commercial treaty between that country and France, upon conditions such as are at this moment laid down as the basis of negotiation; she would also monopolize the supply of locomotives, for there are so many factories of that country well-organized as to tools, and possessing all that is necessary for an extensive fabrication, that if the duties in France on locomotives were to be lower for those imported from Belgium than on English locomotives, where one is now imported from England, Belgium would be able to introduce ten. The same observation may be made as to steam-engines and machinery of every kind. The English manufacturers of these articles have very little to fear from the competition with those in France, for notwithstanding the protecting duty levied upon English machinery, so much are the French manufacturers behind the English in the mode of turning out their work, that English engines and machinery of every kind find a ready market in France. It is not only better, but even cheaper as to first cost, than French machinery; for although the protecting duty is high, and labour is to be obtained in France at a lower rate than in England, the manufacturers are, with few exceptions, so badly set up with tools that the difference in their favour is more than counterbalanced by this inferiority. This, however, is not the case with Belgium; all that she requires for her prosperity is, an exclusive market for her goods. It is also worthy of remark, that the best English workmen find their way to Belgium, where there is none of that jealousy which, in France, prevents their meeting with encouragement, and a high rate of pay.

Some of the French papers have stated that the Earl of Aberdeen has already signified to M. Guizot his willingness to sign the projected commercial treaty with England, on the conditions agreed upon by the commissioners of the two countries. This we know to be untrue. In the first place, there were many essential conditions upon which the commissioners were not definitively agreed; and secondly, we do not think that Lord Palmerston would have sanctioned some others respecting which

they had come to an agreement by no means in favour of England. There is no ground for supposing that the Earl of Aberdeen will, as regards the interests of British merchants and manufacturers, be less difficult than Lord Palmerston would have been if he had remained in office. The concession demanded by France as to the duties on her wines and brandies is one of such vast importance for her that the English government has a right to expect something equal in exchange. In many parts of France the vine constitutes the wealth of the country, and when there is a falling off in the market for wine and brandy, the whole of the population depending upon this branch of agriculture must suffer materially. The exports of wine and brandy from France to all countries having fallen off materially, and the consumption at home in large cities not having kept pace with the increase of the population, the cultivators and others connected with the wine trade in the different provinces have for some years been almost in a state of bankruptcy. Session after session they have petitioned the legislature for relief, and session after session the iron-masters and manufacturers in the chamber of deputies, who are or else imagine they are interested in keeping out English iron and manufactures, which they could not do if the wine-growers were to prevail, as the English government would not consent to lower the duties on wines and brandies except for a concession in favour of British products, have been resisting the demands of the agriculturists, and hitherto they have done so successfully. In every concession made by the French commissioners they had in view to lower the clamour of the wine-growers,—who, in their petition to the chambers declare, that the cultivation of the vine in two-thirds of the territory covered by it does not yield 2 per cent. for the capital employed, and that in many cases the produce does not cover the expense of cultivation,—and, at the same time, alarm as little as possible the iron-masters and manufacturers opposed to a commercial treaty with England. A great deal of what these gentlemen have succeeded in doing must be undone, or Lord Aberdeen will not sign the treaty.

There is another leading point in connection with the treaty in question which must be discussed, and respecting which there has been, and is still likely to be, great opposition on the part of the French government; we mean the postage regulations between the two countries. When the late cabinet in England gave way to the wild and sweeping theories of Mr. Rowland Hill, and adopted the crude notions of that gentleman to their fullest extent, although a reduction of one-half the postage-duty would have satisfied the people of England, the enormity of the postage be-

tween Great Britain and France became strikingly apparent. The English commissioners endeavoured to make a large reduction of this postage one of the bases of the negotiation, but the answer was, that the English government had done an unwise act which could not be allowed to operate as an example for the French government, and that the concession demanded by the commissioners would, if granted, open the door in France to concessions as to the postage system generally, which would be injurious to the public revenue. We will endeavour to show that the English commissioners were right in principle, although the French government was perfectly correct in refusing to adopt the wild theory of Mr. Rowland Hill and his supporters, but we must just be permitted, although it may be considered a digression, to make a few observations on the postage regulations in the two countries generally.

Previously to the extraordinary alterations made in England by the late cabinet, whether from ignorance or with a mistaken view to popularity we will not attempt to determine, there were certainly many things in which reform was called for. The postage of letters was decidedly too high; the mode of paying by inclosures and not by weight was an unfair one, and was attended by trouble in the machinery as well as hardship upon the public, and some facilities were due to tradesmen, particularly to beginners with small capital, for the extension of their means of publicity. The two classes of persons which the new postage bill was, according to its projectors, to serve principally, were small tradesmen and the poor, who from the existing high rate of postage were unable to communicate by letter. Was it necessary as regarded the former to reduce the charge to about one-seventh, taking the average of what was then paid; if two-thirds or even only one-half had been reduced, would it not have been sufficient in the first instance as a mere experiment? In England the trading classes are so numerous, and they are so justly entitled to consideration, that if the relief they desired could have been granted in no other way than by the adoption of a penny postage, this extreme concession would have been a judicious one; but how did the case really stand? The tradesman complained that he could not afford to pay the existing high rate of postage for sending out his circulars, and that he was consequently unable to give to his trade the degree of publicity necessary for his own interest, and for that of the public, which is always promoted by competition; and was there no other way of serving the poorer class of tradesmen and giving a stimulus to competition, than enabling the wealthy to gain 600 per cent.? If instead of a penny postage a three-penny postage had been established, the enormous defect

of the revenue would have been avoided, nay, the revenue would have been increased, and yet the trading classes might have had a still greater boon than that which they have received from Mr. Rowland Hill's plan, which had not even the charm of novelty, inasmuch as it existed and was a failure in France more than two centuries ago, and when the present post-office system was not known. The trading classes in England demanded the facility of sending out their circulars at a lower cost than the rate of postage charged by the government. We would have gone beyond Mr. Rowland Hill in their favour, without abstracting a farthing from the amount of the post-office revenue. We would have given to them the facility which is enjoyed in France, where a printed circular is conveyed by the post to any part of the kingdom for a charge of little more than one-fourth of the penny postage in England. In France, if a circular bearing a stamp of two centimes be folded up in such a way that the stamp may be seen, it is received at a post-office on payment of only one centime postage, and conveyed free to any distance. Does Mr. Rowland Hill's plan give the same advantage? Even a penny postage is too high for tradesmen's circulars, as few tradesmen wish to send out less than five or six thousand, and that would be an expense of more than twenty pounds, whereas the same thing would be done in France for little more than five pounds. The boon therefore to the trading classes is not so extensive as it ought to be, and yet it is attended with injury to the revenue. If the Conservative government should attempt to modify Mr. Rowland Hill's plan, and levy an uniform threepenny rate, it is probable that in less than two years the amount of the revenue from the post-office would be greater than it was previously to the change made by the late cabinet, for, as compared with all things else in England, threepence would be a small tax even for the poorer classes. But the system of stamped circulars must also be adopted, for that would be an extra and very extensive branch of profit. Let every tradesman or other person sending circulars through the post-office be allowed to do so free of postage, provided the circular do not exceed a quarter of an ounce of weight, and be stamped with a halfpenny stamp. Even in France, where the competition of trades is comparatively small, these stamped circulars yield a large sum to the revenue. To return, however, to the question of international postage in connection with the projected commercial treaty between France and England.

The present rate of postage between the two capitals, or any points of equal distance, is two francs for what is called a single letter, viz. a letter weighing $7\frac{1}{2}$ grammes French or a little more than a quarter of an ounce English, with or without enclosures ;

beyond that weight and under 10 grammes the charge is two francs and a half, and it goes on increasing according to the increase of weight. If the letter should weigh half an ounce the charge would be 3 francs from Paris to London, or from London to Paris, (the arrangement is a reciprocal one, and cannot be altered without the consent of both governments), whereas the same letter sent from the remotest part of England to the remotest part of Ireland or Scotland would be charged only one penny. Upon what principle this imposition is kept up we know not, for the charge is out of all proportion with the inland charges of both countries. A letter of the weight in question sent to Calais would be charged 24 sous, if to Boulogne, which is the nearest point to England and ought to be the mail packet station, the charge would be only 1 franc; the postage from Dover to London would be one penny, making together less than thirteen pence English, and a charge of twopence from Calais to Dover would be enormous, for any private packet master would convey it for the government for one halfpenny; thus, a letter which is now charged two shillings and sixpence English, ought not, according to the inland tariffs of the two countries, allowing at the same time an extravagant rate of postage for the 20 miles water carriage, to be charged more than half that amount, or if even the inland charge in England were increased to threepence, to be more than one shilling and fivepence; on what is called the letter simple, viz. weighing less than $7\frac{1}{2}$ grammes, the charge, which is now one shilling and eightpence, ought not to exceed, according to the inland tariffs, eightpence.

If the British government be really disposed to renew the negotiations for the commercial treaty, this is a point which must be attended to, for it would be absurd to lay down rules for the extension of commerce if the means of communication and intercourse are to be thus fettered. We very much doubt, however, whether sufficient progress will be made in the more important points of the treaty, for this of the postage to be brought under discussion.

MUSIC ABROAD AND AT HOME.

GERMANY.

VIENNA.—The chief novelty in the theatrical horizon of this imperial city has been the successful production at the royal theatre of a new and original four-act comedy, entitled *Maria von Medicis*, which turns on an intrigue between King Henry, the Marquis of Roquelaure and the beautiful Marchioness Sevigné, in the suite of the queen, with whom they are in love. Maria is informed of their proceedings, and after a variety of "moving accidents," she humbles the king, unites the marchioness to the man of her heart, and makes the marquis accept the hand of a lady of the court, to whom his *billet doux* had been sent in mistake.

At the Josephstadt Theatre, a drama entitled *Leben und leben lassen*, "Live and let live," has been the most recent favorite. Haley's *Guido and Ginevra* has been performed, but obtained an indifferent reception.

The musicians of the Austrian capital have experienced a great loss by the death of Chevalier Ignaz Von Seyfried, who expired on 27th August, in his 65th year. This celebrated and fertile musician was originally educated for the law, but his passion for music was irresistible, and he became the author of nine successful operas, five oratorios, nearly two hundred other works, and numerous theoretical essays. He enjoyed the friendship of Beethoven, and most of the distinguished musicians of the time. In the evening of the 26th, he sent for two of his friends, M. Littermayer, director of the Imperial Singing School, and M. Harleyn, the musical publisher, and gave to them a parcel, with a request that it might not be opened until after his decease. This parcel contained the manuscript of a funeral mass, and a note, stating that this work, composed in 1835, was to be performed at the funeral of the author. His wishes have been responded to, and his funeral was attended by all the principal musicians in Vienna.

Spontini has been elected honorary member of the Austrian Musical Society of Vienna.

Great preparations are making for the annual festival of the Musical Society of the Austrian States, to be held on 7th, 9th and 11th of November, at Vienna. Eleven hundred performers will attend; the greater portion gratuitously.

FRANKFORT.—Miss Adelaide Kemble has been delighting the Rhine Tourists by her beautiful singing and acting in Bellini's *Norma*. She has created a *furor*, and has been re-engaged for twelve nights.

BERLIN.—The good people of this city have been delighted with the singing and performances of Madame Pasta, at the King's Theatre. Her first performances of *Anna Bolena*, in Donizetti's favorite opera of that name, elicited applause, particularly in the *aria Amor che il seno m'agiti*. Giovanna Semour was personated by Mademoiselle Ferlotti, and King Henry was well filled by M. Paltrinieri. She subsequently appeared in Bellini's *Tancredi* and *Norma*. Sever was personated by M. Vitali most effectively.

The promise made by his Majesty to revive the old classic drama is now about to be fulfilled. Several Greek tragedies, translated into German, will soon be forthcoming. Mendelssohn has received orders to set the choruses of the *Edipus Coloneus* to music. F. Schneider is commissioned to fulfil the same

duties to the *Electra*, and Spohr has the *Antigone* now in hand. *Die Huguenotten* is to be produced with great splendour on Meyerbeer's return to this city.

In the new palace at Potsdam are shown several compositions for the flute, both concertos and smaller pieces, from the hand of Frederick the Great; he also wrote the dramas of several operas for Graun, which were translated into Italian from the French, in which they were originally composed, by the court poet of the day, Tagliazuchi. The following is the order in which they were written:—*Iphigenia in Aulis*, 1748; *Coriolanus*, 1749; *Phaeton*, 1750; *Mithridates*, 1751; *Sulla*, 1753; *Montezuma*, 1755; *Merope*, 1756. *Cæsar and Cleopatra*, with which the Berlin Opera House was consecrated, a secular solemnity, on the 7th December, 1742; and *Semiramis*, written in May, 1754, were also from his pen. Of all the lyrical dramas of Frederick, to the best of our knowledge, only one is now extant; it is still in the original manuscript, and in private hands, and is that to which Graun composed his opera of *Sulla*; this work was brought out on the birthday of the queen-mother, 27th of March, 1755. Many smaller lyrical poems by this monarch have been set to music, but of these only two odes, composed by Reichardt, which appeared at Berlin in 1800, have been given to the public.

The German musical Annual *Orpheus* for 1842 is nearly for publication; it is embellished with a portrait of Mendelssohn Bartholdy, and contains some admired compositions by Seyfried, Lyser, Schindler, Dr. Schumann, Schilling, Reissiger, &c.

PRAGUE.—The Hofburg theatre was most fully attended for some time past, owing to the attraction of Madame Peche, who is unquestionably one of the finest tragic actresses in Germany. Herr Gabriele in *Leichtsinn und seine Folgen*, "Frivolity and its consequences." Her Mariane in Goethe's *Geschwistern*, and her Louise in Schiller's beautiful tragedy of *Kabale und Liebe* were masterly performances, and elicited loud and frequent applause. The clear and impressive tones of her sweet voice, her commanding attitudes and her graceful figure distinguish her as the Siddons or Rachel of Germany. For her benefit a new five-act drama by Otto Prechtler, entitled *Perdita*, was performed for the first time. The two first acts were very warmly received; but the third and fourth were so inferior, that the drama met with very equivocal success. Mademoiselle Engmans took the second character of Fulvia, Madame Peche sustained Perdita, and M. Loewe, Geraldo. Madame Allram is an established melodramatic performer, and has acquired great reputation by her performance in Wolf's *Kammerdiener*, "The Valet."

MANNHEIM.—The musical society of Heidelberg, Mannheim, and Speier, who recently offered a prize for the best trio on the Pianoforte, Violin, and Violoncello, have declared the successful competitor to be J. Wolff of Vienna; the judges were Spohr, Kalliwoda, and Strauss.

LEIPZIG.—Several attractive concerts have been given in the city; among others, one under the direction of G. Schmidt of Weimar, was fully attended. On this occasion a new national song, and an aria and chorus from Weber's *Euryanthe*, were effectively given. The organist of St. Nicholas Church, M. Becker, gave a brilliant concert in aid of the sufferers from the fire at Zschopau. The programme contained a fine selection from the works of Bach, Handel, and Krabo. Donizetti's *La Favourite* is in rehearsal.

ITALY.

ROME.—Great preparations are making at the Teatro Apollo for the production of various novelties. A powerful company, including Mesdames Strefoni, Colleonicosti, Brembilla, and Gualdi; Messieurs Salvi and Gasparini, tenors, Marini, Alba, and Santoni, bassists. The most successful opera during the

last season, it will be remembered, was Rossini's *Mosé*, for which Donizetti's *Marino Faliero* was withdrawn. The good people of Rome are beginning to see the error of supporting Donizetti's trash, to the exclusion of Rossini, Bellini, Mercadante, and other composers of really good music. The new Opera Buffa of *Il Barbero Benefico*, recently produced at the Valle Theatre, has proved most unsuccessful, the composer, M. Carcano, will not be permitted to make another attempt.

VENICE.—The chief novelty has been the triumphant débüt of Mademoiselle E. Gogge, a native of Prato in Tuscany, who appeared in Donizetti's *Auna Bolena*, Bellini's *Norma*, and Speranza's *Due Figaro*; the Apollo has been in consequence very fully attended. A new opera by Buzolla, entitled *Il Mas-tino* has been successful at the Teatro San Benedetto.

FLORENCE.—The folly of calling the author or composer forward several times to receive the applause of the audience we may now presume has reached its height in this city. Marliani, the composer of the opera of *Ildegonda*, which has been the great attraction at the Teatro Pergola, was called on to present himself twenty-four times in one evening to receive the congratulations of the audience. Maray the prima donna was also called on nineteen several times. Rossini's *Nuovo Mosé* has also been successfully reproduced at the same theatre, Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* was performed upwards of thirty nights. At the Leopold Theatre, a new opera by Gordigiani entitled *Gli Aragonesi in Napoli* has been received with the most flattering success, the composer was also called on to present himself upwards of twenty-four times; how long this insane custom will continue we know not. At the theatre in the town of Reggio a new opera *Il Solitario* was produced, and the composer, Peri, called forth nearly twenty times, and yet the opera proved a failure.

The degenerate state of Italian music at the present day, and the wretched compositions produced almost weekly in Italy, the Grand Opera and the Opera Buffa, alike destitute of originality and taste, have been the subject of much comment of late; but the sharpest satire ever levelled at the *modern opera* is that by Marcello, in a pamphlet entitled "*Teatro alla moda*;" or, "An Easy and Certain Method of Composing and Performing Italian Operas after the Modern Manner."

He says as to the Poet—

"The modern poet should completely abstain from reading the ancient writers, for this reason, that the ancient writers never read the moderns. Before entering upon his task he will take an exact note of the quantity and quality of the scenes which the manager is desirous of introducing into his drama. He will compose his poem verse by verse, without giving himself any trouble as to the action, in order that it may be impossible for the spectator to comprehend the plot, and that curiosity may thus be kept alive to the end of the piece. By the way he will not forget to close the piece with a brilliant and magnificent scene, terminating in a grand chorus in honour of the sun, the moon, or the manager. He will have recourse as frequently as possible to the dagger, to poison, to earthquakes, to spectres, and incantations. All these expedients are admirable; they cost but little, and produce a prodigious effect on the public."

And now the composer; not forgetting also the singer—

"The modern composer has no occasion for a knowledge of the rules of composition; practice, and a few general principles will be quite sufficient. Nor has he any occasion for an acquaintance with poetry; he need not even be able to distinguish a long syllable from a short one. He will do well *not* to read the poem before setting it to music, for fear of over-loading his imagination and oppressing his genius. He will compose the music verse by verse, and will not fail to adjust to the words such airs as he has composed in the course

of the year, even though the metre and the expression should be at perfect variance with his ideas. He will produce no airs but such as are accompanied by the whole orchestra; for, in order to compose in the modern taste, it is indispensable, above all things, to make plenty of noise. As to the singers, they should take care never to practise solfaing, for fear of falling into the old-fashioned custom of singing in tune and time; both of which things are at absolute variance with the taste of the day. And not only will they change the time of the airs, but also the airs themselves, though their variations are in direct opposition to the bass and the whole of the instruments."

HOLLAND AND BELGIUM.

There are two musical societies in Amsterdam. The musical institute "Felix Meritis" consists of seventy-four members, under the direction of M. Van Bree, a talented violinist; and the "Blaas en Stryklust," under the direction of M. Sundorf.

BRUSSELS.—The Grand Opera has been enlivened by the appearance of Rubini, Persiani, and Signor Negri: Rossini's *Otello* was rapturously received, and Rubini had to repeat the aria from Pacini's *Niobe* three times.

At the Theatre de la Monnaie Donizetti's *Favourite* has been successfully produced: the principal performers were Mdle. Julian, M. Laborde, and M. Canaple, who possesses a fine baritone.

The Festival of the Société Philharmonique was to take place on the 26th September, to contend for the prizes. Foreigners were invited to attend and contest the point of superior musical qualifications with the Belgians.

RUSSIA.

Respecting the music of Russia, we are comparatively ignorant. Of the four distinct categories, sacred, operatic, military, and chamber music, sacred music occupies the highest rank, although the Greek ritual admits of no kind of instrument in the churches. The choristers of the emperor's chapel sing no music but that of the office, and practice has given them an inconceivable skill in intonating with truth and precision without accompaniment. But the peculiar feature of their performance consists in the employment of double-bass voices, whose compass is from the lowest A. of the piano to C. above the lines, and which produce an incredible effect by doubling the ordinary bass parts.

Now Russia is the only country that offers a certain provision for a double-bass singer: the possession of such notes, combined with a knowledge of music, insures a pension for life from the autocrat of the Russias. These living *contra-basse* never quit the chapel; isolated they would be found intolerably heavy, but their effect *en masse* is admirable.

The execution of the choir being unrivalled in the world, it were to be desired that the music should be of equal excellence, but this is not the case. Nearly all the pieces are of the last century, and are written by a certain Bertensky, a clever composer, but gifted with little invention.

Theatrical music at St. Petersburg is the least flourishing of any, and it is difficult to understand why the operatic orchestra and vocalists should be so feeble, when we find such magnificent chapel singers, and such excellent military bands. There are three theatres,—the Grand Theatre, where the ballet and Russian or German operas are performed; the Theatre Michel, dedicated to slighter German operas, and to French drama and vaudeville; finally, the Alexandrine Theatre, where Russian pieces only are played,—this latter does not fall within our province; all are supported by the government at immense expense, but the Alexandrine only commands adequate receipts. The Grand Theatre is one of the finest edifices in Europe, the interior is larger than our

opera, and combines beauty with simplicity; in lieu of our pit benches there are commodious arm-chairs, the first rows of which are always filled by the *élite* of the Russian aristocracy; a large central box is assigned to the court, but is usually occupied by the maids of honour, the emperor and empress taking a small side box with private entrance. The *corps de ballet* is numerous, and is supplied by the pupils of a school attached to the theatre under the direction of Messrs. Taglioni and Titus. It has produced some good female dancers,—the best are Mesdames Smirnova and Andrianova, who are indeed worthy of our academy. Unfortunately the ladies are not remarkable for personal charms. The operatic *répertoire* is composed of translations of French and Italian operas, and of half-a-dozen German, two of which are by Weber, and four by Mozart. *Robert le Diable* and *La Muette* have the power of attracting crowds.

The Russian opera has little more influence on the public than the German; the *répertoire* is the same with different language and performers. The first tenor, Leonof, is Russian only by birth, having been educated in France. He is a natural son of Field the pianist; with much musical knowledge, but very limited powers, he is called upon to fill the posts of Rubini in the *Puritani*, and of Nourrit in *Robert*. The *prima donna* is Mdlle. Verteuil, who on returning to her native country took the name of Soloviova. She has a pretty voice and great execution, but being an indifferent musician sings very unequally, and the public has not sufficient discrimination to applaud in the right place. Another *prima donna*, Mdlle. Stephanova, is not without merit; the bass is Petrorf, and his wife Petrova the contralto.

It is surprising the progress which music has made within the last few years in the Russian capital. Amongst the native artists of first-rate abilities, we rank, as a violinist, M. Ghys, styled the Russian Paganini; on the piano, the admirable Dreyschok, who is said to approach very closely Thalberg, and to rival Hengelt and Gerke! Amongst the first-rate composers are M. Glinka, author of the first Russian opera that has ever appeared. It is entitled *My Life for the Czar*. The plot is simple; the action taking place during one of the old Russo-Polish wars; a peasant devotes himself to save the Czar, who has taken refuge from pursuit in the mountains; he simulates treachery, and offers himself to the Poles as a guide to the retreat of their enemy, and having conducted them into an inextricable labyrinth of defiles, avows the act, and dies under the Polish swords, crying "*Vive le Czar*."

After him ranks Mr. Stronisky, who has composed a pretty opera, entitled, *Parachu la Saberienne*. Next comes Count Fobstog, the author of numerous songs and melodies. And lastly, Colonel Alexis Lvof, Director of the Imperial Chapel, a perfect wonder on the violin, and who has recently been elected an honorary member of the Academy of Berlin, and received other marks of distinction throughout Germany. Amongst other musicians of eminence are Count Wilhorsky, M. Dinitress, and the young Monskof. The best native vocalists include Madame Petrof and Madame Ozerof, and Messrs. Samoylof, Balabine, and Wolkof. The excellent German actress and cantatrice, Mademoiselle Sabine Heinfetter, has been singing here for some time. The purity and sonorousness of her mezzo soprano, and the ability and expression with which she regulates it, together with her pleasing and intelligent countenance, combine to make her a most accomplished artiste, and causes much regret at her departure.

FRANCE.

PARIS.—Great preparations are making for the opening of the Italian Opera with Mercadante's *Vestale*. Signor Ronzi, a youthful tenor, who has been successful at Naples and Milan, and is the composer of several cantatas, is engaged to replace Rubini. Mirate, Morelli, Tamburini, Albertazzi and Lablache

have arrived in Paris, and Grisi and Mario are hourly expected. The alterations of the Theatre Renaissance for the Italian company have cost £8000.

The past two months may be considered the most unmusical period of the year at Paris, but great preparations are making by the Italian Opera company, and we are promised a brilliant campaign; the novelties have not yet been announced, but we fear we shall have little less than Donizetti's and Mercadante's interminable trash. Why do not the Parisians adopt the opinion of their great model, Napoleon?—He was exceedingly fond of Italian music, whose calmness, sweetness, and tender expression inspire gentle *reveries*, as he one day said to Cherubini. Often even had he complained to that learned composer of the noise which filled his orchestra to the detriment of melody. Cherubini had occasionally disputed the point with the emperor, without being able to bring him over to his opinion, however piquant the observations were with which he maintained it. Thus at Vienna, where he had been entrusted with the superintendence of the court concerts, Napoleon in the middle of a brilliant and animated *morceau*, suddenly exclaimed, "Oh, M. Cherubini, your orchestra plays *too high*!" "Sir," answered the conductor of the orchestra, with a sardonic smile, "I can assure your Majesty that my orchestra is in perfect tune." "This is not fair, M. Cherubini," replied the emperor with mildness; "I mean to say that your musicians play *too strong*!—That may be suited to what you call French taste, but I have accustomed the French to the roar of cannon, and by winning battles they have lost their ears."

A new three act opera composed by Balfe is to be produced with great splendour, and the principal parts to be filled by Grisi Mario and Tamburini.

At the Opera Francaise, Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* and Auber's *La Muette* are to be produced immediately. In the former M. Poulitier will make his *début* as Arnold.

OPERA COMIQUE.—Three most successful operettas, or musical farces, have been produced for the first time at this theatre, and are each likely to become standard favourites. *Les Deux Voleurs*, *Frère et Mari*, and *L'Âiule*, are pleasant trifles; the former is the composition of M. Girard, the leader of the orchestra at this theatre.

The amusement in the plot arises from a double attempt made—first by the Marquis de Solange,—a name celebrated in the gallant annals of the court of Louis XV.—to cheat a worthy bourgeois, Gibelin by name, out of his pretty wife, on the wedding night; and, next, by the well-known robber of those days, Jean de Beauvais, to steal a valuable set of diamonds, which the wealthy citizen has presented to his bride. By an ingenious *ruse*, the Marquis gets Gibelin from his home, and both the thief and the gallant obtain admittance to the house. The presence of mind and ready wit of the young wife—who though pretty, and married to an elderly gentleman, the author represents as virtuous—contrive means to defeat the designs of both marauders, until the return of her husband, when, after a series of mistakes of persons and scenes of equivocation which are highly amusing in representation, though too slight to bear detail, both parties receive their *congé*, and the fortunate husband is left in quiet possession.

Frère et Mari is the composition of M. Clapisson. The plot turns upon a neglected wife being mistaken for a sister, and a consequent demand of the lady's hand, with a thousand jealousies and perplexities arising therefrom.

L'Âiule is the composition of A. Boildieu, and contains some sprightly music. The plot of this little piece consists in a young man, a sailor, disguising himself as his sister, in order to thwart an old captain who is enamoured with her. The matchmaker is a grandmama, who being blind is unable to detect the imposture, but causes much amusement by requiring the young man to sing, and display various other female accomplishments to captivate the elderly

admirer. The old gentleman ultimately relinquishes his claim, and the real young lady is united to her lover, who proves to be the captain's nephew. M. Roger personated the young lady, and displayed wonderful flexibility in his voice. Some of these trifles would be worthy Mr. Webster's attention.

M. Schlesiner, the talented and indefatigable editor of the *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, has been presented with a gold medal by command of Her Majesty Victoria, in reward for the constant efforts made by him for the progress of music as evinced by the publication of that Journal, and by the beautiful collection of classical *chefs d'œuvre* of ancient and modern masters, with which he has presented the musical public. He has also been honoured with a similar distinction from Her Majesty the Empress of Russia.

LONDON.

HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE.—Another season less brilliant than the preceding has terminated without the fulfilment of those promises on the part of the manager which rendered the opening night so auspicious. Only two novelties and two revivals were produced during the whole season. The former were most ill-selected; Donizetti's *Fausta* proved a decided failure, and his *Roberto Devereux* experienced a very indifferent reception. The revivals, on the contrary, were well chosen, Cimarosa's *Gli Orazj ed i Curiatzj* is a beautiful opera, but the music was less familiar to the ear than the old stock operas, and as it did not receive "uproarious applause," it was withdrawn without a fair trial; the same may be said of Rossini's *Il Turco in Italia*. Many a good opera has failed to become popular and justly appreciated from being withdrawn or too soon consigned to oblivion. The old favourites reproduced amounting to twenty were:—Cimarosa's *Matrimonio Segreto*; Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*; Rossini's *Tancredi*, *Otello*, *Semiramide*, *Cenerentole*, *Barbiere*, *Mossè* (one act only), and *Gazza Ladra*; Bellini's *Beatrice di Tenda*, *Norma*, *Puritani*, *Sonnambula*, and *Straniera*; and Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Anna Bolena*, *Elisir d'Amore*, and *Marino Faliero*.

The grand operas announced at the commencement of the season in bold and attractive type were not produced, either from penurious motives on the part of the management, or because they were never intended otherwise than as a puff à la Bunn. It is evident it did not arise from paucity of talent, the company was perfect and fully equal to perform with ability and success any of these operas. The list contained *Il Bravo*, *Le Due Illustre Rivale*, *Gemma di Vergy*, *I Briganti*, *I Capuletti e Montecchio*, *La Vestale*, *Chi la Dura la Vince*, and *La Clemenza di Tito*. The season commenced with Viardot Garcia and Mario, to these followed the unrivalled Grisi, Persiani, Rubini, and Lablache, aided by Tamburini, Signor Bassani, and Mdlle. Lowe. The latter made her *débüt* about the middle of the season, and was eminently successful as *La Straniera*, *Elvira*, and *Elena*; her acting is of the highest order, but her upper notes have not sufficient power to fill the Italian Opera House. To speak of the other talented artistes engaged would be superfluous, their merits are known to the world.

The ballet department has been most efficiently managed. Mdlle. Cerito more than compensated for the absence of Fanny Essler. When she appeared in London she was unknown to fame, she has risen by her own merits to the highest state of public favour; her charming buoyancy, her smiling happy expression of countenance aroused the admiring audiences to loud bursts of applause. Late in the season the delightful Taglioni reappeared, nor must we pass over Mdlle. Guy Stephan, who has succeeded in establishing herself as an especial favorite at Her Majesty's Theatre.

COVENT GARDEN.—Three important events have occurred during the past month, to cheer the drooping spirits of the public. A delightful change in the weather gladdens the heart of the agriculturist. The dismissal of an imbecile administration has given general satisfaction; and the reopening of this charming theatre, graced with the smiling faces of Mrs. Charles Mathews and Mrs. Nisbett, are sufficient to restore the most morose to good humour. The company is the same as last year, with the exception of the tragic performers, Miss E. Tree, Moore, Anderson, and Mrs. Warner; Keeley is the only irreparable loss. The first novelty of the season was the revival of Cibber's *She would and She would not*, which has been received with very warm and hearty applause. Farren, as the fond old father, Don Manuel, invested the character with a truth and fulness, that brought down frequent plaudits; his reception of the imposter, and his alternate joy and parental anxiety at the marriage of his child, whom he can hardly bear to part with, were performed as Farren alone can perform it. Harley's Trappanti was perfect; and Mrs. Nisbett, as Hypolyta, was most effective. Mr. and Mrs. W. Lacy, and Mrs. Orger, acquitted themselves creditably; and the scenic appointments and Spanish costumes, contributed not a little to the success of this charming comedy.

Mr. Mark Lemon's new five-act comedy of *What will the World say?* has been received with the most flattering marks of success owing to the inimitable acting of Mr. Farren and the beauty of the scenery and costumes, for the plot is ill-constructed, and the characters, with the exception of Captain Tarradiddle (Farren), are mere shadows; a want of vigorous detail, as well as exciting incident is apparent throughout, but judiciously compressed into three acts there is little doubt but this *farce* would become a favourite. The chief incidents are these;—Warner (Mr. Bartley), a merchant and money-lender, learns that his daughter, Lucy de Vere (Miss Cooper), who was left at Paris in the care of her aunt, has been married clandestinely to the Hon. Chas. Norwold (J. Vining), the eldest son of a nobleman, and had engaged herself as governess in his father's family, until the impudence of a vulgar footman led to the discovery of her marriage, when she and her husband (the son) are discarded from Lord Norwold's dwelling. Warner has a ward, Miss Marian Mayley (Mrs. W. Lacy), who is excessively vain, and intends marrying any one who will make her, her ladyship, but she has seen Mr. Pye Hilary (Mr. Charles Mathews), a young barrister, at the opera, and subsequently meets him in the park, and permits him to call on her at her house with a favourite canary, which her maid reported had flown away. Mr. Pye Hilary has met with a half-pay captain, Tarradiddle (Farren), whose company he is bound to endure, and who becomes his confidant. Warner enters the room while Mr. Hilary and his friend the captain are returning the truant canary, and bows them out of his house in consequence of his taking Tarradiddle to be a swindler. Hilary subsequently meets the merchant, who is in search of his daughter and her husband, and explains who he is, and by assisting Warner in his search he is admitted into favour. Mr. Hilary finds the son and daughter in the abode of Captain Tarradiddle, who has thrown off his military coat and smokes his German pipe, while his wife (Mrs. Humby), is engaged in her domestic duties (ironing). The merchant, Warner, has now to curb the proud Lord Norwold and his extravagant lady (Mrs. Glover), the latter is secured by threatening exposure of the money he has lent her on her jewels, and the proud lord is informed that Warner is his elder brother, supposed dead, which is confirmed by the possession of a family bracelet. The son and daughter are then recognized, and the barrister is permitted to wed the merchant's fair ward. There is a considerable share of farcical fun, and several 'cute remarks which call forth loud applause. Mr. Bartley, Mr. Charles Mathews and Mrs. Glover contributed greatly towards the

success of the piece; Mrs. W. Lacy did not please us, Mrs. Nisbett would have been more successful in the character.

A new ballet of action entitled *Hans of Iceland* has been well received, the scenery is, (as it ever is at this theatre), very beautiful. A new comic opera by Rooke is in the hands of the fair lessee, and will be speedily produced.

HAYMARKET THEATRE.—The public are much indebted to Mr. Webster for the revival of those beautiful tragedies, which opened the eyes of the world to the matchless talent of the great tragedian Macready. *Virginus* and *William Tell* have been produced, and afford a strong instance of the perfection to which the dramatic art may be brought. To enumerate all the beauties of the great actor's performance in these two plays, would be a task of great difficulty, abounding as it does with the most perfect touches of nature. Miss Helen Faucit's *Virginia* was a faultless piece of acting, and James Wallack's *Scipio* is deserving of much praise, although the part is not suited to his peculiar talent. *King Lear*, *King John*, *Henry the Eighth*, and several other Shakspearian plays are in preparation. The best hit this season, with the exception of *Foreign Affairs*, in which Mademoiselle Celeste performs the Count Louis, is the new farce by Mr. Bernard of *The Boarding School*, conveying a keen satire on the mode of education and internal arrangement of many of these establishments. The young ladies school is first seen in formal procession; next the play-ground is shown, where romping and mischief are the order of the day; and next we are introduced to the school-room, where knowledge is administered in homœopathic doses, and each face wears the mask of study. Mrs. Stirling, Miss P. Horton, and Miss Charles, are the leaders of the sport, and are delighted with three young officers, who are quartered in the neighbourhood, and who, hearing that one young lady has fifty thousand pounds, and having little to do, write love-letters to them. The officers, B. Webster, F. Vining, and J. Webster, introduce themselves in the disguise of masters, and proceed to instruct their pupils not in writing, dancing, or geography, but in making love, during the absence of the school-mistress, who is sent out of the way by a fictitious letter from the Earl of Aldgate; on her return an outcry is raised, but the officers escape by a window, and return shortly afterwards in their uniform, to inquire if the depredators have been secured. They are then ordered off to Cornwall by their Major, and the farce ends somewhat confusedly. Mrs. W. Clifford, as Mrs. Grosdenap, is the very model of a demure stately school-mistress. Miss Charles, as the sentimental young lady, contrasted well with the lively Mrs. Stirling and Miss Horton. Massinger's play of the *City Madam*, reduced to three acts, has been produced under the title of *Riches*, but the extravagant incidents in the plot were sufficient to mar all the fine acting which Macready, as Luke, displayed. The contrast in the character is too great to appear natural, and *Riches* has been judiciously laid aside. A new tragedy by J. S. Troughton, entitled *Nina Sforza*, will be produced as soon as Miss Helen Faucit shall have recovered from her present indisposition.

DRURY-LANE.—The Concerts D'Ete are now drawing to a close, after a very successful career. The musical novelties have been the overture to Auber's *Diamans de la Couronne*, Jullien's Irish Quadrilles, and Strauss's *Bouquet des Dames*. The introduction of "Living Statues," now called *Tableaux vivans*, however creditable they are to the taste of Mr. F. Gye, jun., should not, in our opinion, be mixed up with the musical entertainment; they should form part of the amusements of the evening, between the first and second parts of the programme—*La Quadrille de Venus*, introducing five *tableaux vivans*, by living artists, represented—first, the Birth of Venus; then, Venus attired by the Graces; thirdly, Mars and Venus; fourthly, Vulcan forging the Arrows of

Cupid; and concluding with the Judgment of Paris. These *tableaux*, which are grouped after the models of the antique statuary, are not merely classically conceived, but well executed, the illusion apparently producing a pleasing and satisfactory effect upon the audience. The subjects have been now changed to Hercules and Cacus, Belisarius, Murder of the Innocents, the Gladiator, and the Bath of Apollo.

Mr. Macready has already secured a powerful company for Drury Lane, both in tragedy and in opera. For the former, Anderson, Moore, Vandenhoff, Phelps, F. Vining, Wallack, Miss Helen Faucit, Mrs. Warner, &c. &c.; and for the opera, Miss Romer, Miss P. Horton, Miss Poole, H. Phillips, Giubilei, Wilson, Allen, Templeton, &c. Mr. and Mrs. Keeley are also engaged. The chorus will be well selected, and under the able direction of Mr. Land. Mr. and Mrs. Wood are also talked of.

ENGLISH OPERA HOUSE.—The Syncretics, or rather the Dramatic Authors Society, induced Mr. Stephens to engage a tragic company at his own expense, for the purpose of testing on the stage the actable qualities of his *Martinuzzi*, taken from his dramatic poem of the *Hungarian Daughter*, convinced that Mr. Webster and Madame Vestris had acted unjustly in declining this piece. The tragedy has been effectively *performed* by Phelps, Mrs. Warner, Elton and Miss Maywood, and the result has been a verdict in favour of the able and discriminating managers of Covent Garden and the Haymarket.

Martinuzzi is founded on an important passage in the history of Hungary, diversified by certain incidents of an imaginative character, but still sufficiently close to actual fact as to create no discrepancy in the story, and no falsification of what is required by rigid veracity.

It has been justly remarked that the conduct of the piece is all through strikingly faulty; the most attentive observer would be unable to collect anything like a clear idea of the plot until the fourth act. Up to this time the characters walk about in strong agonies of remorse, hatred, love and jealousy, without deigning to afford the audience any clue to the causes or objects of their soul-tearing passions; or if they do betimes attempt to tell us "what it is all about," they make their communications in such turgid and entangled similes that their explanations only tend to make the mystery still more profound. Do Mr. Stephens and his Syncretic friends imagine that the sublime and beautiful in language consists in wrapping up a mean thought, like a dry mummy, in endless swathes of metaphor? Do they believe that the feelings and emotions of the heart are best expressed by verbose figures and inflated bombast? If they do, they deceive themselves egregiously. The language of nature is deep, but clear; its loftiness is the elevation of mind, and not of sound. The author seems also to be strangely deficient in the technicalities of the stage, and we think his *forte* is poetry rather than the drama. The tragedy has been considerably curtailed, and has been performed to scanty audiences. The after pieces which have been produced are a disgrace to the committee of the Dramatic Authors Society. So much for the vaunted test!

The English Opera House opens under the able management of M. Laurent, with a Promenade Concert, on 30th September, and will be conducted by the celebrated Musard. The picturesque conducteur has laid aside the baton—at this house we shall only see in the conductor, the musician.

STRAND THEATRE.—This pretty little theatre has been the most attractive, and most deservedly successful minor theatre in London. The excellence of the pieces, the well-selected talent of the performers, and the able management of Mr. H. Hall, have secured a rarity at this period of the year, viz. crowded houses. *The Devil and Dr. Faustus*, the *Frolics of the Fairies*, and *Aldgate Pump*, have proved to be of endless attraction; but the accession of Mr. Keeley to the

company effected the reproduction of Selby's *Lady and Gentleman in a peculiar predicament*, and a new farce, in two acts, by the author of *Aldgate Pump*, entitled *The Bump of Benevolence*, which forms a powerful satire on the science of phrenology. Mrs. Keeley, as Barbara, kept the house in continual laughter. Mr. Keeley, as Grey, a country lad, had little to do. Mrs. Keeley has been very successful in *Punch*. Her imitations are excellent.

THE QUEEN'S THEATRE has been redecorated, and the entrance has been much improved. A new drama, entitled *The Red Mantle*, has been successful, owing to the good scenery. Mr. Stirling's *Rubber of Life* has been produced; but the most attractive performance has been *Barnaby Rudge*. Several novelties are said to be in preparation.

ADELPHI THEATRE.—Mr. Yates is preparing for the ensuing campaign. The theatre opens on the 4th instant (October), with new pieces, and several additions to the company from the provincial theatres have been made.

The Operatic Society, under the management of a committee, consisting of Mr. R. Hughes, J. H. Tully, F. N. Crouch, T. H. Severn, G. Purdy, and several other distinguished amateurs, intend performing once a week during the winter, at one of the minor theatres. We trust this laudable undertaking, to establish a national opera, may succeed.

Sir George Smart, who is ever ready in the cause of humanity, has been the means of obtaining £430 for the family of the late Mr. Willman.

The Norwich Musical Festival next year will be unusually brilliant, Spohr having engaged to compose a new oratorio, the *Fall of Babylon*, which is to be produced for the first time at that Festival: the words will be selected by Professor Taylor, of whose superior judgment there can be but one opinion.

Mr. and Mrs. Wood, and Mr. Brough, a bassist, have arrived in this country, and are engaged to appear at Liverpool on 5th October.

The Gloucester Festival must be considered as a decided failure, the receipts amounting only to £532, for the four days performance at the Cathedral.

The rapid decline of the Drama has been commented on by numerous writers; more particularly in the "Monthly Review," and by the Syncretic Society: but it is seldom we meet with any remarks so true, so forcible, and yet so lucid, as the following:

"If we look round among our dramatists we shall find men of poetry, men of feeling, men of wit, men of taste, men of the highest education, but we do not find a drama really striking the root into the soil of the present century, and bringing forth fruit in consequence, as in the early ages of the drama of every country. In general, the writers of our age rather shun the modern complexion; the most feeling and poetical of them all chooses to speak in the language of Elizabeth; one, who is not appreciated as he deserves to be, aims at the time of the second Charles and Anne. Had the play of George Stephens, produced at the Lyceum, been constructed with more tact, had it been pruned of some of its disfiguring metaphors, and had it in consequence been perfectly and deservedly successful, he would doubtless have imagined a point had been gained. No such thing: the drama would have been, after all, but a clever imitation of earlier writers, but an addition to scores in the same strain already on our book-shelves, because similar in expression, while it would have brought no increase to our thoughts. It might have looked as good as Massinger, because his forms were imitated, but it would have been inferior to a very humble work, Greene's *Friar Bungay*, because the freshness would not be there; the very act of imitating early dramatists shows that we are not akin to them, for while they spoke from their own

sources, we are inquiring how other people would express our thoughts. The more we imitate an age, the more unlike it we are in mind, though we have attained a formal resemblance. We want a drama that shall spring from present thoughts, from present views, that shall reflect ourselves in some manner, though the scene be not laid in present times:—that in a word shall strike home. In the present state of our drama we may admire, we may sympathize, but is there really a deep chord struck? Have we characters that shall absorb ourselves as the heroes of Calderon with their Castilian honour would have absorbed a courtier of Philip IV.? or, to go to a modern continental work, have we a work that shall go to the core as the ‘Corregio’ of Oehlenschlaeger would to the heart of an artist. The drama may remain poetical, ingenious, a demonstration of a cultivated mind, but till it really springs from the present as from an independent basis, it will be no symbol of advance in the history of humanity.”

The Musical Antiquarian Society have published two more highly interesting works, “The First Set of Madrigals Composed by John Wilbye in the Sixteenth Century,” and *Dido and Æneas*, an opera composed by Henry Purcell in 1675, when only nineteen years of age, who as a boy in the Chapel Royal, and afterwards as the organist of Westminster Abbey, derived his early impressions and his maturer knowledge of his art from the Church. To the employment of music on the stage he must have been almost a stranger; for although his celebrated contemporary Lock had been employed as a dramatic composer, yet the construction of such a work as *Dido and Æneas* must have been to Purcell a novel and an experimental labour. At the time of its appearance in 1675, the opera of Italy was in its infancy; and, judging from the specimens of it which have reached us antecedent to the appearance of *Dido and Æneas*, its author could have derived little assistance from these, even if he had been able to examine them. The opera, which previously existed only in manuscript, is edited by Mr. Macfarren, who has supplied the divisions into acts and scenes, as well as descriptions of the scenes, and other stage directions.

Wilbye’s Madrigals have been carefully edited by Mr. Turle, who states that the present edition has been scored from the original set, substituting such clefs as are now used for those which have become obsolete, and adopting the G clef throughout for the treble voices. This plan is to be followed in all the subsequent publications of the Society.

The first, and till now the sole edition of Wilbye’s first set of Madrigals, was published in 1598; and, according to the universal practice, in six separate books. The process of reducing these to score is a tedious and laborious one. Bars were unknown, and our ancestors delighted in an accumulation of clefs: three being used for the treble voice, and, as far as appears, merely according to the whim of the composer; two for the bass; the usual C clefs for the altos and tenor; and sometimes, in the five and six-part Madrigals, others for the quintus and sextus parts. In every way the notation is as bewildering to modern eyes as possible. The few copies that remain of the old sets are, to the multitude, like books written in short-hand, which skill and practice only can render legible. Even the most practised eyes would despair of being able to use them for singing. Then the keys in which they are printed are often not the keys in which they were intended to be sung. Sometimes a whole set will be printed in the same key. These, by examining and comparing the several parts of each, have to be transposed into keys suited to the compass of their respective voices. The madrigal then assumes its perfect state and form, and out of the apparent chaos arises a composition symmetrical in all its parts and fair in all its proportions.

"*A Treatise on the Art of Singing in the Italian and English Styles, with Examples, &c.*," by F. W. Horncastle. — R. Mills. This work is one of the most excellent on the art of singing extant, and the author justly remarks:—

"There is as much philosophy in singing well, as in cultivating successfully any of the arts: because the exercise of judgment, acuteness, perseverance, and watchful observation, is quite as necessary to a vocalist who aims at excellence, as to the natural philosopher or the man of science.

"The human voice has many peculiarities greatly dependant upon the temperament of the individual; therefore much of the pupil's ultimate proficiency will depend upon the communication of the first principles by an experienced master; for most amateurs are destroyed in the outset, by not pursuing a regular plan of study, and eradicating the natural defects of their voices."

The Motett Society has been established for the purpose of reprinting selections of STANDARD CHURCH MUSIC; the difficulty of obtaining sacred music has long been felt by the public, who will now have an opportunity of obtaining these reprints at a cheap rate, by a subscription of one guinea to the Society.

One of the handsomest presents for this period of the year is the new musical annual, nearly ready for publication, by Jeffreys and Nelson. "*The Queen's Boudoir*" for 1842, will contain some beautiful illustrations in the Arabesque style, and a large collection of original music and poetry. If the work is equal to the one published last year, it is deserving of a very extensive sale.

In *Twelfth Night*, in the scene where the Clown, Sir Andrew Ague cheek, and Sir Toby Belch, act 2, scene the 3d, are singing catches, or rather fragments of catches, there is one "*To whom drinke thou, Sir Knave?*" The whole of this will be found in a curious old musical work entitled, "*Pammelia Musicks Miscellanie, or mixed varietie of pleasant Roundelayes and delightful Catches*, of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. parts. London, 1609, page 7." Malone supposses Shakespeare wrote *Twelfth Night* in the year 1614, if so, this old work may be considered as containing the original catch, it begins, "*Now God be with old Simeon.*"

A Hint to Singers.—In one of the Harleian MSS. is related an anecdote of Mr. Joseph Dring, a young gentleman of Hart Hall, who sang a song articulately, ore patulo, (wide-mouthed), and all in octaves, so very strongly, and yet without much straining, that he equalled, if not excelled, the loudest organ. He performed this in the lower part of his throat, and it came on him at first upon overstraining his voice. Many musical people can remember Richard Randall, a chorus singer at the old Ancient Concerts, who boasted that he broke a pain of glass in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, by the concussion of his harsh-stentorian voice!

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

GERMANY.

The German Customs Union or commercial league has been a subject of much controversy.

Dr. List has published a very interesting work on the subject *Das Natürliche System der Politischen Ökonomie*. Free trade is clearly shown to be incompatible with the interests of nations where manufactures are in their infancy, and exorbitant duties are equally injurious to nations where manufactures are more fully developed.

SWEDEN.

The progress of literature in Sweden is highly satisfactory.

Herr Nordström, a Finnish lawyer, has lately published a very valuable work on "The Laws and Progressive Social Development of Sweden, from the earliest Times."

"Sermons" by Bishop Franzén, and Geijer's "Collected and Minor Poems and Essays, &c." are novelties soon to be expected.

Two new volumes have lately appeared of "De la Gardie Archive." They contain highly interesting private documents relative to the secret history of the courts and times of Gustavus the IIIrd. and IVth., and of Charles XIII. and the Revolution of 1809.

The charming Poet Runeberg has lately published a new poem, called "Nadeschda." The subject is Russian, and is treated with admirable tact and feeling.

Crusenstolpe has just given us the third volume of his "Morianen." His three years' political imprisonment are now over, and he has returned to Stockholm.

Bishop Tegnér is not yet recovered from the lamentable mental malady under which he has been labouring so many months. The second volume of his *Collected Minor Poems* has not yet appeared.

Mellin has just published a highly interesting historical novel sketch, under the title "The Guardian Angel of Sweden watches yet, or Scenes from the Campaigns of the Prince of Ponte Corvo (now Charles XIV. John) against Sweden."

A reprint, in a cheap form, of the most popular Danish classics is coming out at Gefle, and promises well.

The Diet having granted 10,000 rix-dollars banco to assist in publishing national works, several publications of historical and antiquarian interest may now be expected to issue from the press.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

In addition to the well-proved agricultural and pastoral capabilities of South Australia, it has long been known to scientific observers that the mountain ranges contained mineral productions of great value. Mr. Menge's geological collection at present exhibits numerous specimens of gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron ores, found in the more northerly districts, and no doubt exists that the hills immediately behind Adelaide are rich in mineral wealth. A few weeks ago, indeed, this fact was placed beyond doubt, by the accidental discovery of a splendid mineral in the immediate neighbourhood of the town, combining, in proportions not yet exactly ascertained, lead, silver, and antimony. The ore is in the greatest profusion, and of unequalled richness. In the true South Australian spirit of enterprise, a company has been formed to work the mine, and arrangements have been already made to ship a considerable quantity of the ore in the *Cygnat*, Capt. Dalton, now loading for London. Our friends in England have already seen our oil and wool, and wheat and maize; we now send them silver and lead, and while we acknowledge that we do not expect to find either gold or diamonds, still, if their patience and faith last another year, we promise them grapes and wine, and the fruits of the fig, pomegranate, olive, and orange. Poor miserable, barren South Australia! We have a sample of coal, discovered a few days since. It appears to be of the best description. All we could further learn at the moment was, that it was found within twenty miles of Adelaide, near navigable waters, and that thousands of tons can be raised at comparatively small expense.

MISCELLANEOUS.

NEWSPAPERS OF ENGLAND.

In 1696 there were but 9 newspapers published in London, all of them at weekly intervals. In 1709 the number had increased to 18, of which one was published daily. In 1724 there were 3 daily, 6 weekly, 7 three times a week, 3 halfpenny posts, and the *London Gazette*, twice a week. In 1792, 13 daily, and 20 semi-weekly and weekly papers. In 1836, when the stamp duty was 4*d.*, the total number of stamps issued for the United Kingdom was 35,576,056; in 1839, 58,516,862. The consumption of stamps has therefore increased 64 per cent. since the reduction of the duty. The oldest existing London papers are, the *English Chronicle*, or *Whitehall Evening Post*, which was started in 1747; the *St. James's Chronicle*, 1761; and the *Morning Chronicle*, 1769. The oldest existing provincial papers are, the *Lincoln Mercury*, published at Stamford, 1695; the *Ipswich Journal*, 1737; *Bath Journal*, 1742; *Birmingham Gazette*, 1741; *Chester Courant*, 1733; *Derby Mercury*, 1742. The oldest paper in Ireland is the *Belfast News Letter*, which was commenced in 1737. In Scotland, the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* is the oldest paper, having been first published in 1705. Newspapers are printed in every county in England, with one exception—*Rutland*. In Wales, there are six counties in which papers are not published, viz. Anglesea, Cardigan, Denbigh, Montgomery, Pembroke, and Radnor; in Scotland, there are 16 out of the 32 counties; and in Ireland, only 7 out of the 33 counties. In England there are no daily papers published out of London. There are 4 papers published in Guernsey, 9 in Jersey, and 5 in the Isle of Man—all unstamped.

NEWSPAPERS OF FRANCE.

So far back as 1605, under Henry IV., a journal called the *Mercure de France* appeared regularly in Paris, and was published by Richen, Brothers, booksellers, till 1635, when Dr. Renaudot took it up, and carried it on till 1644.

It was continued by Messrs. Freselier and La Briere till 1672, when it was called the *Mercure Galant*, which name it retained until 1710, when it assumed the name of the *Garde Meuble du Parnasse*. In 1714 it resumed its old name of *Mercure de France*; and in 1716 took that of *Nouveau Mercure*; but in 1721 resumed once more its original appellation, and retained it till the Revolution. It forms a collection of nearly 1000 volumes. The total number of journals and periodicals in Paris in 1779 was 35. The number published immediately before the Revolution was 169, of which 17 were political, and 152 of a literary, scientific, or religious character. The number of provincial journals at that date was between 70 and 80. Paris has now upwards of 27 daily papers, the average sale of which exceeds 90,000 copies per diem, while London has only 9 daily papers, with a sale of about 45,000 per diem. The total number of periodical journals published in France in 1837, was 776, of which 326 belonged to Paris.

NEWSPAPERS IN OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE.

In Germany, newspapers originated in the "*Relations*," as they were termed, which sprung up at Augsburg and Vienna in 1524, and which appeared in the form of printed letters, but without date, place, or number. The first German newspaper in numbered sheets was printed in 1612. The journals published in Austria in 1838, literary and political, amounted to 76, of which 22 appeared at Vienna, 25 at Milan, 10 in Lombardy, 7 at Venice, 5 at Verona, and 7 in Galicia and Hungary. In the kingdom of Hanover there were, in 1840, only 4 political journals. In the Netherlands, in 1826, there were in the Dutch language 80 daily and weekly papers, and several in French. In Belgium, in 1840, 75 journals were published; of these 55 were in French, and 18 in Flemish. In Prussia, 168 were published in 1834. In Switzerland, 24 weekly in 1825; of which 9 were conducted by Catholic editors, and 15 by Protestants. In 1817 there were in all Switzerland no more than 54 printing offices, and 16 periodical journals; and in 1834 there were 93 of the former, and 54 of the latter.

The total number of journals published in Russia in 1839 was 154. The *Gazette of St. Petersburg* circulates 6000 daily. The first journal printed in Denmark was in 1644. At present there are about 54 daily and weekly publications, more than half of which are published in Copenhagen, and there are about 30 monthly and other periodical works, the greater part of which are published in the capital. The supply of newspapers in Norway is abundant, as the press in that country is perfectly free, and no tax of any kind is levied on it. Christiana alone has 8 journals. In 1832 there were about 50 newspapers published in the whole of Sweden, one literary journal, and several magazines. In Sweden the press is under a very strict censorship. In 1839 there were 13 publications in Finland; 9 in Swedish, and 4 in the Finnish language.

The earliest Spanish newspaper was published about the commencement of the 18th century. In 1800 only 2 political newspapers were published; and but a few years ago, only 12 newspapers for a population of 12,000,000. There are about 20 newspapers and daily journals in Portugal, and 1 at the Azores. The whole number of journals in Italy exceeds 200. Few of the existing papers date back farther than the commencement of the present century. The Greeks publish 9: 4 at Athens, 1 at Napoli, 2 at Hydra, and 2 at Missolonghi. The government *Gazette of Corfu* is the only journal published in the Ionian Islands. There are about a dozen periodicals at Malta, most of them weekly. At Gibraltar, a government paper, of a very diminutive size, is published daily. The journals published at Constantinople, in January, 1841, were the *Tagrim Vakai*, a government paper, and the *Djerédéi Havadis*, in vulgar Turkish, containing general information.

NEWSPAPERS OF AMERICA, &c.

The first journal published in the United States was the Boston News Letter, which appeared in 1704. No sufficient data exist for computing, with any degree of accuracy, the number of copies of newspapers at present annually circulated in the United States; but it probably does not fall far short of 100,000,000. [The total number of papers issued in Great Britain and Ireland, in the year 1837, was only 47,248,000.] The weekly issues of the British press of Lower Canada, are 29,000; those of the French press, 8,000. In Upper Canada there are 28 newspapers published weekly; in Newfoundland 9, Bermuda 2, and the same number in the Bahamas. Printing was introduced into Nova Scotia twenty-four years before it was commenced in Canada: the first paper was printed in 1751, on half a sheet of foolscap paper, under the title of the Halifax Gazette. The number now issued at Halifax is 12, and there are 3 in the country parts of the province. There are 4 newspapers published in British Guiana; 2 in French Guiana, 1 or 2 at Bahia, 8 at Rio Janeiro, 8 at Buenos Ayres, one of which, a weekly paper, is in English. There are 9 in Jamaica. At Barbadoes, 4 semi-weekly, 1 tri-weekly, and 1 weekly newspaper. Two of these have been established by the coloured population, as their special organs, and are supported and conducted entirely by this class.

In the whole extent of Africa there are 14 journals. One has appeared at Algiers regularly since its possession by the French in 1830: 2 are published on the western coast, at the American colony of Liberia. There are 11 political newspapers at the Cape of Good Hope, half of which are printed in English, and half in Dutch. An official Gazette was established in Persia in 1838. It is lithographed. In Calcutta there are 6 English daily papers, 3 tri-weekly, 8 weekly, and 9 Hindustanee weekly. At Bombay there are 10 English periodicals issued semi-weekly, and 4 Hindustanee publications. Two weekly English papers were published at Canton, but are now removed to Macao. At Sydney there are 8 newspapers. At Melbourne, 3 papers published twice a week, and 1 weekly at Geelong; in South Australia, 4; 1 semi-weekly at Adelaide, and the others weekly. Swan River has 2 weekly. Van Diemen's Land, 13 weekly papers. Materials for printing a newspaper were sent out to New Zealand with the first settlers; the first number of the New Zealand Gazette having been printed in London before their departure. The second number appeared at Port Nicholson in 1840; and a rival paper was forthwith established under the title of the New Zealand Advertiser, at Kororakilla, Bay of Islands. The Sandwich Islands have now their regular newspaper, the Polynesian, formerly called the Sandwich Island Gazette, having been published at Honolulu for upwards of three years.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER, 1841, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

- Ahron-ben-Elia's aus Nikomedien, des Karäers, System der Religionsphilosophie aus einem zu Constantinopel geschriebenen Codex der Stadt-Bibliothek zu Leipzig, mit Vergleichung eines andern der Königlichen Bibliothek zu München, nebst einem dazu gehörigen einleitenden Tractat des Karäers Kaleb Abba Afendopolo zum ersten Mal herausgegeben und durch Anmerkungen, Indices und Excursus, zum Theil von M. Steinschneider, so wie durch reichhaltige Excerpte aus arabischen Handschriften mehrerer Bibliotheken, betreffend die Geschichte der Philosophie unter den Muhammedanern sprachlich, kritisch und geschichtlich erläutert von Franz Delitzsch. 8vo. Leipzig. 13s. 6d.
- Allgemeine Kirchenzeitung. Ein Archiv für die neueste Geschichte und Statistik der christlichen Kirche, nebst einer kirchenhistorischen und kirchenrechtlichen Urkundensammlung, von Dr. E. Zimmermann. Fortgesetzt von K. Bretschneider. Darmstadt.
- Augusti, J., Beiträge zur christlichen Kunst-Geschichte und Liturgik. Vol. I. 8vo. Leipzig. 6s.
- Bauer, Bruno, Kritik der evangelischen Geschichte der Synoptiker. Vol. I. 8vo. Leipzig. 10s.
- Bible, La Sainte, vengée de l'attaque de l'incrédulité; par l'Abbé Du Clot. 8vo. Paris. 12s.
- Bibliotheca patrum ecclesiasticorum latinorum selecta. Ad optimorum librorum fidem edita curante E. G. Gersdorf. Vols. VI. and VII.:—Qu. Sept. Flor. Tertulliani opera. Pars III. et IV. 8vo. Lipsiae. 7s. 6d.
- Bleek, F., Der Brief an die Hebräer, erläutert durch Einleitung, Uebersetzung und fortlaufenden Commentar. 2te Abth., die Uebersetzung und den Commentar enthaltend. 2te Hälfte Kap. IV., 14—XIII. 8vo. Berlin. 1l. Complete, 2l.
- Chronique de religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI., de 1380 à 1422; publiée en Latin pour la première fois, et traduite par Bellaguet. Vols. I. to III. 4to. Paris. 14s. each Vol.
- Confessions, Les, de Saint-Augustin. Traduction nouvelle; par de Saint-Victor. 12mo. Paris. 4s.
- Daub's, Dr., Philosophische und theologische Vorlesungen, herausgegeben von Marheineke und Dittenberger. Vols. V. and VI. 8vo. Berlin. Complete, 8s. 6d.
- Ellendorf, J., Quibus causis factum sit, ut legum ferendarum in ecclesia catholica potestas solis romanis pontificibus deferretur. 8vo. Berlin. 3s.
- Ist Petrus in Rom und Bischof der Römischen Kirche gewesen? Eine historisch-kritische Untersuchung. 8vo. Darmstadt. 2s. 6d.
- Evidence du Christianisme; par M. Pregnon. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- Fragments religieux inédits. Sentiment de Napoléon sur la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Pensées inédites, publiées par de Beauterne. Complete in 160 Nos., forming 2 Vols. 8vo. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- Gildemeister, J., Die falsche Samschritphilologie an dem Beispiel des Herrn Dr. Höfer in Berlin aufgezeigt. 16mo. Bonn. 2s. 6d.
- Hase, Dr., Theologisch akademische Lehrschriften. Vol. II.:—Kirchengeschichte. 8vo. Leipzig. 11s. 6d.
- Hergang, C., De apostolorum sensu psychologico. Commentatio quam etc. obtulit etc. 4to. Budiss. 2s.

- Heures Gothiques, ou Prières et Offices de l'Eglise illustrées; par Madame A. Guilbert. Livr. I.—IV. 8vo. Paris. 11s. each Number.
- Histoire des Eglises du Désert chez les Protestants de France, depuis la fin du règne de Louis XIV. jusqu'à la révolution française; par Charles Cocquerel. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris. 12s. for 2 Vols.
- Homme, l', en Face de la Bible, ou Droits respectifs de la Bible sur l'Homme et de l'Homme sur la Bible; par Boucher. 8vo. Paris. 5s.
- Krummacher, J., Dr. Martin Luther's Gebetsleben. Dargestellt in drei Predigten. 8vo. Bremen. 1s. 6d.
- Lectures chrétiennes en forme d'instructions familières, sur les épîtres et les évangiles. 3 Vols. 12mo. Paris. 6s.
- Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum graece. Ex recensione Hahnii denuo editum. 16mo. Lipsiae. 3s.
- Pepin, A., Etat du Catholicisme en France 1830—1840. Paris. 7s.
- Pères, les, de l'Eglise, traduits en Française. Ouvrage publié par M. de Genoude. Vol. VI. 8vo. Paris. 8s.
- Preces catholico-christianae ex Missali et Breviario Romano desumptae. 16mo. Tübingen. 1s. 6d.
- Rasimirski, Le Koran, traduction nouvelle faite sur le texte Arabe. 12mo. 8vo. 5s.
- Reichel, V., Quatuor sacra evangelia, in pericopas simplices harmonico-chronologica ordinatas dispersita, pericopis parallelis e regione collocatis; studio et cura etc. 8vo. Pragae. 10s.
- Religion, la, de plus ou la religion de moins; par M. Poupot. Paris.
- , de la; par Lamennais. 32mo. Paris. 1s. 6d.
- Rossignol, Lettres sur Jésus-Christ. Vol. I. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- Rousseau, Croisade du 19^{me} siècle appel à la piété catholique, à l'effet de reconstituer la science sociale sur une base chrétienne. 8vo. Paris. 9s.
- Strauss, F., Glocken-Töne. Erinnerungen aus dem Leben eines jungen Geistlichen. 3 Vols. 12mo. Seventh Edition. Leipzig. 7s.
- , Dr., Die christliche Glaubenslehre in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung und im Kampfe mit der modernen Wissenschaft dargestellt. Vol. II. 8vo. Tübingen. 16s.
- , D. F., Das Leben Jesu, kritisch bearbeitet. Vol. II. 4th Edition. 2 Vols. Tübingen. 7s.
- Tauler's, Johann, Predigten auf alle Sonn- und Festtage im Jahr. Zur Beförderung eines christlichen Sinnes und gottseligen Wandels, von Ed. Kuntze und Dr. Biesenthal. 3 Vols. 8vo. Berlin. 6s. each Vol.; 7s. 6d. vellum paper.
- Theologische Mitarbeiten. Eine Quartalschrift u. s. w., von Pelt, Mau und Dorner. Part II. 8vo. Kiel. 4s.
- Theremin, Dr., Abendstunden, herausgegeben von &c. 8vo. Berlin. 9s. Second Edition in 1 Vol., 10s.
- , Predigten, von &c. Vol. IX. 8vo. Berlin. 6s.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, STATISTICS.

- Bourguignon, Les Codes français, conformes aux textes officiels avec la conférence des articles entre eux. Nou. éd. 8vo. Paris. 10s. 6d.
- Codes, les, édition clichée, tenue toujours au courant de la législation; par Teulet et Loiseau. 18mo. Paris. 5s. 6d.
- Code du propriétaire, ou Connaissances usuelles et pratiques en jurisprudence civile et commerciale. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- Ellendorf, Herr, gegen Walters Kirchenrecht. 8vo. Bonn. 1s.
- Lehrbuch des französischen Civilrechtes in steter Vergleichung mit dem römischen Civilrecht, von Thibaut. Nach des Verfassers Tode herausgegeben von Dr. Carl Julius Guyet. Berlin. 9s. The 4 Vols., 2l. 15s.; fine paper, 4l. 4s.; velin, 6l. 6s.
- Mittermaier, Dr., Die Strafgesetzgebung in ihrer Fortbildung geprüft nach der Forderungen der Wissenschaft. 1ster Beitrag. 8vo. Heidelberg. 8s. 6d.
- Dubois de Niermont, Organisation, compétence jurisprudence et procédure des conseils de préfecture d'après les lois, les réglemens d'administration publique et la jurisprudence du conseil d'état. 8vo. Paris. 8s. 6d.

- Rechtslexicon für Juristen aller teutschen Staaten, enthaltend die gesammte Rechtswissenschaften u. s. w., von Dr. J. Weiske. Vol. III. Part IV. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 3s.
- Recueil des lois et ordonnances, d'un intérêt général, depuis le 7 Août 1830, etc. 10 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 1l. 12s. 6d.
- Général des Lois et des Arrêts, avec notes et commentaires, présentant sur chaque question le résumé de la Jurisprudence et la Doctrine des Auteurs; par L. M. Devilleneuve et A. A. Carette. Vol. IV.: 1812—1814. 4to. *Paris*. 1st Series, 1l. 7s. 6d.
- Savigny, F., System des heutigen Römischen Rechts. Vols. IV. and V. 8vo. *Berlin*. 1l. 2s.
- Zachariä, Dr., Rechtsgutachten über die Ansprüche der Gutsbesitzer in dem Grossherzogthume Mecklenburg. 8vo. *Heidelberg*. 2s. 6d.

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

- Cours de Philosophie Positive; par M. Aug. Comte. Tome V. 8vo. *Paris*. 10s.
- Die Gesammliteratur Niederlands, oder Leben und Wirken der holländischen Schriftsteller seit dem 13ten Jahrhundert bis auf unsere Zeit, von Friedrich Otto. 8vo. *Hildburghausen*. 7s.
- Etudes Littéraires et Philosophiques; par C. A. N. Maignien. 8vo. *Paris*. 5s.
- sur les Torrens des Hautes-Alpes; par A. Surell. 4to. *Paris*. 12s.
- Herder's, J., Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit. Fourth Edition. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 12s.
- Hoefting, Jo., De symbolorum natura, necessitate, auctoritate atque usu scripsit etc. Editio II. non mutata. 8vo. *Erlangen*. 2s.
- Maignien, Etudes littéraires et philosophiques. 8vo. *Paris*. 6s.
- Ritter, H., Geschichte der Philosophie. Part V. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 12s.
- Traité sur la Philosophie dans le Moyen-Age, 2me Partie; par X. Rousselet. 1 Vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 6s.
- Wihl, Dr., Geschichte der deutschen National-Literatur von ihren ersten Anfängen bis auf unsere Tage. Part II. to V. 12mo. *Altona*. 9s. Complete, 11s. 6d.
- Yxem, E., Ein Logos Proteptikos Schleiermacher und Platon betreffend. 8vo. *Berlin*. 1s.
- Zeitschrift für Philosophie und spekulative Theologie im Vereine mit mehreren Gelehrten, von Dr. J. H. Fichte. Vol. VII. 2 Parts. 8vo. *Bonn*.

MEDICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

- Albers, J., Atlas der pathologischen Anatomie für praktische Aerzte etc. Lief. XV. — XVII. 9 Plates. 8vo. *Bonn*. 1l. 2s. 6d.
- Archiv für Mineralogie, Geognosie, Bergbau und Hüttenkunde, von C. Karsten und v. Dechen. Vol. XIV., with 11 Plates. 8vo. *Berlin*. 1l. Vol. XV. Part I., with 9 Plates, 12s. 6d.
- Auber, Hygiène de femmes nerveuses, ou Conseils aux Femmes pour les époques critiques de leur vie. 12mo. *Paris*. 4s.
- Baumgarten, Fr., Chirurgischer Almanach für das Jahr 1841, von &c. 16mo. 3s.
- Bazin, Du système nerveux de la vie animale et de la vie végétative etc. Plates. 4to. *Paris*. 9s. 6d.
- Becquerel, Séméiotique des urines, ou Traité des altérations de l'urine dans les maladies. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
- Berliner Astronomisches Jahrbuch für 1843, von J. F. Encke. 8vo. *Berlin*. 11s.
- Berres, Anthropotomie, oder Lehre von dem Baue des menschlichen Körpers. Second Edition. Vol. II. 8vo. *Vienna*. 16s.
- Blasius, Prof., Akiurgische Abbildungen oder Darstellung der blutigen chirurgischen Operationen und der für dieselben erfundenen Werkzeuge, mit erklärendem Texte. Second Edition, enlarged and improved. No. I. Plates. Folio. *Berlin*. 7s. 6d.

- Bretschneider, C., Produktentafel, enthaltend die 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9fachen aller Zahlen von 1 bis 100,000. Herausgegeben von &c. 8vo. *Hamburg.* 3s.
- Busch, Dr., Atlas geburtshülfflicher Abbildungen, mit Bezugnahme auf das Lehrbuch der Geburtskunde, herausgegeben von &c. 4to. *Berlin.* 1l.
- Chirat, Etude des fleurs, botanique élémentaire, descriptive et usuelle. Vol. I. Plates. 18mo. *Lyon.* 9s.
- De l'existence des élémens de la matière, de ses effets, de l'univers, des animaux et des plantes. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.
- Dictionnaire de médecine, ou Répertoire général etc.; par Adelon, Béclard, Bérard, etc. Vol. XXIII. :—Paed—Por. 8vo. *Paris.* 7s.
- Dufresse, Traité du strabisme et du bégaiement, suivi de quelques considerations sur la guérison de la myopie des yeux. 8vo. *Paris.*
- Encyclopédie des sciences médicales. Parts 1 to 120. 8vo. *Paris.* 1s. 6d. each Part. Will be completed in 160 Parts.
- Endlicher, Stephanus, Enchiridion botanicum exhibens classes et ordines plantarum accedit nomenclator generum et officinalium vel usualium indicatio. Auctore etc. 8vo. *Lipsiae.* 1l. 1s.
- Fischer, Sigmund, Handbuch der Mineralogie, nebst einer kurzen Abhandlung über Geognosie, über die Bildung und Benützung der Mineralien und einer Anleitung. Second Edition. 8vo. *Vienna.* 13s. 6d.
- Flora Brasiliensis, sive Enumeratio plantarum in Brasilia hactenus detectarum quas etc, ediderunt S. Endlicher et C. de Martius. Fasc. II. Anonaceae. p. 1—64. t. 1—14. Tabulae physiognomicae, p. IX.—XLIV. t. VI.—IX. Fol. *Vienna.* 1l. 15s.
- Flourens, Analyse raisonnée des travaux de Georges Cuvier. 12mo. *Paris.* 4s.
- Frank's, J., Specielle Pathologie und Therapie. Nach der lateinischen Urschrift von Dr. J. Sobernheim. Third Edition. Vol. II. 4to. *Berlin.* 12s.
- Funck, H., Cryptogamische Gewächse, besonders des Fichtelgebirges. Parts XXXIX. to XLII. 4to. *Leipsig.* 15s.
- Grimmer, Steiermark's Coleoptern, mit Einhundert sechs neu beschriebenen Species. 8vo. *Grätz.* 3s.
- Hoff, Karl, Geschichte der durch Ueberlieferung nachgewiesenen natürlichen Veränderungen der Erdoberfläche. Part V. contains:—Chronik der Erdbeben. Vom Jahre 1760 bis 1805, und von 1821 bis 1832. 8vo. *Gotha.* 11s. 6d.
- Hufeland's, C. W., Journal der praktischen Heilkunde. Fortgesetzt von E. Osann. Vols. LXXXVII. and LXXXVIII. 8vo. *Berlin.* 1l. 8s.
- Hygionomie, ou Règles pour se conserver en bonne santé, à l'usage des habitans de l'empire Ottoman; par le docteur Archigénès Sarantis. 8vo. *Paris.*
- Jardin, le, des Plantes, Description et Mœurs des Mammifères de la Ménagerie et du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. With 300 Plates, to be completed in 50 Numbers. *Paris.*
- Langenbeck, C., Icones anatomicae. Splanchnologicae tubulae XIII. Folio. *Göttingen.* 1l. 12s. 6d.
- Larrey, Baron, Relation médicale des campagnes et voyages, de 1815 à 1840. 8vo. *Paris.* 7s.
- Leçons élémentaires de Physiques; par M. M. Victor Baume et C. Poirrier. 12mo. *Paris.*
- Leonhard, K., Geologischer Atlas zur Naturgeschichte der Erde, von &c. 10 Maps. 4to. *Stuttgart.* 9s.
- Link, H., Icones selectae anatomico-botanicae, auctore etc. Fasc. III., cum tabulis lithographicis VIII.—Ausgewählte anatomisch-botanische Abbildungen. Part III., with 8 Tables. Folio. *Berlin.* 13s. 6d.
- Mayor, La Chirurgie populaire. *Paris.* 2s.
- Naturhistorischer Atlas, von Prof. A. Goldfuss. No. XXII. Royal-Folio. Text in 4to. *Düsseldorf.* 1l.
- Bildersaal des Thierreiches, herausgegeben von F. Treitschke. Vol. II., with 45 Plates. Nos. XXXI. to XXXIII. *Pesth.* 1l. 7s.; the 2 Vols. 2l. 10s.
- Nees-ab-Esenbeck, Florae Africae Australioris illustrationes monographicae. Scriptis etc. I.:—Gramineae. 8vo. *Gloga.* 9s.

- Nees-ab-Esenbeck, Th., Genera plantarum florae germanicae iconibus et descriptionibus illustrata etc., continuavit Dr. F. Spenner. Fasc. XXI. 8vo. *Bonn.* 5s.
- Nova Genera ac species plantarum, auctoribus E. Poeppig et S. Endlicher. Tom. III. Decas III. et IV. Folio. *Lipsiae.* 1l.
- Person, *Eléments de Physique.* Vols. I. and II. 8vo. *Paris.* 13s. 6d.
- Précis Elementaire de Chimie; par J. Garnier, jeune. 18mo. *Paris.* 3s. 6d.
- Résumés d'Histoire Naturelle; par N. Meissas. *Paris.*
- Ricord, P., Clinique Iconographique de l'hôpital des vénériens. No. I. 4to. To be completed in 15 to 20 Numbers, 50 Plates, forming 1 Volume. *Paris.* 6s.
- Römer, F., Die versteinerungen der Norddeutschen Kreidegebirges. 16 Lithographic Plates. 4to. *Hanover.* 11s. Complete, 16s. 6d.
- Sachs, Repertorisches Jahrbuch für die Leistungen der gesammten Heilkunde im Jahre 1840. Band I.:—Die Heilkunde Deutschlands. Band II.:—Die Heilkunde des Auslandes. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 18s.
- Siebold, de, Flora Japonica. Sectio I. Plantae ornatui vel usui inservientes. Digessit Dr. J. G. Zuccarini. Fasc. XVII.—XX. Fol. *Leyden.* 12s.
- Suckow, Beiträge zur Kenntniss Scandinaviens. Parallele zwischen dem schwedischen und norwegischen Urgebirge. 8vo. *Jena.* 2s. 6d.
- Systematische Beschreibung der Plagiostomen, von Dr. J. Müller und Dr. J. Henle. 60 Lithographic Plates. Fol. *Berlin.* 3l. 15s.
- Traité de la Cataplexie; par C. E. St. Bourdin. 8vo. *Paris.* 4s. 6d.
- des Maladies des reins et des altérations de la sécrétion urinaire; par Rayer. Vol. III. *Paris.* 9s. The Atlas, complete in 12 Numbers, Folio, price 16s. each.
- élémentaire d'histoire naturelle; par M. Milne Edwards, Zoologie. Part. I. Anatomie et Physiologie. 18mo. *Paris.* 3s. 6d.
- Universal-Lexicon der praktischen Medicin und Chirurgie, von Andral, Bégin, Blandin, u. s. w. Vol. IX.:—Magnetismus animalis—Oleum. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 16s. The first 9 Volumes, 7l. 10s.
- Vogler, J., De l'usage des eaux minérales, et en particulier de celles d'Ems. 16mo. *Frankfort.* 6s. 6d.
- Walther, Die Lehre vom schwarzen Staar und seiner Heilart. 8vo. *Berlin.* 5s.
- Wöhler, Dr. F., Grundriss der Chemie, von &c. Part II.:—Organische Chemie. Second improved Edition. 8vo. *Berlin.* 3s.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

- A Short Historical Account of Mont Saint-Michel and Mont Tombelène; by James Hairby. 8vo. 4 Plates. *Avranches.* 8vo.
- Allonville, d', Mémoires secrets de 1770 à 1830. 1 Vol. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s. 6d.
- Arnauld, Histoire de Maillezaïs, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours. 8vo. *Niort.* 7s.
- Aschbach, Dr., Geschichte Kaiser Sigmund's von u. s. w. Vol. III. 8vo. *Hamburg.* 9s.
- Barchou de Penhoën, Baron, Histoire de la conquête et de la fondation de l'empire Anglais dans l'Inde; par le etc. 6 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 3l. 3s.
- Baumont Vassy, de, Les Suédois depuis Charles XII. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 17s.
- Cæsars, les; par le Comte Franz de Champagny. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 13s. 6d.
- Caen en 1786, première chronique Normande; par A. Poignant. 8vo. *Paris.* 5s.
- Chopin, J. M., Révolutions des peuples du Nord. Vol. II. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.
- Commentationes societatis regiae scientiarum Gottingensis recentiores. Vol. VIII.:—Ad a. MDCCCXXXII—XXXVII. Cum figuris. 4to. *Gottingae.* 2l.
- Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae. Editio emendatior et copiosior, consilio B. G. Niebuhrii. Constantinus Porphyrogenitus. Vol. III. Recogn. I. Bekkerus. 8vo. Index zu Vol. II. *Bonn.* 13s.; fine paper, 17s.; vellum, 1l. 1s.
- Croisade du 19e siècle; par Louis Rousseau. 8vo. *Paris.* 7s. 6d.
- Deutsche Fundgruben der Geschichte Siebenbürgens, von J. Kemény. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Klausenburg.* 14s. 6d.
- Dembowski, Baron, Deux ans en Espagne et en Portugal pendant la guerre civile 1838—1840. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s. 6d.
- Dictionnaire des Dates, des Faits, des Lieux et des Hommes historiques, ou les Tables de l'Histoire; par Rouaix et d'Harmonville. Nos. I.—LXXXI.: (A—Bisc.) 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 5s.

- Dulaure, Histoire de la Révolution française, depuis 1814 jusqu'en 1830. 8 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 2l. 5s.
- Eugel, Kypros. Eine Monographie. 2ter Theil. 8vo. *Berlin.* 13s. 6d.
- Figeac, C., Documents historiques inédits, tirées des collections manuscrites de la bibliothèque royale. Vol. I. 4to. *Paris.* 13s.
- Floquet, Histoire du Parlement de Normandie. Vol. III. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
- Fragments historiques 1688 et 1830; par le Prince Napoléon Louis Bonaparte. 8vo. *Paris.*
- Histoire de la censure depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours. Part I. 8vo. *Paris.* 6d. Complete in 25 Numbers.
- des Français, par J. C. L. Simonde de Sismondi. Tome XXVI. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.; vellum paper, 18s.
- de France sous les deux premières races, précédée de Notices sur les Gaulois et les Francs; par L. G. George. 2d partie, 2e race. 8vo. *Paris.* 5s.
- des Comtes de Poitou et Ducs de Guyenne, contenant ce qui s'est passée de plus mémorable en France depuis l'an 811 jusqu'au Roi Louis-le-Jeune; par Jean Besley. 8vo. *Paris.* 5s.
- des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, depuis leur origine jusqu'au 14e siècle; par Bruce-Whyte. 3d and last Volume. 8vo. *Paris.* 11s.
- des Sciences Naturelles, depuis leur origine jusqu'à nos jours; par Georges Cuvier, complétée, etc., par M. Magdaleine de St. Agy. 3 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 3s.
- Historiæ Romanæ brevis epitome inferioribus gymnasiorum classibus destinata. 8vo. *Berlin.* 1s.
- Höck, Römische Geschichte vom Verfall der Republik bis zur Vollendung der Monarchie unter Constantin. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. *Brunswick.* 10s. 6d.
- Hoffmann, S., Griechenland und die Griechen im Alterthum, mit Rücksicht auf die Schicksale und Zustände in der späteren Zeit. Sechs Bücher. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 1l. 7s.
- Lalouel, H., Les Orateurs de la Grande Bretagne, depuis Charles 1er jusqu'à nos jours. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 17s.
- Laurentie, Histoire de France, divisée par époques, depuis les origines gauloises jusqu'aux tems présents. Vols. I. to III. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 5s.
- Lundblad, de, Abrégé de l'Histoire d'Autriche, de Bohême et de Hongrie, suivie de l'Histoire de Prusse. Vols. I. and II. 12mo. *Paris.* 3s. 6d. each Vol.
- Macqueriau, Histoire générale de l'Europe, durant les années MDXXVII., XXVIII., XXIX.; publiée sur le manuscrit autographe. 4to. *Paris.* 1l. 6s.
- Marliani, de, Histoire politique de l'Espagne moderne. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris.* 17s. 6d.
- Mery, Le siège de Marseille par le Connétable de Bourbon; chronique du 16me siècle. Part I. 8vo. *Paris.* 1s. 6d. To be completed in 6 Parts.
- Montpéroux, F. Dubois, Voyage autour du Caucase, chez les Tcherkesses et le Abkhases en Colchide, en Géorgie, en Arménie, et en Crimée. With Map. Vol. IV. 8vo. *Paris.* 9s.
- Muller, Histoire de la confédération Suisse, traduite de l'Allemand et continuée jusqu'à nos jours. Vol. XII. 8vo. *Paris.* 7s. 6d. each Vol.
- Napoléon Apocryphe. Histoire de la conquête du Monde et de la Monarchie universelle, 1812—1832; par Louis Geoffroy. 8vo. *Paris.* 1l. 2s.
- et le Peuple. Histoire complète de l'Empereur Napoléon. 12mo. *Paris.* 4s.
- Pradel, Comte, De la Royauté au 19e siècle, étude de l'histoire contemporaine. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s. 6d.
- Raumer, von, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen und ihrer Zeit. Vol. III. Second Edition. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 1l.
- Recueil de Documents et Mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions Espagnoles dans l'Amérique; publiés sur les manuscrits de M. Ternaux-Compans. 8vo. *Paris.* 12s.
- Regesta Imperii. Additamentum primum ad Regesta Imperii inde ab anno MCCCXIII. usque ad annum MCCCXLVII. Erstes Ergänzungsheft zu den Regesten Kaiser Ludwigs des Baiern und seiner Zeit, 1314—1337; von Joh. Bömer. 4to. *Frankfurt.* 1s. 6d.
- Reinelt, J., Reise nach dem Orient zur Erhebung merkantiler Notizen für Oesterreichs Industrie. 8vo. *Vienna.* 6s. 6d.

- Richard, Manuel complet du voyageur en Allemagne. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
 ——— Manuel du voyageur en Suisse, suivi du Guide complet dans le Tyrol. 12mo. *Paris*. 10s. 6d.
 Ritter, Namen- und Sach-Verzeichniss zu Carl Ritter's Erdkunde von Asien, bearbeitet von Julius Ludwig Ideler. Vol. I.:—Ost-Asien. (Zu Band II. bis VI. des ganzen Werkes.) 8vo. *Berlin*. 9s.
 Rome et Coretti; par l'auteur des pèlerinages de Suisse. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 6s.
 Runkel, Dr., Carl XIV. Johann, König von Schweden und Norwegen. Eine biographische Skizze von u. s. w. 8vo. *Elberfeld*. 1s. 6d.
 Savagner, Abrégé de l'histoire d'Allemagne, depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 7s.
 Schneller's hinterlassene Werke u. s. w., von E. Münch. Vol. VII.:—Staatsgeschichte des Kaiserthums Oesterreich. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 8s.
 Ségur, Comte de, Histoire de la Napoléon et de la grande armée pendant l'année, 1812. 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
 Soltky, Relation des opérations de l'armée aux ordres du Prince Poniatowski, pendant la campagne de 1809 en Pologne contre les Autrichiens. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
 Souvestre, La Bretagne pittoresque, ou Choix de monumens, de costumes et de scènes de mœurs de la Bretagne. Part I. Fol. Plates. *Paris*. 16s.
 Touchard-Lafosse, Romans historiques de M. Touchard-Lafosse, Hélène de Poitiers, tiré d'un manuscrit trouvé dans un château du Dauphine. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
 Valery, L'Italie confortable, manuel de touriste, appendice aux Voyages en Italie. 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
 Varnhagen von Ense, K. A., Leben des Feldmarshalls Grafen von Schwerin. 8vo. *Berlin*. 6s. 6d.
 Vogel, Dr., Geschichte der denkwürdigsten Erfindungen von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit. Part I. 16mo. *Leipzig*. 1s.
 Wittmann, Die Geschichte der Deutschen. Vom Anfange der französischen Revolution bis auf unsere Zeit. 12mo. *Ulm*. 2s. 6d.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

- Annales de la Société libre des Beaux-arts. Vol. X., 1840, 1841. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Architectural Ornaments of the Middle Ages.—Des Ornaments du Moyen Age.—Die Ornamentik des Mittelalters. English, German, and French Explanations, by Professor C. Heideloff and C. Görgel. Part II. 4to. *Nürnberg*. 7s.
 Architektonisches Album of the Architectural Society of Berlin, by Stüler, Knobloch, &c. Vol. I. Part VI. Folio. *Potsdam*. 12s. Parts I. to VI., 3l. 12s. 6d.
 Bas-Reliefs du Parthénon et du Temple de Phigalie, gravés par les procédés de M. Achille Collas, sous la direction de M. P. Delaroche. 4to. *Paris*. 1l. 2s.
 Buron, Description de nouveaux Daguerreotypes perfectionnés et portatifs, etc. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s.
 Description d'un pont suspendu de 198 mètres d'ouverture et de 39m, 70 de hauteur au dessus des basses mers, construit sur la Vilaine, à la Roche-Bernard, route de Nantes à Brest; par Leblanc. 4to. *Paris*. 1l.
 Espagne, l', Artisque et Monumentale, Vues et Descriptions des Sites et des Monumens Artistiques les plus Notables de l'Espagne; par une Société d'Artistes. Liv. I. Fol. 4 Plates. *Paris*. 18s.
 Edifices de Rome moderne, dessinés et publiés par P. Letarouilly. Vol. II. Part I. Fol. *Paris*. 6s.
 Geir, Statistische Uebersicht bemerkenswerther Holzverbindungen Deutschlands, gesammelt und herausgegeben von u. s. w. Part I. and II. Fol. *Mainz*. 10s.
 Gerhard, Ed., Auserlesene griechische Vasenbilder, hauptsächlich etruskischen Fundorts, herausgegeben von u. s. w. 13tes und 14tes Heft. Tafel LXXIX—XC. 4to. *Berlin*. 1l.
 ——— Neuerworbene antike Denkmäler des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin. Beschrieben von u. s. w. Part II., with 2 Engravings. 8vo. *Berlin*. 2s. 6d.
 Hessemer, F., Arabische und Alt-Italienische Bau-Verzierungen. Part X. Folio. *Berlin*. 10s.

- Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne ; par le Comte Athanase Raczyński. Vol. III. 4to. *Berlin*. 4l. 4s.
- Leblanc, Description d'un pont suspendu, construit sur la Vilaine. With Atlas. 4to. *Paris*. 1l. 2s.
- Runge, P., *Hinterlassene Schriften von u. s. w.* Herausgegeben von dessen ältesten Bruder. Part I. 7 Plates. Part II. Title Plate and Music. 8vo. *Hamburg*. Subscription-price, 1l.
- Tittmann, F., Ueber die Schönheit und die Kunst. 8vo. *Berlin*. 12s.
- Verzeichniss der Bildergallerie Seiner Königlichen Hoheit des Prinzen Eugen, Herzogs von Leuchtenberg in München. 12mo. *Munich*. 2s.

BELLES-LETTRES, NOVELS, POETRY, &c. &c.

- Almanach des bons conseils, 1842. 12mo. *Paris*.
- Andrew's, Merry, Jest-Book ; or, One Thousand and One Anecdotes for the Amusement of every Body knowing English. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 2s. 6d.
- Anatole ; by Madam. S. Gay. A Novel, translated from the French, by the Baroness Hemart. Vol. I. 8vo. *Paris*.
- Arnaud, Clémence. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Balzac, de, Physiologie de l'Employé. 32mo. *Paris*. 1s.
- Biblioteca portátil española, ó Colección de las mayores poesias, novelas, dramas etc. de los escritores españoles del siglo XIX. hasta nuestros dias. Vol. I. 12mo. *Brunswick*. 2s. 6d.
- Blanchard, l'Ecole des Mœurs, ou Reflexions Morales et historiques sur les maximes de la sagesse. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Blaze, Rosemonde. Légende. 12mo. *Paris*. 2s.
- Bodin, Mme., Jeanne. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Bossuet, Oeuvres complètes. Vols. XI.—XIV. 12mo. *Paris*. 19 Volumes, 4l.
- Bourgeois, les, de Paris ; par Amédée de Bast. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Brune et Blonde ; par Pitre Chevalier. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
- Capefigue, Les cent jours. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Chamisso, Ad., Gedichte. Sixth Edition. 12mo. *Leipzig*. 9s.
- Comte, Mme., Julien, suivi de l'Histoire d'un boudoir, racontée par lui-même. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Der Nibelunge Lied. Abdruck der Handschrift des Freiherrn Joseph von Lassberg. Mit Holzschnitten nach Originalzeichnungen von Eduard Bendemann und Julius Hübner. Part II. 4to. *Leipzig*. Complete, 2l. 12s. 6d.
- Deutsche Volkslieder, mit ihren Original-Weisen. Nach handschriftlichen Quellen herausgegeben als Fortsetzung des A. Kretschmer'schen Werkes von Zuccalmaglio. Parts XV. and XVI. 8vo. *Berlin*. 3s.
- Elena, ou la Peste de Naples ; avec notes, par Aug. Chastan. 8vo. *Paris*.
- Faust de Goethe, traduction complète précédée d'une Essai sur Goethe ; par Blaze. 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
- Foucaud, Les Artisans illustres. Livr. I.—XL. 8vo. *Paris*.
- Galerie zu Göthe's sämtlichen Werken, nach Zeichnungen von W. Kaulbach und seinen Schülern, in Stahl gestochen von Steifensand, Weber, Enzig-Müller, Hoffmann u. A. Parts III. to VI. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 8s.
- Goldsmith, Oliver, The Vicar of Wakefield. Illustrated by Louis Richter. 16mo. *Leipzig*. 7s.
- Hotel, l', des Invalides, souvenirs intimes du tems de l'empire ; par Emile Marco de Saint-Hilaire. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
- Hugo, V., Notre-Dame de Paris. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Paris*. 8s.
- Les Orientales. 12mo. *Paris*. 4s.
- Le dernier jour d'un condamné, précédé de Bug-Jargal. 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
- Han d'Islande. 12mo. *Paris*. 5s.
- Ida ; par le Vicomte d'Arlincourt. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
- Jean Paul's sämtliche Werke. 8vo. Vols. II. to XI. *Berlin*. The last 8 Vols. 1l. 3s. ; vellum, 1l. 13s.
- Kobell, F., Gedichte in hochdeutscher, oberbayerischer und pfälzischer Mundart. 8vo. *Munich*. 3s.

- Kock, Paul de, *Physiologie de l'homme marié*. 32mo. *Paris*. 1s.
- Lamothe-Langon, Mon Général, sa Femme, et Moi, *Mémoires de Luciennes*. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
- Lamennais, Du passé et de l'avenir du Peuple. 32mo. *Paris*. 1s. 6d.
- Leroux de Lincey, Recueil de Chants historiques français, depuis le 12me jusqu'au 18me siècle. 1re Série. 12mo. *Paris*. 4s.
- Lucie; par Jules Lacroix. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Manette; par Hippolyte Bonnelier. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Mathilde, *Mémoires d'une jeune Femme*; par Eugène Sae. Vols. III. and IV. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Mayer, *Commentaire des Lettres persanes de Montesquieu*. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s. 6d.
- Menard, Robert d'Arbrissel, roman historique. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s. 6d.
- Molière, *Oeuvres*, avec des notes de tous les commentateurs. Vols. I. and II. 12mo. *Paris*. 8s.
- Nibelungenlied, das. Uebersetzt von G. O. Marbach. With Woodcuts and Drawings by Eduard Bendemann and Julius Hübner. Part II. 4to. *Leipzig*. 19s.
- Nuit, la, de la Toussaint; par Carle Ledhuy. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s. 6d.
- Psyché, Poème; par Victor de Laprade. 18mo. *Paris*. 4s.
- Satiriques Latins, les, Horace, Juvénal et Perse, traduit en Français. 1 Vol. 12mo. *Paris*. 3s. 6d.
- Scandale; par Michel Raymond. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
- Secrets de Famille, les; par Alphonse Brot. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Simrock, Dr., Rheinsagen aus dem Munde des Volks und deutscher Dichter. Für Schule, Haus und Wanderschaft. Third improved Edition. 12mo. *Bonn*. 7s. 6d.
- Tieck, Ludwig, *Gedichte*. New Edition, with Portrait. 12mo. *Berlin*. 10s. 6d.; vellum paper, 13s. 6d.
- Verhandlungen der Schwedischen Akademie der Achtzehner in zwanglosen Heften, herausgegeben und verdeutscht von D. W. Dunkel. 1stes Heft:—1. Der Engel des Todes, von O. Wallin. 2. Die Schlacht am Brunkeberg, Gedicht in acht Gesängen, von O. Fryxell, im Jahre 1834 mit dem grossen Preise gekrönt. 8vo. *Gothenburg*. 2s. 6d.
- Vander-Burch, Les Enfants de Paris. Zizi, Zozo et Zaza (histoire de trois étages.) 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s.
- Woldemar, Mme., Notre-Dame d'El Pilar. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 17s. 6d.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY.

- Bibliopolisches Jahrbuch für 1841. 5ter Jahrgang. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 10s.
- Bibliotheca Graeca virorum doctorum opera, recog. F. Jacobs et V. Rost. A. Poetarum Vol. X. continens Sophoclis tragoediarum Vol. II. ed. E. Wunderus. 8vo. *Gotha*. 4s.
- virorum doctorum opera recognita et commentariis instructa, curantibus F. Jacobs et V. Rost. B. Scriptorum orat. pedestris Vol. VIII. continens Xenophontis de Socrate commentarios; ed. R. Kühner. 8vo. *Gotha*. 7s.
- Busse, W., De Dionysii Halicarnassensis vita et ingenio. Dissertatio inauguralis philologica scripsit etc. 4to. *Berlin*. 5s.
- Caesar, C., De carminis graecorum elegiaci origine et notione. 8vo. *Marburg*. 2s.
- Cicero's Bücher von den Divination und die Schrift vom Schicksal. In's Deutsche übertragen von F. Jacobs. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 4s. 6d.
- Bücher vom höchsten Gut und höchsten Uebel. In's Deutsche übertragen von J. Droysen. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 6s.
- Bücher von den Pflichten. In's Deutsche übertragen von A. W. Zumpt. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 4s. 6d.
- Bücher vom dem Wesen der Götter. In's Deutsche übertragen von J. Schröder. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 6s.
- Curtze, Dr. L., Commentatio de Horatii carm. 1, 12. 4to. *Meninginghusae*. 2s.
- De viris illustribus urbis Romae, à Romulo ad Augustum. Auctore C. F. Lhomond. Notis Hispanicis et Dictionario Latino-Hispanico locupletavit G. Hamonière. 18mo. *Paris*.
- Dutell, Dictionnaire des Hyeroglyphes. Part I.:—A—BO. 8vo. *Bordeaux*. 17s.

- Elementa rei numariae veterum, sive Josephi Eckhelii Prologomena doctrinae numorum.*
Cum brevi annotatione et III. tabulis. 4to. *Berlin.* 9s.
- Ephraemius, ex recognitione Im. Bekkeri. 8vo. 10s. Fine paper, 14s.; vellum paper, 16s.
- Gaii Institutionum commentarii IV. Ex recensione et cum commentariis J. Goeschenii. Opus Goeschenii, morte interruptum, absolvit Carolus Lachmannus. 8vo. *Bonn.* 5s. 6d.
- Gesta Trevirorum. Indices ad tria volumina novae Gestorum Trevirorum editionis, quorum primus personarum, alter rerum et verborum est. 4to. 3 Vols. 4l. 12s.
- Haenel, G., De constitutionibus, quas Jacobus Sirmundus Parisiis A. MDCXXXI. edidit, Dissertatio. 4to. *Lipsiae.* 2s. 6d.
- Hermanni, C., Antiquitatum Laconicarum libelli IV. 4to. *Marburg.* 7s.
- Disputatio de distributione personarum inter histriones in tragoediis graecis. 8vo. *Marburg.* 1s. 6d.
- Hirsch, S., De vita et scriptis Sigiberti Monachi Gemblacensis. Commentatio historico-litteraria. Scripsit etc. 8vo. *Berlin.* 11s. 6d.
- Incerti Auctoris de figuris vel schematicis versus heroici. Editionem in Germania principem curavit F. G. Schneidewin. 8vo. *Göttingen.* 2s. 6d.
- Kaltschmidt, Anhang zu Dr. Jac. Heinr. Kaltschmidts sprachvergleichendem und etymologischem Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache zum Schulgebrauch, enthaltend die Composita, mit Hinweisungen auf Buttmanns griechische Grammatik, über die Gesetze der Composition, von Dr. Gustav Mühlmann. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 4s. 6d.
- Kirschii, G., Chrestomathia syriaca cum lexico. Denuo edidit G. Bernstein. 2 Parts. Lexicon penitus novatum. Fasc. II. 8vo. *Lipsiae.* 1l.
- Lieberkuehn, G., De diurnis Romanorum actis. 4to. *Vimariae.* 1s. 6d.
- Matthiae, A., Lexicon Euripideum ab etc. inchoatum confecerunt C. B. Matthiae Augusti filii. Vol. I.: A—Γ. *Lipsiae.* 17s.
- Meidinger, Grammaire Allemande; nouvelle edition, par Eichhoff. 8vo. *Paris.* 3s. 6d.
- Ochando, Cours de Thèmes de la langue Espagnole. 12mo. *Paris.* 3s. 6d.
- Ovidii Nasonis, P., Fastorum libri VI. Editore et interprete R. Merkelio. 8vo. *Berlin.* 10s. 6d.
- Patin, M., Etudes sur les tragiques Grecs, ou examen critique d'Eschyle, de Sophocle, et d'Euripide; précédé d'une histoire générale de la tragédie Grecque. Vol. I. 8vo. *Paris.* The Work will be completed in 3 Vols., 17s. 6d.
- Petermann, Porta linguarum orientalium etc. Pars VI.:—Lingua armeniaca. 16mo. *Berlin.* 4s. 6d.
- Plutarchi vitae parallelae. Ex recensione Caroli Sintenis. Vol. II. 8vo. *Lipsiae.* 13s. 6d.
- Plutarchi vitae parallelae selectae. In usum scholarum recognitae a Caroli Sintenis. Pars II. Insunt vitae Aristidis et Catonis, Philopoemenis et Flaminii, Pyrrhi et Marii, Lysandri et Sullae, Sertorii et Eumenis. 8vo. *Lipsiae.* 3s.
- Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, von F. G. Welcker und F. Ritschl. Neueste Folge. 1sten Jahrgs. Part I. 8vo. *Frankfurt.* 4s.
- Sallusti Crispi, C., Catilina et Jugurtha. Recogn. Schaefer. 8vo. *Bremen.* 1s.
- Seyffert, M., Aretalogus, sive epigrammata et sententiae nostratum poetarum, Latine reddita. 8vo. *Brandenburg.* 2s. 6d.
- Dr. M., Palaestra Ciceroniana. Materialien zu Lateinischen Stilübungen für die oberste Bildungsstufe der Gymnasien. 8vo. *Brandenburg.* 5s. 6d.
- Stengel's hebräische Grammatik. Elementar- und Formenlehre, von Dr. Jos. Beck. 8vo. *Karlsruhe.* 2s. 6d.
- Synonymes Français; par Benjamin Lafaye. 8vo. *Paris.* 8s.
- Taciti, C., Dialogus de oratoribus. Zum Gebrauch für Schulen, von C. Pabst. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 2s. 6d.
- Virgilius Maro, Varietate lectionis et perpetua adnotatione illustratus a Heyne. Editio IV. curavit Ge. Phil. Eberard. Wagner. Vol. V. 8vo. *Lipsiae.* 11s. 6d.
- Völker, C., Commentationes de C. Cornelli Foroiulensi vita et scriptis. Pars I., quae est de vita Galli. Praemissa est brevis disputatio de caussis feliciter a romanis cultae elegiae. 8vo. *Bonn.* 2s.
- Weichert, M. A., Imperatoris Caesaris Augusti scriptorum reliquiae. Post Jan. Rutgersium et Jo. Alb. Fabricium collegit, illustravit et cum aliorum tum suis adnotationibus instruxit etc. Fasc. I. 4to. *Grimae.* 9s.

- Wieland, *Grammaire Grecque à l'usage du Collège royal Français*. 8vo. *Berlin*. 3s.
 Xenophontis Agesilaus. Cum adnotatione et prolegomenis de auctore et indole libri
 edidit C. Heiland. 8vo. *Lipsiae*. 3s.
 ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΑ. Xenophontis de Socrate
 commentarii. Ex recognitione R. Kühnerii. 8vo. *Gothae*. 1s. 6d.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

- Alvaire, d'. Comedie in 5 Acts, by M. Louis Dessain. 8vo. *Rheims*. 2s.
 Anacharsis, ou Ma tante Rose. Comédie-vaudeville, in 1 Act, by Dumersan. 8vo.
Paris. 6d.
 Anita la Bohémienne. Drame-vaudeville, in 3 Acts, by Carmouche et Laloue. 8vo.
Paris. 6d.
 Bains, Les, à quatre Sous, Pièce, in 3 Acts, by A. d'Ennery et Brisebarre. 8vo.
Paris. 6d.
 Bon, Le, Ange, ou les Deux sœurs. Comédie, in 5 Acts, by M. Laurencin. 8vo.
Paris. 6d.
 Bourreau, Le, des Cranes. Vaudeville, in 2 Acts, by Boulé et Lustières. 8vo. *Paris*.
 6d.
 Carl, Die Verfolgung der Juden durch Emicho. Tragedy, in 5 Acts. 12mo. *Mannheim*.
 4s.
 Chants de Sion, ou Recueil de Cantiques, d'Hymnes, de Louanges et d'Actions de
 Grâces, à la gloire de l'Eternal; composés et mis en musique par C. Milan.
Paris. 2s.
 Chefs d'œuvres du Théâtre Espagnol; avec une Introduction et des Notes par M. D.
 Hinar. Calderon, 1re Série. 8vo. *Paris*. 3s. 6d.
 Deux Serruriers, Les. Drama, in 5 Acts, by Pyat. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s.
 — Voleurs, Les. Comic Opera, in 1 Act, by Leuven et Brunswick; Musique de
 M. Girard. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Fabio le Novice. Drama, in 5 Acts, by Lafont et Noël Parfait. *Paris*.
 Frère et Mari. Comic Opera, in 1 Act, by A. Humbert et Th. Polak; Musique de
 M. Clapisson. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Giselle, ou les Willis. Ballet fantastique, in 2 Acts, by St.-Georges, Théophile Gauthier
 et Coraly; Musique de M. Adolphe Adam. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s.
 Grande Methode complète et raisonnée pour le cornet à deux et trois pistons; par
 M. Guichard. *Paris*. 15s.
 Grand Criminel, Un. Vaudeville, in 2 Acts, by Varin, J. Arago et E. Lafranc. 8vo.
Paris. 6d.
 Gueux de Paris, Les, épisode de 1625. Vaudeville populaire, in 3 Acts, by Tournemine
 and A. Guinée. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Introduction à la Bibliothèque Chorale; par C. Kastner. *Paris*. 3s.
 Jacobites, Les. Grand opera, in 2 Acts. 8vo. *Montpellier*.
 Kiesewetter, R., Schicksale und Beschaffenheit des weltlichen Gesangen vom frühen
 Mittelalter bis zu der Erfindung des dramatischen Styles und den Anfängen der
 Oper. Mit musikalischen Beilagen. 4to. *Leipzig*. 1l.
 Logique de la Musique élémentaire; par C. M. Roubier. *Paris*. 3l.
 Lucrèce. Comédie, in 3 Acts, by Dupeuty et Bourgeois. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Mademoiselle Sallé. Comédie, in 2 Acts, by Xavier, Bayard et Dumanoir. 8vo.
Paris.
 Maitresse de Poste, La, ou l'Homme de la Famille. Comédie, in 1 Act, by De Courcy
 et Dupeuty. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Malentendus tragiques, Les, ou les Maisons de Fous. Drame philosophique en quatre
 parties, par l'auteur du Pourvoyeur d'une Maison d'Aliénés. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Mariage sous Louis XV., Un. Comédie, in 5 Acts, by A. Dumas. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Marie Stuart. Tragedy, in 5 Acts, by Martin. 18mo. *Paris*.
 Maschera, La. Comic Opera, in 2 Acts, by Arnould et J. de Wailly; Musique de
 M. Kastner. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Marx, A., Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch theoretisch. Second
 Edition. Part I. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 13s. 6d.
 — Die alte Musiklehre im Streit mit unserer Zeit. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 4s. 6d.
 Méthode élémentaire d'Harmonie appliquée au Piano; par G. Kastner. *Paris*. 1l.

- Méthode de Violin; par A. Roger. *Paris*. 4s. 6d.
 ————— par Eug. Roy; revue, etc., par Carnaud. *Paris*. 5s.
 ———— théorique et pratique pour Orgue expressif; par A. Lefebure-Wely. *Paris*. 12s.
 Monde Musical, Le, Journal mensuel. 4to. *Paris*. Annual Subscription, 2l. 10.
 Nehrlich, C. G., Die Gesangkunst, oder die Geheimnisse der grossen italienischen und deutschen Gesangmeister alter und neuer Zeit. Systematisch bearbeitet, durch anatomische Tafeln erklärt. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 8s.
 Pension, Une, de Demoiselles, ou le Château de ma Tante. Play, in 2 Acts, by Emile Saussol. 18mo. *Paris*. 1s.
 Physiologie des Foyers de tous les Théâtres de Paris; par J. Arago. 18mo. *Paris*.
 Pièce à l'Index, La. Comédie-vaudeville, in 1 Act, by Baudin. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s.
 Recueil de Chants historiques Français, depuis le 12e jusqu'au 18e siècle. Avec des Notices et une Introduction, par Leroux de Lincy. 1re Série:—12e, 13e, 14e et 15e siècles. 12mo. *Paris*. 3s. 6d.
 Ritter, Hugo. Magic Play, in 2 Acts. *Breslau*. 6d.
 Secondes Noces, Les. Comédie-vaudeville, in 2 Acts, by Mélesville et Carmouche. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Schiller, William Tell. An Historical Play, by &c. The German Text, with an Interlineary Translation, Grammatical and Historical Notes, by Arthur Ch. White and L. Braunsfels. 8vo. *Bonn*. 7s. 6d.
 ——— F., The Maid of Orleans. A Romantic Tragedy, from the German of &c. by Newton Ivory Lucas. 8vo. *Bremen*. 5s.
 Schmid, Siegfried, Dramatische Werke. Vol. I. 12mo. *Leipzig*. 7s. 6d. Containing a 5 Act Tragedy, a 5 Act Comedy, and a 3 Act Play.
 Société Académique des Enfants d'Apollon. Fête séculaire. Séance publique, tenue dans la salle du Conservatoire. Centième Anniversaire de la Fondation de la Société. 8vo. *Paris*.
 Töpfer, Lustspiele. Vol. IV. containing:—Preussens 15ter October.—Gebrüder Foster.—Ein Stündchen in Pymont.—Ein Pagenstückchen.—Zurücksetzung. 12mo. *Berlin*. 9s.
 Trois Etoiles, Les. Comedy, in 1 Act, by Léon Halevy et Jaime. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Vallier, Recherches sur les Causes de la Décadence des Théâtres et de l'Art dramatique en France. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
 Van-Bruck, Rentier. Comédie-vaudeville, in 2 Acts, by Fournier et Decomberousse. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Vocation, Une. Comedy, in 2 Acts, by De Courcy et Th. Muret. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d.
 Wilhem, M. B., Manuel Musical. Second Cours. 8vo. *Paris*. 5s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Acht Wochen in Syrien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Feldzuges 1840. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 5s. 6d.
 Bardin, Baron, Dictionnaire de l'Armée de Terre, ou Recherches historiques sur l'Art et les Usages militaires des Anciens et des Modernes. Part I.: A—ARM. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s.
 Bechtold, O., Militärische Handbibliothek für die Offiziere der k. k. östr. Cavallerie. Vols. VII. to IX. *Vienna*. 1l. The 9 Vols., 2l. 10s.
 Bernd, C., Die Hauptstücke der Wappenwissenschaft, verfasst und mit vielen Beispielen und Abbildungen erläutert. 1ste Abthl., enthaltend den Ursprung der Wappen, Geschichte des Wappenwesens u. s. w. With 900 Illustrations. 8vo. *Bonn*. 1l.
 Bolzenthal, H., Denkmünzen zur Geschichte des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm III. in Abbildungen mit Erläuterung. Second Edition. 4to. *Berlin*. 1l. 10s.
 Burgheim, J., Sammlung leicht auszuführender Grab-Monumente, aufgenommen auf den vorzüglichsten Kirchhöfen Deutschlands und Frankreichs. 2 Parts. 4to. *Bielefeld*. 5s.
 Calculs sur la Sortie de Vapeur dans le Machines locomotives; par P. Jeanneney. 8vo. *Paris*. 5s.
 Chemin de Fer Léopold de Florence à Livourne, Recueil des Actes relatifs à cette entreprise jusqu'au 3 Mai, 1841. 8vo. *Paris*.

- Combes, *Aérages des Mines*. 8vo. *Paris*. 4s.
- Conversations-Lexicon der Gegenwart. Vol. IV. Part II.: T—Z; or Part XXXVI. and Supplement. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 2s. 6d.; fine paper, 4s. 6d.
- Dannecker's Werke in einer Auswahl. Mit einem Lebensabriss des Meisters, herausgegeben von C. Grüneisen und T. Wagner. 4to. *Hamburg*. 12s. 6d.
- Dictionnaire de Conversation à l'usage des dames et des jeunes personnes. Publié sous la direction de Duckett. Vol. III. 12mo. *Paris*. 4s. Complete in 10 Vols.
- de l'Industrie manufacturière, commerciale et agricole. Ouvrage accompagné d'un grand nombre de figures intercalées dans le texte; par MM. A. Baudrimont, V. Bois, Boquillon, A. Chevallier, Despretz, etc. 10th and last Vol. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
- Expériences d'Artillerie exécutées à Gavre, par ordre du Ministre de la Marine, pendant les années 1830, 1831, 1832, 1834, 1835, 1836, 1837, 1838, et 1840. 4to. *Paris*. 10s.
- Hlubek, Dr., Der Verkehr zwischen Triest und der Monarchie, und die Wien-Triester Eisenbahn, 4to. *Vienna*. 3s. 6d.
- Leipziger Zeitungs-Katalog für 1841. Wissenschaftlich geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland erscheinenden periodischen Schriften, mit Einschluss der politischen und Lokalblätter. 4to. *Leipzig*. 2s.
- Manuel d'Agriculture pratique, à l'usage des femmes de trente hectors; par M. Spineux. 12mo. *Paris*.
- Poussin, Considérations sur le principe démocratique qui régit l'Union Américaine, et de la possibilité de son application à d'autres états. 8vo. *Paris*. 9s.
- The Continental Miscellany; edited and directed by Memmel Mortimer and Alex. G. Tucker. No. 1. July, 1841. 8vo. *Paris*.
- Unger, Handbuch der Staats-Lotterie-Anleihen, enthaltend eine ausführliche Nachweisung über die gegenwärtig bestehenden Anleihen dieser Art, eine genaue Angabe des Standes derselben und des wahren Werthes der Loose vor und nach einer jeden Ziehung. 12mo. *Leipzig*. 7s.

Will shortly appear.

- Denkmale des Mittelalters. St. Gallen's altteutsche Sprachschätze, von H. Hattemer. 4 Vols. 8vo. *St. Gallen*.
- Fouqué, Baron de La Motte, Der Pappenheimer Kürassier. Scenen aus der Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. Drama. *Nordhausen*.
- Gands, P., The Literary Companion, or a Guide to German Literature; being a choice Collection of Pieces in Prose and Verse, selected from the Writings of the best German Authors, with English Translations. 8vo. *Frankfort*.
- Kobbe, T., Humoresken aus dem Philisterleben. 2 Vols. *Bremen*.
- Mitchel, The Life of Wallenstein. *Frankfort*.
- Pyrker, J. L., Bilder aus dem Leben Jesu und der Apostel. With 24 Engravings. In 12 Parts. 8vo. *Leipzig*.
- Roswitha, Almanach der Schönheit und Tugend für 1842, von Chlodwig. With 6 coloured Plates. *Guben*.
- Storch, L., Schriften. Gesamtausgabe. 1ste Serie, in 12 Vols. *Gotha*.
- Volks-Kalendar für Israeliten auf das Jahr 5602. (16 September 1841 bis 4 September 1842.) Von K. Klein. *Brieg*.
- Wallroth, Die sieben Gleichnisse des Herrn vom Himmelreich. *Bremen*.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

THE FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

- ART. I.—1. *Lettres écrites de l’Egypte en 1838 et 1839, &c.: avec des Remarques de M. Letronne.* Par Nestor L’Hôte. 8vo. Paris, 1840.
2. *Grammaire Egyptienne; ou Principes généraux de l’Ecriture sacrée Egyptienne.* Par Champollion le Jeune. Fol. Paris, 1836-8-41. 3 Livraisons.
3. *Essai sur le Texte Grecque de l’Inscription de Rosette.* Par Ch. Lenormant. 4to. Paris, 1840.
4. *Inscription Grecque de Rosette.* Par M. Letronne. 8vo. Paris, 1840.

THE numerous works issuing from the continental press upon the subject of Egyptian antiquities are sufficient to prove the deep interest and attention which this new and difficult branch of inquiry has excited throughout Europe; and which, until recently, was supported by the individual exertions simply of Champollion. Thus it would appear that the career of the human race is, as far as mortal eye can discern, hastening to its culmination; the middle ages, as soon as the dawn of literature again broke upon the world, studied with care and attention the language and works of art of ancient Rome; the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought along with them deep and searching inquiry into the language and philosophy of Hellenism, and intense devotion to the works of art, whose enchantment steals upon the senses, and extorts the admiration of all. The nineteenth century, ascending in every respect in the scale of civilization, unseals the land of bondage of nations, and the skeleton remains of Central Asia; the history of the conquerors of India, Bactria and Mesopotamia is slowly rising from its sleep of centuries. The inquiry has now become stirring; and bound up as our existence is with the early history of Judæa, the eye must be dim and the heart cold, to whom the vast problem of the Egyptian hieroglyphics brings no more interest than a nurse’s tale.

The *Grammaire Egyptienne* of Champollion is a learned and immortal work, whether we give entire credence to it or the con-

trary, the manner in which the results are arrived at, the lucid and essentially practical way in which everything is explained, is perfectly wonderful. Page after page teems with discovery and light; and although there is much that requires correction, more that can be extended, still the deeper, and we speak from experience, the reader is acquainted with the monuments and texts, the more readily will he perceive the mode by which the result has been arrived at. Champollion, with the enthusiasm of a great mind, treading for the first time on a new continent of philology and history, bewildered with the luxuriance and riches of its broad savannahs, its sparkling streams, pressing onward in his career, stops for no minor details, but collecting the accumulated treasures of the past, pours them into the lap of the astonished inquirer. Guided simply by an instinctive sense of right, he has easily attained results that other men, and those of high talent, arrived at singly and slowly. Four years have elapsed since the first part of the *Grammaire* appeared; it is now nearly complete, and we have before us the mechanism of the language of ancient Egypt.


In the preface is a very excellent historical account of the analysis; and in the first and second chapters we have the different varieties of forms, and the difference of writing them, in hieratic and demotic. The mode by which this has been arrived at is by examining different MSS. of the great funereal ritual, and deeds written sometimes in one and occasionally in the other character. In the second chapter the author lays down the genera of the characters, which he divides into tropic or metaphoric, enigmatic, symbolic and phonetic; a much simpler division is phonetic, or hieroglyphics having the value of sounds, and ideographics, characters having the value of ideas; directly, as a *horse* to indicate a *horse*; indirectly, as a *feather* to represent *truth*. Besides these two classes may be added a third, of which Champollion must have been aware, although he never stated it; characters having neither the value of ideas nor sounds, but introduced into the inscriptions as auxiliaries determining the sound of other characters. The phonetic alphabet of Champollion amounts to 260 symbols, to be divided among fifteen articulations, classing all vocalic inflections together, which Champollion has thrown into one class, merely indicating those used at the period of what he calls the lower Egyptian empire, viz. from the Ptolemies to their disappearance; and another writing called Secret, which he conjectured to have been employed about the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties. The phonetic groups of the lower period are such as during the best period of Egyptian art were employed to represent ideas, but which were subsequently, either fantastically or for deception, turned to a phonetic employment. For example, the symbol ordinarily used as


the determinative of the word 𓂏𓂏𓂏 panegyry or festival, during the time of the Roman domination, is employed as 𓂏 in 𓂏𓂏𓂏 the *hat*, or agathodæmon, usually written with a kind of curved stick or tooth instead. The star 𓂏 habitually used in the texts either as an ideographic or determinative of sound, sometimes is employed for the letter *s*, as in the name Sebastos. These however are exceptions to the general alphabet, and amount to 32 symbols. The remaining characters of the alphabet have however undergone another classification from Dr. Lepsius, in which we cannot but concur;—characters generally phonetic, and characters having the value of sounds at the commencement only of certain groups. Of the general phonetic alphabet there are thirty-four symbols, and of the second class, initial restricted phonetics, there are fifty-four according to his classification, but some of his details require modification. To understand this it will be necessary to consider that the owl is a symbol of the general phonetic alphabet, used for 𓂏 (M). Thus, it is employed in 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to come,” 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “an archer,” initially. In the middle of a word, as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 “red jasper;” as the final in 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “antimony. But the character 𓂏𓂏𓂏 is only used as 𓂏 before the undulating line 𓂏𓂏𓂏 𓂏 ; as, whether simply or in combination, it is the 𓂏 of the syllable 𓂏𓂏𓂏 and of no other; consequently, although the two characters equally express 𓂏 , their employment is very different. Some of Lepsius’ restrictions however appear premature, as the


snake in the word 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to speak,” 𓂏𓂏𓂏 which is used as a medial in the word 𓂏𓂏𓂏 in the place of the hand, and as a final in the word 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to carve.” The only class of characters now remaining is “the determinatives of sound.” Thus 𓂏𓂏𓂏 used as the syllable 𓂏𓂏𓂏 to indicate that it should be pronounced as 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (a vase), which has in Coptic the signification of *construction*; two packets of incense used after the phonetic group 𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to command,” the adjuncts indicating not any idea connected with vases, but the phonetic and syllabic value of the preceding group. Sometimes the phonetic groups were omitted, and they then became abridged forms of syllables, which they should otherwise recal. Having disposed of the general classes of the characters, the next is the copia verborum of the phonetic symbols, excessively rich, but occasionally used in monuments, less carefully executed, in contraction. Thus the full group 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 “wax,” was occasionally written with its initial symbol 𓂏 only; 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to see,” with the 𓂏 only; 𓂏𓂏𓂏 “to glorify,”

with the *E* only. This is a principle so common to the monuments of all nations as scarcely to require any comment. Leaving the phonetic character, and bearing in mind that two-thirds of every text is composed of them, the next class is the ideographic: and if on the one hand the hieroglyphics follow the immutable and simple laws of the languages of sounds, subject to certain modifications, taking root in employing direct representations of physical objects; on the other it assimilates to the Chinese, and presents a like phenomenon, a language arrested in its transition from the primeval pictorial to a sonal type, the difference being, that the Chinese must have been fixed at an earlier period of its formation, the ideographic groups and symbol in the latter language having been reduced to a more compendious form, while in Egyptian they always retained their original shape. The ideographic characters are mixed up in the Egyptian texts without any distinction, and sometimes form composite groups along with others: thus the phonetic group ΣNE to bend along with the leg, express the "bend of the leg" or "knee;" the ☿ I "face," with the phonetic group "to see," expresses "see face," or "mirror." A still more extraordinary phenomenon has been clearly laid down by Champollion. It is natural enough to suppose that in a language employing direct physical representation, many objects should be directly mentioned; and at a very early period of the analysis Dr. Young had pointed out, that in the various instances where kings presented different objects to deities, they were found repeated in the texts, but the Egyptian used both the phonetic symbols and the ideographic form to express every idea not abstract:—for example, after the phonetic groups *riri*, "a hog," *shau*, "a cat," *htor*, "a horse," they actually depicted a hog, cat, horse. Now this is a phenomenon totally incompatible with a mere phonetic language, and shows that the sounds must have been added in the first instance to explain the less obvious symbols used for ideas, and then finally applied generally to the whole body of the language. The most beautiful part of the grammar is undoubtedly that in which we have the explanation of the generic determinatives, which, like those before alluded to, were placed after phonetic groups to indicate the specific idea intended to be represented to the eye and mind. The use of these may be thus accounted for: the written language, like many other of the Semitic branches, used the radical consonants to express different ideas, sometimes analogous, but distinguished in the spoken dialect by the presence of different vocalic inflections: thus ΣT might be the root of ΣOEIT "an olive tree," "oil," or ΣOT "to speak." Now a text generally written without vowels would be liable to much misapprehension, and since the language was pictorial, the easy remedy

was to put after it the representation of that which would generally point out the meaning in a pure language of sounds. An additional word would be required to determine whether, taken by itself, "*olive*" meant "*olive tree*" or "*olive oil*." Now in the hieroglyphics, a snake and hemisphere represent the sound $\Sigma\tau$ the radical elements of ΣOET "*olive tree*" and "*olive oil*;" to dis-

tinguish these two ideas they accordingly wrote  "*olive*

tree,"  "*oil vase*." Reverse the case, and suppose the


language primevally pictorial-ideographic, the word tree and vase get inserted by the constructors into the language, how can they express a particular kind of tree, the sycamore, the doum palm, the olive? had they attempted each kind of direct portraiture, the complexity must have soon become so infinite as to be abandoned in despair. The natural recourse must have been to adjuncts allied with it to give a combined ideographic meaning, or else to symbols representing the sound of the idea intended to be conveyed, since in all languages sound must have preceded writing. The discovery of the employment of the hieroglyphics leaves no doubt as to the means employed; because when thus considered, the various groups placed before an object representing the skin of a beast resolve themselves into the names of animals; before a bird of the goose species, into birds; before a snake, the reptile par excellence, all reptiles; a tree, trees; a flower, all flowers. Circular ingots, after all metallic and semi-mineral bodies; piece of flesh, after all flesh; star, after stars; disk of the sun, after phonetic groups expressive of divisions of time; angle of rocks, after rocks, &c.; undulating lines, after water; vases of flame, after flames; blocks of stone, after varieties of this mineral; abodes, after symbols of abodes; a little bird, after all crimes; the bird, apparently being a kind of finch, after all ideas connected with crimes; a penknife, after all groups relative to writing; man, after all groups connected with the affiliations or offices of mankind. In texts executed with the greatest care, and where the hieroglyphics assumed the actual type of picture, the details of the human being sculptured or painted, the inscriptions suppress the generic determinations, and employ the specific: a far more pictorial, finished, and, it may be added, elegant way of conveying the idea. For example, the phonetic group expressing cat is $\text{W}\Delta\text{O}\tau$ in the most finished inscriptions, accompanied with the image of a seated animal, the specific determinative; in secondary texts, represented by the 

abridged form of a skin its generic; and in some by an inexplicable pleonasm, both determinatives united into the same group. It is on the same principle that the figures of deities, representing

them under all their attributes, are placed in certain texts after their names; while in the inscriptions employed in scenes where the deities or objects themselves are represented, the determinatives were generally suppressed, since the clear exposition of the text did not require it. - Next to the determinative are the ideographic symbols, a numerous and varied class, which however fortunately are determined either by their own representation, or by the contexts of the inscriptions; these symbols should amount, with the specific determinatives, to about four hundred. Besides these are two other kinds of determinatives, viz. those which inclose royal names, as cartouches; and the oval, in which are found the names of conquered cities, and plans of edifices inclosing the names of different religious and national constructions. The *Grammaire Egyptienne* does not in its notices throw any additional light upon the succession of the monarchy or names of the kings, but it furnishes some powerful illustrations upon the external knowledge the Egyptians had of other nations, as Persia, Ludim, Kush or Ethiopia, the Caroi, and the people of Javan or the Greek races, to which we could add several others; and among native towns and edifices the author had discovered the hieroglyphical names of the Memnonium, a palace of Thothmes III., in Thebes; of Amenoph III., at Gournah; and of Rhamses Maiamoun, at Derri in Nubia. To these may be added the abode of Cheops or Cephren, at Memphis, and a palace of Thothmes V. in the centre of Abydos. Among the names of prisoners who swell the conquests of Egyptian monarchs occur those of various tribes of Central Asia and Æthiopia, Mesopotamia, Persia; and in the conquests of Sesonchis or Shishac, Juda Malek or Judæa, and the cities of Bethoron, Mahanaim, and Mageddo,—a valuable confirmation to scripture history. To these may be added others of whose existence Champollion does not seem to have been aware: the Polosto or the Philistines, the fastness of Canana or Canaan, and many of the nations of Caramania, Bactria, and Sogdiana.

Having, however, mastered the general principles of construction, the *Grammaire* analyzes in detail the construction of nouns, pronouns, verbs, numerals, and the whole body of the language, according to the ordinary mode of grammars, and, although this department is exceedingly well done, it exhibits at present nothing like criticism in any of the texts, and in comparing the sacred or ancient language with the texts, the reader has not been made acquainted sufficiently with the great differences of construction visible between the hieroglyphic and the Coptic; in many instances, indeed, the Coptic equivalent sentences beneath the hieroglyphical are neither equivalents of the Coptic nor equivalents of the hieroglyphic mode of expression, a point of no value to those versed in the differences and convinced of the general

truths, but open to attacks of the half-informed of the hieroglyphical discovery. But the great and important differences between the two languages ought to have been made a part of the analysis. To consider these in their true and honest light, it is necessary to premise that the Coptic, like the Hebrew and other Semitic tongues, is a language of prefixes and suffixes, the changes of the original root of the word being extremely few; thus **ⲡⲱⲙⲓ** is "man," **ⲟⲩⲡⲱⲙⲓ** "a man," **ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲓ** "the man," **ⲁⲛⲡⲣⲱⲙⲓ** "of the man." The plural termination is generally **ⲟⲩ** added as an integral part of the word, and the demonstrative article **ⲛⲉ** "the," is infixed to nouns: the article **ⲉⲁⲛ** is also of copious use in the Coptic. Now thus far the ancient language coincides with its successor, with this exception that the article **ⲉⲁⲛ** is not to be found in any text; the article **ⲛⲉ** represented

by the hieroglyphics  is exceedingly rare, and the article **ⲟⲩ** has also vanished. This is such a natural result of an idiographic language that it is only necessary to allude to the Chinese, where the written character, and especially the old concise style, barely expresses its meaning without pronouns, prefixes and suffixes, while in the spoken language the necessity of precision to convey the idea meant introduces a copious infusion of plural prefixes and suffixes, and pronominal forms, no greater difference existing between the hieroglyphic and Coptic than between Confucius and the paraphraser in colloquial language of the Shing yu, or holy edict of the emperor Kanghe. But there is another peculiarity no less striking in the old language, which Champollion has treated rather too cavalierly, the suffixing of the feminine article **ⲧ** "the." In Coptic **ⲧⲉⲙⲓ** is "the woman," but in hieroglyphics **ⲉⲙⲓⲧ** **ⲉⲙⲓⲧⲓ** is its equivalent. **ⲙⲉⲙⲧ** is "the mother" of the old language, **ⲧⲙⲉⲙ** of the Coptic, while the testimony of Plutarch informs us **ⲙⲱⲃ** is the Egyptian word for mother. Nor is this peculiarity restricted to the feminine article; the possessive pronouns, and the suffixes of the cases of verbs, prefixed in Coptic, are suffixed throughout in hieroglyphics: **ⲓⲱⲧ** "a father," is in the hieroglyphics **ⲓⲱⲧⲉ** "his father," **ⲓⲱⲧⲉ** "her father;" in the Coptic **ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧ** **ⲡⲉⲥⲓⲱⲧ**. **ⲉⲓ** **ⲛⲉⲁⲓ** "I have come," in the hieroglyphics is the **ⲛⲉⲁⲓ** **ⲉⲓ** of the Coptic. A change so organic as this is perfectly startling, but it is no less true. Another peculiarity of the Coptic, the suffixing the nominative to the verb with the demonstrative **ⲓⲱⲥ** as **ⲉⲧⲁⲥⲱⲧⲉⲙⲉ** **ⲓⲱⲥ** **ⲡⲟⲩⲣⲟ** **ⲛⲣⲱⲁⲛⲥ** "and when he heard, that is the king Herod," has also disappeared from the hieroglyphic. The suffixes, however, remain in both languages, the employment

of them being to a far greater extent in the one than in the other. The abundant use of $\epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda$ with its compounds has also never been seen in the hieroglyphic, it being an expletive requisite for the spoken but not for the written language, and having been inserted into the spoken dialect with the progress it made in developement between the epoch of the pyramids and the Romans. The same transmutation having been effected that has taken place with regard to the Chinese employed by the Japanese, the precision of the prefixes and suffixes of a language of sounds being added to eke out the laconic ambiguity which will ever envelop pictorial writing. The principle, however, just laid down with regard to the rule of the affixes in the sacred dialect assumes another shape at the time, and in the expressions of certain papyri, written in the historical style, and not following so precisely the stereotyped tone of the religious scenes; the prefixed possessives are there the same as in Coptic, a fact which renders it probable that the tone of these documents followed a colloquy, and were intended to be understood as read; a point doubtful with regard to the rituals, sepulchral monuments and prayers, transcripts of very archaic writings known by heart, perhaps, to the priests, but unintelligible to the mass, and this must have been the reason why the natives themselves commenced with the enchorial. The personal pronouns may be divided into two classes, the detached pronouns which preceded the verb, and generally used in declarative expressions, as "I am the great mother," &c.; and the prefixes and suffixes which were placed after the verb. Most of these were composed of purely phonetical symbols: but there are some peculiarities relative to the personal pronoun of the first person singular suffixed—it was almost always represented ideographically. Phonetically resolved from its combination $\mathbf{N\Delta I}$, it was the Indogermanic monosyllable *i*, the root of $\epsilon\gamma\omega$, ego, ich, I, &c. In the hieroglyphics a man speaking uses the figure of a seated man, a woman of a female, a god of a god, a king of a king, a queen of a queen, a goddess of a goddess, &c. It was, I the man, I the woman, I the god, I the goddess, I the king, I the queen. This is only peculiar to the first person; the second person and the third never use it, and even the first person plural is a pure phonetic. There is one peculiarity, however, that the deities always in the texts use the plural "*we*," when addressing the kings; thus Amounra constantly, whether in his collective capacity of the Theban triad, or adored singly, always responds by the pronoun "*we*," while in applying the possessive he uses the ideographic "*I*," as the beloved son of my race; when present, however, with his wife Maut or Juno, and his son

Chons or Hercules, it may either indicate that the three respond simultaneously, or that the collective response of the triad was uttered by each of the deities in succession. In longer processions of deities each also responds by the pronoun "we." This point is of considerable importance with regard to the analogy it offers to the pronoun we אֲנִי, employed in conjunction with אֱלֹהִים, in the Book of Genesis, since in the Egyptian text the presence of this pronoun implies, although pronounced by one deity, the joint co-operation and power either of his triad or contemplar gods. In the hieroglyphic every verb is immutable, the only change being the suffixes and prefixes employed to express cases, but in the Coptic some variety in the innate constitution of the verb itself is traceable. The verbs in Coptic, like the nouns, are formed by phonetic and determinative symbols, and frequently have an additional determinative—an arm holding a club used to employed agency; a still larger class are formed out of nouns by the prefix C or Ⲫ, employed like its Coptic letter as a preformant of transitive verbs; thus ⲭⲁⲗ "a bier," Ⲫⲭⲁⲗ "to lay out on a bier," ⲙⲟⲛⲩ "a fabricator," Ⲫⲙⲟⲛⲩ "to fabricate." Besides the verb and its affixes, the Egyptian grammar contains the whole detail of the construction of moods and tenses, and the various modes in which the cases of the nouns and pronouns in regimen to the same are governed—interjections, conjunctions, and the employment of prepositions, all of which follow the same form as the Coptic.

Although the concluding part of the Grammar is not so rich in striking examples of hieroglyphical construction, it is not the less ably executed. It comprises the adverbs, prepositions, interjections, and the other subordinate parts of speech. These are of course difficult to give precisely, and Champollion appears to have been guided to their meaning more by the context than their actual similarity with the Coptic. It has already been mentioned that several words of the affixes and prefixes differ in the two, and in the same way a hieroglyphic group ⲭⲡ replaces ⲓⲭⲭⲉ *whilst, after, &c.*: and another reading ⲙⲣⲧⲧⲉ is supposed to mean *during*; ⲙⲣⲭⲧⲱ is employed instead of ⲙⲣⲁⲛⲉⲓ, *for ever*. The significance of these groups is a point for further criticism. Among the examples quoted is one from the statue of a shrine-bearing priest in the Vatican, inscribed with the names of Cambyzes and Darius—"And the majesty of the King Darius ever living commanded me to go into Egypt whilst his majesty was in Assyria;" which may be cited as illustrating the historical interest to be gathered from many Egyptian monuments. The discovery and developement of these groups is well performed; and the

work closes with an additional note or two, inserted by M. Champollion Figeac, from the posthumous papers of Champollion : among others, one containing a collection of slang words (*mots de l'argot*) of the twentieth dynasty. These fall into the class previously mentioned, and are nothing more than unusual phonetic ways of writing ordinary names ; for although a certain immutability pervaded the sacred character, from its earliest appearance with which we are acquainted to its suppression by the triumph of Christianity in Egypt, certain changes of what are called homophones, that is, of symbols the equivalents of each other in sound, were engrafted at the age of the twentieth and subsequent dynasties. In illustration of our assertion, a mouth, a lion or a flower equally represent the letter *R*, but in writing *Ra*, *the Sun*, a mouth was universally adopted for the *R*, and in writing *hir*, *beneath*, the mouth was generally employed. But the period under discussion adopted by caprice the lion for the *R* in *Ra*, and the flower in *hir*. It was a violation of the old uniformity of the language, but whether adopted from caprice or policy is not apparent. It is, however, an important part of the system for the student, who is accustomed to look upon the grouping as unerring ; for, from the Pyramids to the Ptolemies, the name of the god Pthah is written precisely the same, and the variations are so few, that every group presents a pictorial etymology which at once shows its meaning. The *Grammaire Egyptienne* of Champollion contains only the exposition of the hieroglyphical language, the hieratic being treated throughout in a subordinate manner. But there are many points about the hieratic, considered even grammatically, which render it worth treating separately. There is frequently in the hieratic a copiousness of particles, a filling up of forms, and a greater infusion of affixes and prefixes ; and many groups in hieratic are complete, and illustrate the hieroglyphic. The materials in hieratic are not so abundant, but it was extensively used, and the script of a good period, such as the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties, contains no serious difficulty. It gradually loses its caligraphy, and finally blends with the almost illegible demotic. Unfortunately, the Grammar only hints at the demotic, but in such a manner as to leave no doubt that had his life been spared, it would have formed one of the most brilliant portions of his labours. But this portion of the subject not being so dazzling, has been rather neglected by the cultivators of the science : it is evidently not, as Seyffarth and Spon pronounced it, a pure phonetic language, but a tachygraphy of the hieratic. It appeared about the time of Apries.

With the Egyptian Grammar a work is announced, entitled "*The Hieroglyphical Dictionary of Champollion*," which will no

doubt be published in such a form as to be easy of consultation, which it may be doubted if a mere phonetic dictionary would. This work has been recovered, with the stolen MS. of Champollion, which mysteriously disappeared after his death, and were subsequently recovered for the Bibliothèque du Roi by the discovery of M. Lenormant. The two together will form the stepping-stone of future inquirers. But much still remains to be done; all the grammatical forms are not yet identified; no syntax laid down; many groups inexplicable, and numerous passages perfectly unintelligible. But although his premature death has without doubt retarded for half a century the advancement of the study, the numerous adherents, both here and on the continent, will, it is to be hoped, rapidly carry out the remaining principles of interpretation.

The last part to consider, is the language and style of the inscriptions, and these may be classed into the sepulchral, the religious, the historical and the popular style. The sepulchral is chiefly found on the monuments deposited with the dead, and consists of a dedication to certain deities for earthly benefits in the next state, and it is, in fact, a mere abstract from the great ritual, taken from the second part of this stock portion of Egyptian literature. As a specimen of its style, a good index to the religious tone, we give the prayer uttered by the deceased in the third part called—"The Book of going to the Hall of the two Truths, the writing of the name(?) of every person in ruling or judging his crimes, may it be granted to the deceased to see the faces of the gods." The prayer or rubric.

"Oh thou avengers, lords of truth! oh thou avenger, great god, lord of truth! I have come to thee, my lord, make me to see thy benefits; I have spoken, declare to me thy name; tell me also the names of the forty-two gods who are with thee in the hypostyle of truth living and guarding the wicked, feeding off their blood on the day of *clothing the word* before the revealer of good (Osiris), who is the regulator, lord of truth, name thou me, and place me before the other lords of truth. I have come, I have pierced for you my faults; I have done no fraud to mankind; I have not slaughtered cattle (of the gods)—I have not lied in the tribunal of truth—I have not spoken at random—I have not constantly made the chief race to serve ——— I have not cast my name to the bark—I have not sent my name to the navigators of the ——— I have not depraved—I have not allied myself with evil—I have not done what is abominable to the gods—I have not defiled the purity of my superior—I have not starved—I have not made to weep—I have not murdered—I have not gone and smitten privily—I have done no fraud in the face of all mankind—I have not changed the traditions of Egypt—I have not afflicted the other spirits of the gods—I have not preserved the contaminated and impure garments

of the spirits (illuminated gods)—I have not committed adultery—I have not defiled the pure waters of the god of my country—I have not deprived—I have not falsified signets," &c.

Two things will be visible from this translation, which presents few lacunæ, the extent to which the power of translation of texts may be carried, and the peculiar style, approaching in some respects the biblical, in which the religious documents are drawn up. In them of course are many things alluded to rather than directly mentioned; and the forty-two cardinal positive vices or negative virtues of the Egyptian decalogue contain their share of local crimes and misdemeanors. The original of the above text, a stock part of every Egyptian religious papyrus, will be found in the papyrus fac-similed by M. Cadet, and published by M. Humboldt, and subsequently in the *Description de l'Égypte*. M. Salvolini pointed out the religious style; the historical style differs in tenor from the simple and declarative form of the prayers. The religious style is constantly repeated, mummy cases, tablets, hypogees, temples, teem with acts of adoration, "glorifications" to the sun that he may shoot his arrowy rays from his solar hills (where he rises and sets) to the deceased—invocations to the various deities of the Pantheon, and short declarations of the Gods themselves to the deceased. The historical style, like the religious, is didactical, and abounds in a much greater use of similes and metaphors, presenting the usual analogy of Oriental languages with each other. In the commencement of official documents, dated in the regular years of monarchs, the titles of the kings are recapitulated at considerable length and inflated with the verbosity, of which an excellent specimen is afforded by Hermapion's translation of the obelisk mentioned in Ammianus Marcellinus, for these monuments were executed to record the religious praises and titles of the monarchs, whose edifices they adorned, and whose memory they were destined to preserve. Thus on a document at Aboosimbel, or Ipsamboul, the inscription states, "The thirty-third year, the 13th of Epiphi, under the sanctity of the Horus the sun, the mighty loving truth, the lord of panegyries like his father Phtah Totonen, the lord of upper and lower Egypt, regulator of Kemi (Egypt), the chastiser of lands born of the Sun, the victorious lord, manifesting the world, the resplendent hawk, guardian of years, chief of victories, the king lord of the world, the Sun, the guardian of truth, approved of the Sun, the light manifested in the world, born of Phtah Totonen, son of the great mother, Ramses Meiamoun, the giver of life."



In those scenes which represent the march of the army, the language is still more enriched with powerful similes—"His

all an indifferent hieroglyphical one. He bolts too rapidly to conclusions, weighs too little the mass of evidence upon one point, and interprets too fluently from the text immediately before him. Truth in all things yields only to genius at once, talent must submit to work out by degrees the metal from its dross. The extensive fields over which he has trod must however prove his excuse for many of his faults, and he possesses the great merit of having entered upon his task with a heartfelt conviction of the truth of the hieroglyphical discovery. His later labours which keep issuing from the press are dedicated to a consideration and elucidation of the text representing the different documents of historical nature gathered from the temples, obelisks and steles, showing the various nations with whom the Egyptians urged unceasing war—the Ludim of Asia, the Pholosto or Philistines, the Canaana or Canaanites, the Rebou or mountaineers of the Riphæan mountains, the Kushites, Toresesor Troses, Taroaou or Droaou of Æthiopia and the south. His labours nearly close this portion of the subject—but he has still a most important portion to illustrate, viz. the chamber at Karnak, where the conquered towns of Judæa swell the triumphs of Sheshouk I. Let him give a little pains to it and do it well. In the mean time his labours come down to the close of the eighteenth dynasty, the founders and embellishers of Diospolis, “decorating it” in their own language “with obelisks like sun rays.” This portion of the subject brings us on the arena of the most ancient monuments of Asia, the originals from which Manetho and the priests deduced their successions.

In the mean time M. Nestor L'Hôte has been traversing the Delta and Lower Egypt, and also part of Upper Egypt, as Thebes, &c. in chase of inedited Egyptian inscriptions, paying a visit to the sun-worshippers of Alabastron. His friend and reviewer, M. Letronne, in the *Journal des Savans*, Jan. 1841, passes a high eulogy on the honesty of his narrative and designs. In the most favourable view, M. Nestor L'Hôte's Egyptian knowledge is at best that of a *demi-quatre-heure*; his mistakes are the more grave since they occasion a man who can draw respectably hieroglyphics to direct the application of his time to the wrong end. In proof of our assertion we shall cite examples of the inaccuracy of M. L'Hôte. In the first place he gives us what he asserts to be the veritable likeness of the Pharaoh Apapapus, the shepherd-king. It is the portrait of a man preceded by the cartouche reading, *Pipi* or *Apap* and the word *onkh*, the whole forming the name of an individual, *Apaponkh*; persons, especially functionaries during the seventeenth and earlier dynasties, taking the name of the monarch and some adjunct in order

to give it their children. Thus, instead of Apappus, we have at best a functionary living probably under his successor. There is no uraeus either upon the forehead, the well known requisite of sovereignty.

Mistaking the same will-of-the-wisp for his guiding-star in a person named Osortasen-Onkh, he recognizes the king Osortasen himself, and in his relations the father, mother, brothers, &c. of the king himself; a position which a very slight reflection would have told him was perfectly untenable, since the *King Osortasen* looks exactly like a private individual. The same spirit has led him to coincide with the error of Dr. Leemans, who reads directly a cartouche *Iten bashn*, and queries it *Apachnan*, which should in reality be rendered *ⲟⲩⲃⲁⲩⲉⲛ ⲉⲛ ⲓⲧⲏⲛ* Oubasheniten, "the light or splendour of the disk," in its full form; *Remeren* for *Merenre*, and a host of similar philological errors. His most valuable drawings are of the kings at Alabastron, on whom the rays of the sun descend, terminating in human hands. One most interesting drawing represents the priests of the disk, prostrating themselves to the earth, while a single ray from the essence of light descends, terminating in a human hand, upon their shorn scalps. That these monarchs were not contemporaneous with the sixteenth and seventeenth dynasty, there is abundant evidence to show from the names and titles of a certain Amosis or Aahmos given by M. L'Hôte himself. This functionary was bearer of the feather standard at the royal right hand, superintendent of the abode of *the splendour of the disk* (Oubasheniten) in its duration. His ostrich feather sceptre is slung behind exactly like Harembhai on his tomb at the Museum, and this latter personage must have lived subsequent to Horus of the eighteenth dynasty. The title of standard-bearer is also totally unknown under the monarchs of the seventeenth line, and it was introduced by the progression of conquest. The "splendour of the disk," as he is called, is consequently later than the seventeenth, and the name of the functionary Oohmos or Amosis, although not positive proof, is still a collateral evidence that the functionary must have lived about or subsequent to the rule of Amosis of the seventeenth dynasty. "The splendour of the disk," or *soi-disant* Apachnan of Leemans, may therefore be quietly left at least in the eighteenth or subsequent dynasties, while Rosellini has located him above the seventeenth, and if he must move he should descend in the chronology. Considering this race in their solar relation, their sun worship, and the composition of their names, some peculiar points about their physiognomy and their dress, it is not improbable that they might be Persians. The whole style of these sculptures, as given in the

excellent drawing of Bonomi, in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's late work, so strongly resembles that of the twenty-sixth or Bubastite dynasty, that they may, in spite of their appearance at Karnak, be referred, agreeably to the opinion expressed by Colonel Vyse to the Persian era; and, judging from the embonpoint visible in the figures as given in the drawings, we should say that it *might* be that dynasty immediately preceding the Macedonian conquest of Egypt. Those, however, who are conversant with the style of execution of Egyptian monuments assign them to an early period. Equally unhappy has been the philological explanation of the third prince of Ramses III. by M. L'Hote—SEMENEPTAH, as he calls him. Now the Semenephtah is the ordinary title of that period, Sotem em Phtah, "high-priest of the god Phtah" of Champollion, or "auditor of Phtah" of Rosellini; the true name of the prince being the subsequent characters Shaaemkemi, the pronunciation of the last group being uncertain, although it is well known what it represents, viz. Egypt. As it is on this error that M. L'Hote builds part of his theory that he subsequently became the Pharaoh Menephtah II. it is the more important to set it right. There is also observable in the work a considerable share of carelessness with regard to two similar characters which differ on the monuments very distinctly, the one representing , the other employed as , and always well defined as *a cord with a loop at both ends*. We may concede, however, something to the intractability of the woodcutter, but M. L'Hote draws very well, and should therefore be more careful; and as we observe a certain degree of honest enthusiasm in him, our observations are directed to produce more cautious inductions and more accurate drawings; for let him remember, that a cool judgment is requisite in a science which can only progress by means of extended familiarity with monuments, and careful collation with the Coptic. He has, we learn, lately returned from Egypt, and has published, in the *Journal des Savans* for January, a new succession from the tombs in the neighbourhood of the pyramids, but as no such successions are worth a rush to lean on without the texts in which they are found, the *provisional* fifth dynasty may await the publication of the Hypogée in which they have been discovered. He has also busily taken impressions in paper, wet paper it is to be inferred, a very reckless proceeding with the more delicate calcareous monuments of Egypt. But the hand of man is rapidly annihilating what the course of time has spared; and, after all, the best mode of preserving the remains of this nation is by publishing accurate copies, and not sawing away, as Champollion did, the choicest portions of inscriptions and hypogées to enrich

the walls of the Louvre at the cost of Egypt's destruction. It is vain to preach to the Arabs to-day, and mutilate the tombs to-morrow!

A great portion of the remainder of M. L'Hôte's work consists in the verification of what has been previously done, and the account of different hypogæes which he has visited, with the various drawings which are destined for publication in their local order in the *Monumens de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, now in the course of appearance. Besides the work of L'Hôte the second livraison of the *Monumens Égyptiens du Musée des Pays Bas* has appeared, whose first number was previously mentioned. It is not of the importance of the first, and consists of the fac-simile of a religious papyrus or ritual drawn up at a late period, apparently about the Roman era, comprising the commencing chapters of the first portion illustrating the ceremonies consequent on the embalment and the conducting the mummy of the deceased to its sepulchre. A *Catalogue Raisonné* of the Leyden collection, very respectably executed, has appeared from the same author, but the precision of a catalogue affords little scope for the advancement of much that is new, even should the author be prepared with it. Even the *Catalogue Raisonné* of Passalacqua, one of the best of the kind, is rather dull and dry for the general reader. No further criticism need be passed on it than that it is at present the fullest catalogue of any Egyptian collection extant, since that of the *Musée du Louvre*, formerly Charles X., by Champollion, is out of print, and has not been reprinted; that of Berlin is the old sale catalogue of Passalacqua; the magnificent collection of Turin waits till the directors of the Museum are acquainted with the subject; and that of the British Museum, though large compared with the bulk of the *Synopsis*, requires considerable expansion to make it rival the Leyden catalogue.

The knowledge and taste for hieroglyphical literature and Egyptian customs appear to have been transplanted from France to Britain. M. L'Hôte, under the auspices of the ministers of public instruction, has been sent twice to Egypt, (in this country, we regret to say, the government is supposed to direct its attention to higher matters, and consequently suffers literature to take care of itself,) and a Prussian expedition, under the auspices of the King of Prussia and M. Humboldt, starts in the autumn, provided with draughtsmen for three years. Great Britain trusts to the feeble voluntary system of a few amateurs or Indian passengers to effect what they can in this quarter. But the popular taste which has set in inclines strongly towards Egyptian antiquities and literature, of which we have a test in the work of Sir

Gardner Wilkinson upon the manners and customs of the Egyptians, of which a second part has recently met with a highly favourable reception. It is a learned work, especially with respect to the information afforded us by the Greeks upon Egypt, and embodies a vast mass of information on a variety of branches; and although there are some details upon which we should differ considerably with the accomplished traveller, yet as a whole it is well and carefully prepared, and presents a great deal of novel matter; for example, the Bird, Ben or Bennou, in the Tamarisk of Howara, with an inscription stating it to be "the soul of Osiris," with the chest or closet of the god lying before it, is a very important addition to our knowledge of their mythology, while the elaborately drawn up chapters on the husbandry and agriculture of the Egyptians offer a very striking picture of the ancient cultivation of the soil. There is one reading with regard to an amulet of the Gnostic period, where we entertain rather a different view of the explanation to that of the learned author. It represents on one side a winged disk snake, a hawk-headed winged deity, and a frog-headed female deity seated upon a throne, facing the hawk-headed deity; on the reverse are an hexameter and pentameter verse, reading—







Εἰς Βαῖτ, εἰς Ἀθωρ, μὶὰ τῶν Βία, εἰς δὲ Ἀκωρ—
Χαῖρε πάτερ κόσμου—χαῖρε τρίμορφε θεός.

In this inscription we regard εἰς as declined poetice from the verb εἶμι, in the sense of "thou art:" "Thou art Bait, thou art Athor, one of the Bia, and thou art Hakori—Hail father of the world—Hail trimorpheus god!" In that case the symbols gnostically represented the three forms of the divinity considered as a triad, the frog-headed female deity being considered as Hathor, and the hawk-headed god as Hakori. Hathor is a female deity, and as the inscription is otherwise in good Greek, μὶα is in good apposition, and could not be found allied with εἰς. Hakori, analogous to the name Acoris of an early Egyptian monarch, may possibly have been derived from a deity of a late epoch, Hak-Hor, a form of Horus.

It would require considerable space to offer an analysis of the opinions relative to the Pantheon set forth by Sir Gardner with his usual ability and judgment, yet there are some points on which we could desire a more strict adherence to the monumental information considered as distinct from the Greeks; the later writers of Paganism, platonizing over Pantheism, endeavouring to veil the expiring agonies of the national religion with an air of philosophy and system, which, applicable no doubt in an amphibolic sense to the religion, never embodied its original ideas, or its doctrine as explained by the priests themselves.

Our information is, of course, traditionally deficient, but from what does remain, we are disposed to consider the early religion of the Egyptians a system of local worship. How, for example, can we otherwise explain the fact that Phtah, the eponymous protector of Memphis, is rarely, if ever, found at Abydos or Thebes—or Amounra at Memphis and Abydos, where Osiris is the main divinity, and that the worship of the “disk of the sun” at Alabastron and Psinaula is rare at Thebes, and never found at Memphis—that no individual is found qualified Osirian after death until the nineteenth dynasty, and that no one divinity, except this last god, attained to any thing like universal worship? Chnouphis, for example, was the local god of Elephantina, and even when his names and titles are found at spots far and wide from his seat of worship, he is always qualified “lord of Eléphantina.” The labours of Champollion, in his “Lettres écrites de l’Egypte,” clearly proved that the deities in their local worship were as unaltered as the language, the old temples erected to them by the early Pharaohs having been repaired under the Romans, no other worship being substituted for the old local one.

Again, there is one supposition put forth, which, although excessively ingenious, is not justified by the inscriptions; it is this—that the deity Chnouphis indicates the $\chi\nu\epsilon\phi$, or breath, spirit moving upon the face of the waters. That Chnouph indicates primordial water, we are aware, because it is over the “waters,” “the pure waters,” that he always presides; and that he is a creative power, we equally perceive from those inscriptions in which he is stated “to fabricate upon his wheel the divine limbs of Osiris,” and to be “the builder of all mankind:” but Noub or Noum, for his name is written indifferently, does not in the hieroglyphics bear any analogy with breath,—the one being

written  and the other ³   (the symbol marked 3 representing the spread sail catching the air, and there beautifully employed as its determinative) while  is constantly in the inscriptions accompanied by the three streams of water forming the phonetic equivalent  analogous to the Coptic word $\pi\omicron\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota$ “the abyss” of the primordial waters out of whose elements the world was formed, and the same deity is repeatedly textually called  “substance, matter.” These are not put forth as blemishes of Sir Gardner’s work, who is perfectly justified by the later Greek authorities, but as philological proofs that the Greeks are frail authorities, especially the later sophists, on any or every question of Egyptian mythology. There is another

deity in the Pantheon who has excited a good deal of attention, but who has never as yet received any satisfactory explanation either as to his attributes or name. His form replaces in the cartouche of Osirei Menephtah II. that of the god Osiris, and has been in the majority of instances most carefully chiselled out, and that evidently of old; the name has been supposed to be Seth, which is one of Typhon's appellations; another of his names is identical with that of the town of Ombos; a third, which is to be found in the *Excerpta Hieroglyphica* of Burton, gives his appellation as identical with that of the negroes in the tomb of Menephtah I. at Thebes. Nahsi at this place appears to be the name of the black race of Cush or Æthiopia, as distinguished from the copper-coloured races to the south of Egypt. The bird which is represented in the commencement of the word is coloured completely *black*, and is the restricted initial phonetic \aleph of this group only, to which it otherwise serves as a determinative, and its head forms that of the deity in question. On a papyrus in the British Museum (Salt, No. 825) this very deity Nahsi is represented bound with his hands behind his back to an Asiatic prisoner, just as the actual negro is drawn in other monuments.

From this it must be inferred that this god represents one of the forms of Typhon, considered as the personification of the impious race of Cush or Æthiopia, whose name and attribute and inflictions he bears. There are also some other considerations upon the names and attributes of deities which throw light upon the notions entertained by the Egyptians. For example, attached to a representation of Netpe pouring a libation, and emerging from a sycamore tree, a subject repeated in the great funereal ritual, in the chapter entitled "The drinking the living waters in Noutehir," occurs in Sir J. Gardner's plate the following text: "Netpe, the great resplendence, with her name in the sycamore, we consecrate to thee these libations; refresh thy heart with it, with these waters manifested" * * * the rest being deficient. The soul of the deceased eagerly catches one of the streams of living water. Thus the god called Khem by Wilkinson, and Harsaphes by Champollion, is frequently in the texts called Har-nasht, "the victorious Horus," which accounts for the constant presence of this deity in the triumphal processions of the kings. It is in this capacity that the statue of this deity is borne along in the procession of Rameses Meiamoun, representing, according to Sir J. Gardner, the ceremonies performed at the coronation of a king, from the sculptures of Rameses III. at Medenet Haboo; for the deity there, although he appears to be

worshipped in the capacity of lord of the soil, is notwithstanding in his attributes, the lord of victory; and in the speech addressed by the god (part E.) the deity states, "We give you all power and all victory." The white bull in this sculpture is probably the living emblem of Har-nasht, mystically termed the husband of his mother—considered as Amoun, the father of the very triad of which, as Harnasht, he was the son; and since the whole of the inscriptions run in his praise, we are disposed to consider that it is intended to show what is termed on the earlier monuments "The panegyry of the manifestation of Harsaphes." Among other points connected with this interesting plate are the declarations uttered before the deity, and the bearing of the usual offerings and standards by the "Negroes of Pount" or "Libya," (Part G. H.), connecting the ceremony with the worship of Ammon in his oracle at the oasis in the desert and at Meroë; for it is to be observed that the Libyans here appear not as captives, but equally participating in the rights along with the sons and brethren of the king.

In bringing his labours to a conclusion, the author of necessity touches on the funereal ceremonies, and among other beautiful illustrations of this portion is a magnificent plate, printed in colours, representing the funereal ceremonies performed upon the decease of Nofreophth, a scribe of Ammon. It conveys a beautiful picture of the decorations of the tombs, and a powerfully graphic illustration of the expenses contingent upon the funeral of persons of rank under the eighteenth dynasty.

We now have to touch upon another work connected with the study of Egyptian antiquities, the *Inscription Grecque de Rosette*, by M. Letronne, who has put forth a new edition of the Greek text of the Rosetta stone, based on criticisms of the labours of Porson, Heyne, Druman, Amalhon, and others; M. Lenormant's work on the same subject of last year being also comprised in this, and the translation and collation made with the hieroglyphical and enchorial texts by M. Champollion being used throughout to confirm the restorations proposed by M. Letronne. M. Champollion's labours, to whose memory the work is dedicated, thus receive the additional sanction of Letronne, and it may be mentioned, en passant, that M. Dujardin, who attacked very fiercely Champollion's discovery, died in the conviction of the grand truths laid down by the French hierologist. The commencement of the text is not much mutilated, but in the 27th line Letronne proposes ἐνοχλήσαντας in the place of the ἐπιφθέραντας of Amalhon, the ἐπιθρέξαντας of Heyne, the ἐκπέρσαντας and ἐπιπιέσαντας of Lenormant, and the ἐρημώσαντας of Porson. Although his text is

not fortified here by the hieroglyphical part, his reading certainly contests the palm with that of Porson. In another restoration, line 30, where he reads ἀποτεταγμένης against the λελειμμένης of Heyne or Porson, he supports himself on the translation of the demotic portion. It runs, as he says, according to Champollion, “The king has *ordained* concerning the droits of an artaba per acre from lands belonging to the gods, &c. which have been remitted.”—p. 25, l. xxx. Here then the demotic confirms the reading of Letronne. But the Rosetta stone has been so often made the subject of criticism, that it is quite unnecessary to repeat here the vexatæ quæstiones of its text; and M. Letronne, coming last into the arena, is of course enabled by the assistance of the Greek papyri, a newly opened branch of Greek literature, and aided by the dim light of demotic revelation, to overthrow his predecessors and antagonists.

M. Letronne, not being a hieroglyphical scholar, avowedly, is not open to the same criticism that has been shown to M. L'Hôte, his protégé; but we shall suggest respectfully for his consideration the following light thrown on some of his critical animadversions on the Pierre de Rosette. In speaking of the ψχέντ, a peculiar kind of crown composed of two separate portions,—the “red crown” and the “white crown,”—M. Letronne imagines that it answers to the κυνέη, out of which Psammetichus poured his libation (Herod. ii. s. 142); but the Egyptian helmet is the crown called *tosh*, and is always on the head of the king when helmed in the military scenes, while its peculiar shape bears much greater analogy to the term κυνέη, as used by Herodotus; for example, the κυνέη Κορινθιάκη, which, thrown upon the back of the head, with its visor up, exactly resembles the tosh; the κυνέη, too, of Psammetichus, was of brass, and we may doubt if the pschent can be shown to have been of this material. Another illustration may be given relative to the γενεθλια of the king mentioned in the Greek: he observes, that the day of celebration being the actual birthday, no conclusion can be arrived at relative to any astronomical circumstance connected either with this festival, or that of the coronation on the 17th of Mecheir. Champollion has proved that the hieroglyphical text here substitutes the month of Paophi for that of Mecheir in the Greek, four months sooner, evidently erroneously, since the compliment would have breathed rather cold, and the demotic reads with the Greek Mecheir. The point of the γενεθλια being a fixed or a moveable feast cannot yet be considered as determined; every day in the Egyptian calendar was either a fast or a festival, and two 30ths of months, those of Epiphi and Mecheir, were, from

the evidence of Plutarch on the one hand, "the celebration of the birthday of the eyes of Horus (symbolic eyes)," and from the ritual on the other, "the day of clothing the symbolic eye in Poni (eye of Horus), on the 30th of Mecheir, that I may behold the filling of the eye in Poni, in the presence of the god of that country." We quote from the part of the ritual entitled, "The Book of going to the Hall of the Two Truths."

Of the two festivals, however, the coronation should be rather expected to be found fixed; the γενέθλια, the actual birthday, variable since the Egyptians paid particular attention to nativities; and a Græco-Egyptian one has been found cast in Greek. Letronne also considers that the restoration of Porson, to whom he generally inclines, is here undoubted; in fact, that the demotic, according to Champollion, states "each in its month" to be dated from the first of Thoth, and the νεομήνια, which Letronne has restored to its right sense, the first of Thoth, was apparently the commencement of the Egyptian year, upon which, following the authority of the earlier monuments, a festival of Thoth was held, as during the "panegyry of Thoth at the commencement of the year," and otherwise in the completion of the year, in Thoth the commencement of the year.

As from time immemorial the public documents were dated by regnal years, the year was probably calculated from the coronation, whether from accident or design; the celebration of the festival was made to tally with the course of the year, and recal the identity of the king and the sun. However, that the royal birthday was a moveable feast, and calculated from the actual event, is certain, from the historical stele published by Rosellini and Leemans, by which the regnal years are calculated for the life of an individual in such a manner as would not coincide with the present date.

Before taking our leave entirely of the question, we have a new reading to propose with regard to the hieroglyphical version of the inscription: the three writings being distinctly mentioned as "the writing of the divine words (hieroglyphics)," "the writing of the books (or epistolographic of Clemens)," "the enchorial," and "the writing of the Ionians," the Greek. With this last part of the inscription, the enchorial text bears a much greater analogy than the hieroglyphic with the Greek version. A point upon which M. Letronne constantly insists is the priority of the Greek version. The testimony of Letronne to the truth of the discovery of the manner of reading the sacred character may be placed on the same shelf with the declaration of Niebuhr, and the slow but sure progress of truth is insensibly winning its way

with an irresistible power, which nothing can daunt or destroy. In this country the current of popular opinion is rapidly verging toward the ocean of Egyptian lore, and among those works which are more particularly calculated to afford a lucid explanation of Egyptian philology directed to all capacities, we may notice "The Antiquities of Egypt" put forth by a religious society, to elucidate more especially the connection of the Jews and their bondmasters, since the connection alluded to, rather than distinctly mentioned, in the Old Testament, must, previous to the desolation of the arms of Shishak, have always been politically strong; — the one in their flank marches upon central Asia, or Syria, encountering the Philistines or Phœnicians, and assisting indirectly in maintaining the independence of Judah; while the other, from similar institutions, many of them equally influencing the habits and tastes of the two races, looking with a favourable eye to their old masters, now new allies, and reposing in the shadow of the riches and influence of Egypt. It is pleasing to reflect that, in this country, where a fungous and unhealthy state of archæological research into the obscure too frequently finds favour, there is light as well as darkness, and that the morbid sense is on the decrease, which discovers a Hebrew in every tomb, and Pharaoh's signet in every ring. When the labours of Rosellini are completed, the circle of the monumental history of Egypt is finished; the eyes of Europe must then be cast on those barbarian efforts which convert the records of art and antiquity into quarries, and destroy what they cannot equal. Day after day plunder and mutilation are rooting up all that remains. Another century, and what Egypt was, will be a tale. Woe to Egypt! "The impure foreigner" whom she bound to her chariots, trod under her sandals, and forced to excavate the temples of her gods, recklessly mocks and defaces the palaces of her kings and the tombs of her dead.

ART. II.—*Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne*, par Barante. 13 vols. 8vo. Paris. 1824—1826.

THE ancient state of Burgundy has many claims upon our attention. It comprised the fairest part of France—it was the earliest civilized—it was the first division of Gaul which was erected into a kingdom—and of all the tribes of barbarians who inundated the south of Europe, and conquered wherever they came, the Burgundians are amid the few who have left their name to the territory which they first possessed, while the memory of other and more powerful tribes have passed away as though they had never been.

The original place from which the Burgundians came, and their race, have been matters of great dispute with historians and geographers. “Germanorum genera quinque: Vindili, quorum pars Burgundiones, Varini, Carini, Guttones.”—*Plin. Nat. Hist.* lib. iv. § 28. “Par lesquels mots,” says Paradin, in the first page of his *Annales de Bourgogne*, “l’on peut assez conjecturer la noblesse et antiquité de cette nation, laquelle est mise au premier rang des cinq premiers races de l’antique et noble Germanie; chose que monstre assez ce que n’est un nom nouvellement forgé et introduit en Gaule.* Agathias writes that they were a people of Asia. “Hunni quondam circa lacum Mæotidem loca incoluere in arcturum potius versi, ut barbarorum cæteræ nationes, quæ quod infra Imaum montem Asiam insident, hi omnes et Scythæ et Hunni vocitabantur: seorsum tamen et per generationes. Nam partim Cotriguri appellantur, partim Ultizuri, partim Burgundi, partim alias utcunque patrium illis est gentibus, et consuetum nominari.” After mentioning the temporary possession which some of these nations had of the territories they seized upon, their subsequent final overthrow, and even the entire perishing of their names, he adds, “sed Ultizuri, Burgundique ad Leonis usque tempora Romanorum imperatoris celebres extitere.” It is probable that a body of Burgundians, tempted by the expectation of plunder, or influenced by the renown of his name, might have served under Attila, and thus have caused the error of Agathias. Valesius imagines that the Burgundi and Burgundiones were different people. This, however, is totally improbable. Jerome and Orosius call the same nation Burgundiones to which Marcellinus gives the appellation of Burgundi.† Malte Brun assigns to them a Gothic origin, and says all that remains of the

* Tacitus, Germ. c. 2, after mentioning the Marsi and Vandalii, says, “ea vera et antiqua nomina;” in contradistinction to the word Germania, which was “vocabulum recens et nuper additum.”

† Mascou, vol. i. p. 328, n. 1, Lediard’s translation.

Burgundian language indicates that they spoke a Gothic dialect. It is to be wished that Malte Brun had told us where these traces of their language are to be found. It is singular that the Vandal race, once so fearfully celebrated in the annals of mankind, has so utterly perished from the face of the earth, that we are not aware that any vestiges of their language can be traced, so as to throw any light on the disputed question of their origin.*

All these surmises, however, are in direct opposition to the plain and decisive authority of Pliny, as quoted above. His opinion deserves great weight. He composed the history of Drusus, who, in conjunction with Tiberius, conquered these very Burgundians: besides, he himself served in Germany about sixty years after the death of Drusus. Mascou, whose *History of the Ancient Germans* is a work of very great research, confirms the declaration of Pliny. He says, "the accounts we meet with of their manners, which entirely agree with those of the ancient German nations, sufficiently prove this; as well as the propriety of their laws, and the traces of their language which are transmitted to us, as well as the names of those princes as here and there in their laws." Lasius, a doctor of medicine and professor of belles lettres at Vienne, tells us, "*la langue des Bourguignons étoit dans son origine le haut Allemand, et les noms des premiers rois qu'a eu ce peuple, designoient plutôt leur caractère que leur origine: Gondioc, vouloit dire champ fertile, ou champ d'or; Gondebaud, messenger d'or; Chilperic, bon seigneur; Gondemar, seigneur favorable, ou puissant.*"†

That the Vandals and Goths might originally have been one great nation is far from improbable. They were neighbours, and the dominions of both were no doubt vaguely defined. The former, situated more to the west, were spread about the banks of the Oder, and the sea coast of Pomerania and Mecklenburgh; whereas the latter had established themselves in a more eastern part towards the mouths of the Vistula, and where the cities of Thörn, Elbing, Königsberg and Dantzic were afterwards founded. The distinctions among the Vandals were strongly marked by the independent names of Heruli, Burgundians, &c. The Goths were subdivided into Ostrogoths, Visigoths, and Gepidæ. Gibbon's remark on the names given to ancient tribes is well worth remembrance.

"The Vandals and the Goths equally belonged to the great division of the Suevi, but the two tribes were very different. Those who have treated on this part of history appear to me to have neglected to remark that the ancients almost always gave the name of the dominant and con-

* Gibbon.

† *Essai sur l'Histoire des premiers Rois de Bourgogne*, Preface, p. x. Dijon, 1770.

quering people to all the weaker and conquered races. So Pliny calls Vindili, Vandals, all the people of the north-east of Europe, because at that epoch the Vandals were doubtless the conquering tribe. Cæsar, on the contrary, ranges under the name of Suevi many of the tribes whom Pliny reckons as Vandals, because the Suevi, properly so called, were then the most powerful tribe in Germany. When the Goths, become in their turn conquerors, had subjugated the nations whom they had encountered on their way, these nations lost their name with their liberty, and became of Gothic origin. The Vandals themselves were then considered as Goths; the Heruli, Gepidæ, &c. suffered the same fate. A common origin was thus attributed to tribes who had only been united by the conquests of some dominant nation, and this confusion has given rise to a number of historical errors."

The first notice which we have of the Burgundians is in the time of Augustus, when Drusus and Tiberius repulsed them in their endeavours to advance, and disposed of those whom they had conquered and taken prisoners in different and distant stations along the banks of the Danube. From the towers of defence which they erected they derived their name, "*atque ita etiam nomen ex opera præsumpsisse, quia crebra per limitem habitacula constituta Burgos vulgo vocant.*"*

About A. D. 248, Festida, king of the Gepidæ, attacked and defeated a part of the nation which had opposed his progress. Elated at having conquered a people who bore so high a reputation for valour, he turned his arms against some descendants of the Goths, by whom he was in turn defeated.

The Burgundians, continuing to increase in numbers and excited by the desire of booty, ventured about A. D. 277 to attack and lay waste part of the Roman province. They were quickly routed by Probus, and by the restitution of their plunder purchased peace and permission to retire unmolested to their former settlements. In their retreat they disregarded the conditions which they had made, and began again the work of plunder. Enraged at this, Probus again attacked them, slew great numbers, and took many prisoners, whom he sent into Britain:† the rest betook themselves without further delay to their forests.

In the time of Maximian they allied themselves with the Alemanni and invaded Gaul. Their great numbers proved fatal to themselves. With little or no preparation, they set forth like a band of plunderers, expecting to receive support from the country they purposed to conquer. Famine soon attacked them; infectious diseases followed; thousands perished miserably; the Roman

* Orosius, lib. vii. c. 32.

† Camden thinks that Vandelsburg, near Cambridge, may have taken its name from his colony.—Tom. i. p. 137.

sword was not needed, and those who survived sickness and starvation retreated as fast as circumstances would allow. For nearly a century we know little of them except their continual quarrels with the Alemanni. The great subject of dispute was some salt-pits, or, as Gibbon supposes, the possession of the river Sala, which produced salt.* After many battles, fought with various success, though generally, from superiority of numbers, in favour of the Burgundians, a division of territory was agreed upon between them. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that the emperor Julian pitched his camp at the place where the boundary stones of the Burgundians and Alemanni were situated. About the year 371 the emperor Valentinian was busied in building forts upon the Rhine as a barrier against the Alemanni, who were becoming formidable to the empire. The Burgundians also began to excite alarm from their increasing numbers and military fame. The wily emperor thought, by exciting the one against the other, he might materially weaken if not destroy both. He therefore sent messengers to the Burgundians, with letters inviting them to join him in an expedition against their common enemy, the Alemanni. In these letters, which were publicly read in the assembly of the chiefs of the nation, great promises of plunder were held forth. The Alemanni were to be attacked both by the emperor and by the Burgundians, and thus their destruction was to be certain. They were flattered by being spoken of as originally descended from the Romans†—a tradition derived from the circumstance that a part of their nation had been incorporated with some Roman soldiers who were left to garrison the fortresses of Drusus on the Danube. The Burgundians were persuaded, and readily promised their aid. An army of eighty thousand soon made their appearance on the banks of the Rhine. The Alemanni becoming alarmed, quickly dispersed. The Romans too, fearing the alliance would prove injurious to themselves, and not liking the number of their allies, amused them with excuses and delays till they were compelled to retire. Enraged at the apparent want of faith on the part of the Romans, or probably tempted by the appearance of a richer and more abundant country, and pleased at the newness and flavour of the fruits which they had met with in their route, they began to be dissatisfied with their present settlements. They were driven onward too by the Goths in their rear, who had defeated them and dispossessed them of a part of the territory which they had been accustomed to consider as their own. All

* “*Salinarum finiumque causa Alemanni sæpe jurgabant.*—*Tac. Ann.* 28, 5. At Salins, in Jura, are several caverns remarkable for their salt-pits.

† “*Jam inde temporibus priscis sobolem se esse Romanam Burgundii sciunt,*”—*Orosius, lib. vii. c. 32.*

these things led them to contemplate a migration of the whole tribe. Circumstances favoured them. The Roman empire had become greatly enfeebled, either through want of energy in those who held the sceptre, or through their unbounded and degrading licentiousness. The removal of the seat of power to the east had weakened the west. The Roman troops, composed of different nations, had neither the discipline nor the high patriotic feeling which had kindled and kept alive the glory of their ancestors. Everything, too, was venal. The governors of the provinces were more intent upon their own peculiar aggrandizement, than they were to increase, or even uphold, the power of the emperor. Their main object was to render themselves independent, and therefore they laboured to supplant their masters. The huge vessel seemed ready to fall to pieces, and each one was anxious to seize a portion of the wreck.

Not only did the Burgundians contemplate a movement, but the Suevi and other branches of the Gothic nation followed their example, so that the period from the latter end of the fourth century to the beginning of the fifth is not unfrequently called in history "the universal transmigration of a swarm of nations." The whole of Germany was changed, and names which had for their time been famous were mentioned no more.

An event of so much importance as a change in the settlement of the whole race, demanded that their plans should be well formed, and their preparations carefully made, before beginning the march. The youth looked forward with delight to the possession of a country which had been represented to them as superior in every respect to that which they then inhabited. A warmer sky, a richer soil, more delicious fruits, the juice of the grape, which they had hitherto known only by report, joined with the love of novelty, which alone possesses innumerable charms for the young, made them eager that the expedition should commence. The chiefs and counsellors of the nation, taught by past experience that the rule of many would be fatal to the welfare of the whole, and desirous also that the separate ambition of each should be controlled, and that all should be under the guidance of one, proposed that a leader should be elected to have the entire conduct of the march. Hitherto the Burgundians, like all rude nations, had scarcely anything that deserved the name of a settled government. The sovereign authority seems to have been vested in the chief of the priests, who had the title of *Sinistus*. Superstition caused a cheerful obedience to be paid to one who was believed to hold intercourse with the gods, and to be the interpreter of their will to men. The different divisions of the nation elected, as governors of the separate districts, men whose valour

and general conduct claimed the respect of all; they were called Hendini, and from these the leader of the expedition was chosen. The name of the chief is not known, though it is generally supposed that the choice fell on Gundicarius, from whom one of the early kings was descended. All necessary preparations having been made, they marched by the side of the Rhine, seeking for a favourable passage. Different portions of the nation appear to have crossed the river at different places; but the main body, under the leader, continued their journey till they reached that bend of the river near which the present cities of Basle and Hunningen are situated. No opposition was made either to their passage or their settlement.

The policy of Stilicho appears to have led him to suppose that his own power would be strengthened in proportion as the Roman power in the provinces was diminished. This place of crossing seems the most probable, because we know that the first settlement of the Burgundians was in the south of Alsatia, and Switzerland as far as Geneva. The intercourse they had with the people with whom they peaceably united themselves, or whom they conquered, advanced them in the arts of civilized life. Their dress, which had hitherto been formed of the skins of animals, gave place to one made of a coarse cloth. Their defensive weapons, composed of osiers and leather, were replaced by others formed of metal, roughly worked indeed, but still far superior to those which they had formerly used. In the course of time a more settled form of government seems to have been gradually adopted. The rival Hendini, after the passage of the Rhine, no longer acknowledged the authority of him who had been chosen to conduct the expedition, but were individually striving to acquire the best lands and the largest extent of territory. These contending rivals not only weakened the general body by their several factions, but also rendered them more exposed to the dangerous attacks of those whom they had dispossessed, but had not entirely conquered. In order therefore to remedy this threatened evil, they allowed their mutual interest to outweigh their jealousies, and determined upon electing a king. Of the first three who obtained this honour, Gibica, Godomar, and Gislar, we know nothing but their names, which are incidentally mentioned in one of the laws of Gondebald: "Si quos apud regię memorię auctores nostros, Gibicam, Godomarum, Gislarum, Gundaharium patrem quoque nostrum et patruos."—Leg. 3, *De Libertate Servorum*. The first who may be said to have established anything resembling a kingdom was Gondioc, or, as he is otherwise called, Gundecar and Gundecarius. The greater part of his reign was spent in war. Peace would have been fatal to his authority, and in order to satisfy the

ambition and the cupidity of the powerful Hendini, he constantly endeavoured to extend the limits of his territory. His life was almost wholly passed in the camp. The province inhabited by the Sequani was the first that he attacked. Success attended his arms. He then pushed his conquests to the neighbourhood of Lyons, watched every favourable opportunity to make further advances, and levied heavy contributions wherever he appeared. Enraged at these conquests, the Roman general Aetius brought an army to oppose him. After a long, bloody, and obstinate conflict, Gondioc was defeated. Aetius did not risk another battle, but made a treaty with him, by which Savoy* was conceded to him, and he was left in possession of all his conquests on the condition of not attempting to enlarge his territories. The Roman general was called to the capital. Gondioc disregarded the terms of the treaty, conquered part of what was afterwards Dauphiné, and Vienne became the chief city of the then kingdom of Burgundy. A great reverse was in store for him. The Huns, under Attila, repeatedly defeated him; indeed to such a state of weakness was he reduced that Prosper, in his *Chronicle*, ix. 11, n. 1, goes so far as to say, "Illum Hunni, cum populo suo ac stirpe, deleverunt." These defeats, according to Socrates, were the occasion of the conversion of the Burgundians to Christianity. After repeated losses they were brought to great extremity, and, finding human aid of no avail, they determined to put themselves under the protection of some god. After a long deliberation they arrived at the conclusion that the God of the Romans gave the surest help to those who relied upon him. With one consent therefore they resolved to embrace the faith of Christ. An embassy instantly went to a Gallic state, and requested Christian baptism from the bishop. He having commanded them to fast seven days, and having himself in the mean time taught them the elements of the Christian religion, dismissed them on the eighth day baptized.† With full confidence they then made ready for battle against the Huns, attacked the forces which were under the command of Uptarus, and taking advantage of his death, which had happened the night before from suffocation in consequence of over-eating, defeated them with but little loss to themselves. Gondioc reigned for fifty years, forty of which were passed in wars and difficulties. He left two sons, Gundeuchus and Chilperic. The former is known also by the names of Gundiacus and Gundiucus. Of Chilperic we have little information that can be depended upon; historians have confounded him with his

* "Sabaudia Burgundionum reliquiis datur tum indigenis dividenda."—Mascou, vol. ii. p. 357.

† Socr. lib. vii. c. 30.

nephew, the son of Gundeuchus, so that their actions are inextricably commingled. Gregory of Tours informs us that Gundeuchus was allied to the family of Athnaric, the famous king of the Visigoths, so esteemed by Constantine the Great that he caused a statue of him to be erected. As this relationship has been doubted, we think the following statement will clear up the difficulty. Gundeuchus married the sister of Ricimer the Patrician, who was grandson on the mother's side to Wallia, king of the Visigoths. If therefore Wallia was related to Athnaric, we have at once an illustration of Gregory's words. During his reign the kingdom of Burgundy was yet further extended, and though Majorian gained some slight victories, he was glad to purchase the neutrality of Gundeuchus by allowing him to retain the territory which he had conquered.

Sidonius Apollinaris, who, says Nodin, "*est pour nos Gaulois le César et le Tacite du moyen âge*," in his poetical panegyric on Majorian enumerates the following list of people whom he subdued.

"Pannonius, Neurus, Chunos, Geta, Alanus,
Bellonothus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus; Alites,
Bisalta Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata; Moschus,
Post aquilas venere tuas."

We can gather something too of the state of civilization among the Burgundians from some verses of the same author, who was bishop of Clermont, making some allowance for the feelings of one who had been accustomed to the luxuries of Rome. His friend Catulinus had requested an epithalamium from him; he proffers the excuse,

"Quid me, etsi valeam, parare carmen
Fescenninicolæ jubes Diones,
Inter crinigeras situm catervas
Et Germanica verba sustinentem,
Laudantem tetrico subinde vultu,
Quod Burgundio cantat esculentus
Infundens acido comam butyro."

As a reason for his hendecasyllabics he pleads the size of the Burgundians.

"Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia,
Ex quo septipedes videt patronos."

The happiness of Catulinus, in being beyond the reach of their gross feeding is thus alluded to:

"Felicemque libet vocare nasum
Cui non allia, sordidæque cepæ
Ructant mane novo decem apparatus."

Gundeuchus had sufficient influence at Rome to procure for himself the title and office of *Magister Militum*. "Quantum filii nostri, viri illustris, Magistri Militum, Gundiuci sermone indicatum est."* The kingdom of Burgundy appears at this time to have reached its greatest extent. It comprehended La Provence, Le Dauphiné, Le Lyonnais, La Haute et Basse Bourgogne, a part of Champagne, La Province des Sequanois, La Tarentaise, Switzerland as far as Mont St. Bernard, Le Mont Jura, the country along the Rhine, and part of Alsatia. Its seven chief cities were Arles, Vienne, Lyons, Besançon, Montier en Tarentaise, Ambrun, and Aix in Provence.

Gundeuchus died A. D. 470, leaving four children, Gondebald, Godesil, Chilperic, and Godemar. Among these the kingdom was divided, but whether by the father's will, or by mutual agreement, is uncertain. Probably the former, as we find each dissatisfied with his portion. Chilperic had Geneva and its dependencies, Savoy, and part of Provence; Godemar, Vienne, Dauphiny, Provence, and the country on the banks of the Rhone. Gondebald had La Province des Sequanois; Godesil, the country near the Rhine.† The dissatisfaction of the brothers was carefully concealed, while each was waiting for a favourable opportunity to seize upon the other's portion. Chilperic and Godemar united to attack Gondebald; they took in addition to their own forces a band of the Alemanni. Unable to stand against this combination, Gondebald gave way. He retreated slowly, fought whenever necessity compelled him, but generally with want of success. At last near Autun he was constrained to give battle; his army was routed, and he himself obliged to seek refuge in a neighbouring state.

Chilperic and Godemar returned in triumph to Vienne. Gondebald, though routed and driven from his kingdom, was not disheartened. Many of his friends were powerful, and attached to him on account of his known talents and valour. The two usurpers fancied themselves secure from any attempts to remove them from their acquired possessions, and therefore became careless. This state of affairs was not overlooked by Gondebald and his friends. They appointed a general rendezvous for themselves and their forces. So prompt were they in their measures, and so perfectly unexpected was the movement, that they arrived in the

* Hilarius, apud Baronium.

† Plancher doubts of this division of the kingdom, and supposes Chilperic alone to have been king, and his brothers governors of the provinces under him. This however cannot have been the case, as Sidonius Apollinaris expressly calls Chilperic a tetrarch. "Indagavimus tandem apud tetrarcham nostrum."—*Histoire Générale et Particulière de Bourgogne*, vol. i. p. 37.

neighbourhood of Vienne before any preparations could be made to oppose them with effect. The city was taken by storm, and Chilperic was slain by his brother, after he had surrendered himself prisoner. The revenge of Gondebald did not stop with his death. His wife was drowned in the Rhone, his sons were beheaded, and his eldest daughter shut up in a convent. Touched by the youth and beauty of the youngest daughter, Clotilde, and little anticipating the consequences of his mercy, he sent her to Geneva, to be brought up under his own eye. Gondemar, during the plundering of the city, took refuge in a tower, which, by the order of Gondebald, was surrounded with combustibles, and Gondemar and it were consumed together. A division of the kingdom was again made between Gondebald and his remaining brother, Godesil, though the latter appears to have been tributary to his brother and dependent upon him for his power. Godesil was far from being satisfied with the station which he filled, and desirous of becoming master of all Burgundy, entered into an alliance with Clovis, king of the Franks, promising to pay tribute if put in possession of his brother's kingdom. Others suppose that the first overtures were on the part of Clovis. Whichever was the case, a private treaty was made between them. Clovis, with an army, entered the territory of Gondebald, who immediately called upon his brother to assist with his forces against one whom he supposed was their common enemy. Godesil joined him indeed, but on the eve of an engagement, which took place near Dijon, went over to the Franks. Gondebald, after a long and obstinate battle, was defeated, and, unable to rally, retreated slowly till he reached Avignon, where he made preparations for resistance. Clovis laid waste the country, but was unwilling to consume time and to weary his army by laying a regular siege to the city. In the mean time Aridius, the able counsellor of Gondebald, obtained an interview with Clovis, and in the name of his master promised to pay tribute. A treaty was made, and Clovis retired with his army to Paris. Godesil, as if assured of the throne of Burgundy after the defeat of his brother near Dijon, entered Vienne in triumph, and assumed all the ensigns and pomp of royalty. Gondebald was thus a second time reduced to extremity, but his energies seemed to increase with difficulties, and he no sooner saw Clovis and his army leave the Burgundian territory than he determined to avenge himself upon his brother and recover his kingdom. Collecting all the forces which could be induced to join his standard, he appeared before Vienne. The Burgundians favoured him, and an architect showed him a way into the city by the ruins of an aqueduct. The advantage was at once seized. An attack was made; victory followed. Godesil was

taken from an Arian church, into which he had fled for safety, and was killed, all the chiefs who had espoused his cause sharing the same fate.

Gondebald was now master of all Burgundy, and continued so till his death in 516. The emperor Olybrius, as we learn from the *Historica Miscellanea*, lib. xv., raised him to the rank of Patricius. "Mortuo Ricimero, Olybrius imperator Gundebatum, ejus nepotem, Patricium effecit." At the death of Olybrius, when Glycerius aimed at the imperial throne, Gondebald for a time espoused his cause, but soon abandoned it.*

He made an attack upon Italy, ravaged Piedmont, and, after taking Turin by storm, pushed his conquests as far as Pavia. This expedition was apparently undertaken to benefit Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, whose daughter was married to Sigismond, Gondebald's eldest son, as the territory was given to Theodoric, while he retained the booty only for himself. It was during Gondebald's absence in Italy that Clovis first directed his views towards a marriage with Clotilda. His father Chilperic had been driven from his kingdom on account of his gross debaucheries, and Clovis himself was the adulterine bastard of the wife of the person at whose house Chilperic had found a home. He was anxious therefore to ally himself to one of royal race as a means of increasing his influence and extending his power. Clotilda was not only the daughter of a king, and thus desirable for him as a wife, but he had also hopes through her of obtaining possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, which from its extent, wealth, and civilization, was a great object of his ambition, but which at that time he was not powerful enough to attack openly. The beauty of Clotilda was much dwelt upon, and the care with which she was guarded by those whom Gondebald placed about her tended to confirm and strengthen the reports. Means were taken to make her acquainted with the wishes of Clovis. The monks of St. Denys, in their Chronicle,† tell us that Aurelian, a confidant of Clovis, repaired to Geneva, disguised as a poor man; and as Clotilda was accustomed on every Sunday to give alms as she went to church to all who made known their wants, he, under pretext of telling his tale of misfortune, informed her of the purport of his visit. Clotilda, who was little better than a prisoner under the care of him who had been the murderer of her parents and her brothers, and against whom she cherished a secret, but

* Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gondebald, but the Burgundian prince was unable or unwilling to support his nomination by a civil war: his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric of Salona."—*Gibbon*, vol. iii. p. 491.

† *Chroniques de St. Denys*, tom. iii. lib. i. c. 16.

undying desire of vengeance, listened willingly to the overtures of Clovis, and consented to become his bride.*

An embassy came from Clovis to make proposals of marriage. Gondebald, whose sagacity foresaw all the consequences of the alliance, made every excuse to prevent it. He alleged, as a strong ground for refusal, the difference of religion; Clovis being at that time a worshipper of the gods of the Germans. The ambassadors met this by stating that their master intended to embrace Christianity. After many delays Gondebald was obliged to consent, and Clotilda became the wife of Clovis.

The advancement of his kingdom, and its internal good government, were now the care of Gondebald and to which all his energies were directed. Arles and Marseilles became the emporiums for all the productions of the east. Laws suited to the circumstances of his people were substituted instead of those of the Romans, which pressed hard upon his subjects, while due care was taken that the former should be well protected. These laws of Gondebald, known by the name of *La Loi Gombette*, are the most ancient whose text has been preserved.† Some of them are curious as showing the state of civilization. "If a Burgundian refuse shelter to a stranger who comes to him, he shall pay a fine of three sous, and six if the stranger is an officer or friend of the king. If instead of showing hospitality he points out the house of a Roman, he is to pay three sous to the Roman, and three sous as a fine. If he is one of the king's labourers, he is to be whipped." "A Burgundian and a Roman are to be judged by the Burgundian law, two Romans by the Roman law." "If a slave commit a theft, he is to be punished with death, and his master is to pay the value of the thing stolen." "If any one steal the bell which is fastened to the neck of a horse or an ox, he is to pay the price of the animal." "If a slave strike a free man, he is to receive a hundred strokes with a whip." "He who seizes a man by the hair with one hand is to pay two sous, but if he seizes with two hands he is to pay double." "An injury done to the face is to be punished threefold to one which is concealed by the clothes." Some resemblance to the trial by jury may be found in the enactment which required that the defendant, who wished to repel an accusation or deny a debt, should be

* "Clotilde avait de l'esprit, de la jeunesse, des graces, et de la beauté; mais sous un air très réservé, sous une simplicité modeste, elle cachoit une ame fière et vindicative jusqu'à la cruauté."—*Essai sur les premiers Rois de Bourgogne.*

† "Les lois de Gondebaud, qu'on appelle Les Gombettes, sont le plus ancien des codes barbares dont on ait conservé le texte. Elles continuèrent à régir le royaume de Bourgogne jusqu'au tems de Louis le Débonnaire, qui les abrogea."—*Sismondi, Histoire des François.*

obliged to produce twelve, or sometimes more, of his relations, friends, or neighbours, to swear also to the truth of his statement. The judicial combat, the origin of the abominable and barbarous duel, is also first mentioned in these laws. "La partie adverse pût arrêter celui qui vouloit jurer avant qu'il eût prêté le serment, avant même qu'il fût entré dans l'église, pour en appeler au jugement de Dieu. Dans ce cas le juge ne pût point refuser aux deux parties le combat judiciaire."

Under Gondebald the kingdom of Burgundy appears to have reached its highest eminence. Possessed of great personal valour, undismayed by misfortunes, enterprising, little scrupulous about the means employed on any object, provided those means would accomplish the end, he succeeded in attaching his people to him so firmly that he was enabled ultimately to resist every endeavour of his enemies to destroy or weaken his power. Sigismund, who came to the throne at his father's death, was twice married. By his first wife, a daughter of Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, he had a son, Sigeric, and a daughter. His second wife, whose beauty was very great, had been an attendant upon his first, and her elevation to an unexpected rank made her vain and imperious. Sigeric was treated by her with contempt, while he on his part was not slow in reproaching his mother-in-law for her comparatively low birth, and for her vanity, particularly as shown in wearing his mother's jewels, which he said did not become her. Ill will and mutual hatred were soon engendered. She lost no opportunity of spreading false reports of Sigeric, and at last so prevailed upon Sigismund that he caused his son to be strangled while sleeping after dinner. Remorse immediately followed the deed. Sigismund made open profession of repentance for his crime. He retired to the monastery of St. Maurice in Vallais, and founded an establishment for singing hymns day and night in the choir. With his son he sacrificed the peace of his life. He lost the affections of his subjects, and all the affairs of his kingdom were thrown into confusion. Clotilda, now the widow of Clovis, thought this a favourable opportunity for executing her vengeance on the race of Gondebald. "Faites, mes chers enfans," said she, "que je n'aie point à me repentir de la tendresse avec laquelle je vous ai élevés; rassentez avec indignation l'injure que j'ai reçue, et vengez avec constance la mort de mon père et de ma mère." War was declared. Sigismund was soon compelled to flee to St. Maurice, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chlodomer. The mode of his death shows too well the barbarous cruelty of the age. Himself, his wife, and two princes, were let down into a deep well and left to perish. Godemar, the brother of Sigismund, succeeded to the throne of Burgundy, and for a

time resisted the attacks of the sons of Clotilda. At the very commencement of the first battle near Vienne, Chlodimir lost his life. His head was cut off and carried about on a spear's point to encourage the Burgundians, who gained the victory.* But the good fortune of Godemar did not last long. The two remaining sons of Clovis, Clothaire and Childebert, continued the war with increased vigour, thirsting for revenge as well as for power. Godemar was taken prisoner A. D. 534 at Autun, "et aucun historien ne nous apprend quel fut son sort."—Sismondi, vol. i. p. 264. Their armies defeated and the royal race at an end, the Burgundians became tributaries to the Franks. The conquest was most important. The most fertile provinces of Gaul, the most populous cities, the most civilized and industrious citizens, and a large body of veteran soldiers, increased the power and wealth of the descendants of Clovis. From 534 to 561 Burgundy was under the dominion of Clothaire. For the better government of this large province he divided it into Cis-Jurane and Trans-Jurane. He also created Dukes, whose title and power were at first merely official and at the will of the king: afterwards the office was for life, and finally it became hereditary.† At the death of Clothaire his kingdom was divided between his four sons. The rich and civilized Burgundy fell to the second Gontran, king of Orleans, who soon relinquished that title, fixed his court at Chalons sur Saone, and caused himself to be called king of Burgundy. A plague made its appearance in his reign, which was fatal to great numbers; its symptoms and effects were similar to that which ravaged Italy in the fourteenth century. Gontran dying childless was succeeded by Childebert II., who added the dominions of Burgundy to his own kingdom of Austrasia. In 613 Burgundy again ceased to be independent, and the whole empire of the Franks was united under Clothaire II. During his reign there appears to have been a considerable in-

* He was known by his long hair. Agathias thus describes the kings of the Franks. From very childhood their hair is never cut, and the whole hangs in a comely manner down the shoulders; the front hair, divided in the middle, hangs down on each side. Not however like the Turks and barbarians, whose hair is dirty and uncombed, but theirs is kept with great care and adorned, the hair being a distinctive mark of noble birth.—*Agathias*, lib. i. p. 14, Par. 1660.

† The office and title were analogous to the Roman Patricius, as we find from a formula of Marculfus: "Ergo dum et fidem et utilitatem tuam habemus compertam, ideo tibi actionem comitatus, ducatus, patritiatus in pago illo quem antecessor tuus ille usque nunc visus est egisse, tibi ad agendum regendumque commisimus. Ita ut semper erga regimen nostrum fidem inlimitam custodias et omnes populi ibidem commanentes, tam Franci, Romani, Burgundiones, vel reliquæ nationes sub tuo regimine degant et moderentur, et eos recto tramite secundum legem et consuetudinem eorum regas, viduis et pupillis maximus defensor appareas: latronum et malefactorum scelera a te severissime reprimantur."—*Marculfi Monachi aliorumque Auctorum Formulae Veteres*. Par. 1665.

crease to what may be termed the aristocracy of France. The descendants of those leaders who had followed in the train of some victorious chief, and who at first had been all equal in rank and power, now began to assume superiority, according to the extent of territory which each acquired, and the number of slaves he possessed. Gregory of Tours, who makes no mention of any distinction of rank during the reigns of Clovis and his sons, speaks occasionally in the reign of Clothaire of "Optimates," and Fredegarius designates the same class among the Burgundians by the title of "Farones," a word, according to Du Cange, of the same signification as Barones. Peculiar privileges, exemptions, &c. began not only to be claimed, but to be exercised, and all the evils which attend the worst state of feudalism prevailed, such as oppression of their tenants, wars against their neighbours, a contempt for the authority of the sovereign, and a general licentiousness of conduct. Clothaire, finding Burgundy impoverished, civilization at a stand, trade injured, and the public safety compromised, took strong measures to repress the power which many of the nobles had assumed, and even put to death some of the most refractory; not excepting Aletheus, to whom he had been indebted for his victory over the vindictive and ambitious Brunehault.

A little before this period a power began to be known, that of the Mayor of the Palace, which kept on gradually, but firmly increasing, till after a few years, in the person of Pepin, it put an end to the Merovingian race of kings, and changed the royal dynasty of France.* The Maire du Palais is called by the chroniclers and ecclesiastical historians of the times, Major Domus Regiæ—Gubernator Palatii—Rector Palatii et Major Domus—Palatii Præfectus—Regalis Curie Princeps—Comes Domus Regiæ—Comes Palatinus—Dux Palatii. At first he was merely an officer of the household, like him among the Persians spoken of by Sozomen as *μειζων της βασιλικης οικιας*, "through whom petitions or representations were laid before the king. The weakness of the sovereign rendered the office important, and still greater weakness suffered it to become elective: men of energetic talents and ambition united it with military command."†

Sismondi derives the title Major Domus from the Teutonic words Mord-dom. "Mord-dom signifioit mot-à-mot, juge du meurtre, ou juge à mort, et à l'oreille des Romains *mord-dom*

* It is true that Childeric was deposed by the consent and in the name of the French nation, and the matter was referred to Pope Zacharias, but it was the power and influence of Pepin that effected the whole.

† Hallam.

ressembloit beaucoup à major domus"*—a derivation which savours more of ingenuity than of sound philology. He afterwards describes the same officer as, "le représentant, non des grands, mais des hommes libres; qu'il étoit pris en général dans la seconde classe de la société, et qu'il étoit chargé de réprimer les usurpations de l'aristocratie bien autant que celle des rois."† It is not likely, however, that the nobles of France would submit to the authority of one taken from a lower rank than themselves, when that of the king himself was hardly sufficient to keep them in subjection. When the mayor of the palace held no higher office than that of chamberlain, he might have been selected from the second class of society, but such could not have been the case when he possessed the proud titles of Duc des François, Prince de France, Duc des Ducs et le Premier du Royaume après le Roi.‡ In opposition to Sismondi we find, in the *Gesta Francorum*, c. 45, "Franci autem Leudesium filium Eranaldi nobilem in Majorem Domus Palatii eligunt." "Qui honor non aliis a populo dari consueverat quam his, qui et claritati generis, et opum amplitudine cæteris eminebant."—*Eginhardus in Vit. Car. Mag.* c. 48.

Whatever might have been the origin of the office, the extent of power in the hands of its possessor soon arrived at an enormous height. "Per Præfectos Palatii domus regia ordinabatur; neque aliud regi relinquebatur, quam ut regio solum nomine contentus in solio resideret, ac speciem dominantis effingeret, legatos undecunque venientes audiret, eisque abeuntibus responsaque erat edoctus, vel potius jussus, ex sua velut potestate redderet, ac regni administrationem, et omnia, quæ vel domi, vel foris erant agenda ac disponenda, Præfectus aulæ procurabat."§ A power so formidable and so dangerous could only exist in an age of weakness, and accordingly, as soon as the royal authority was sufficiently firmly established, we find it cease. "Tandem regnante feliciter tertia regum nostrorum stirpe, inter leges latas quibus regni tranquillitati provisum est, ea potissimum obtinuit locum, 'ne in posterum essent Majores Domus.'"||

Dagobert succeeded his father Clothaire in all his possessions, but shortly afterwards gave to his son Clovis the independent kingdom of Burgundy, which continued entire till the year 843. About this time, at the death of Louis le Debonnaire, his sons made a voluntary division of their father's kingdom. Burgundy was shared between the eldest son, the Emperor Lothaire, and

* Histoire des François, vol. i. p. 340, note.

† Ib. vol. ii. p. 5.

‡ Du Chesne, Histoire de Royaume de Bourgogne.

§ Hariulfus, lib. ii. Chr. c. 1.

|| Petrus Gregorius de Republicâ, lib. vii. c. 8, § 14.

the youngest, Charles the Bold, the offspring of the second wife of Louis. Lothaire had all the upper part of the ancient kingdom, as being nearest his own territory of Italy, which was called from him Lotharingia or Lorraine. Charles had that part which bordered upon his kingdom of France. This was the first dismemberment, and since this partition at Verdun, the two portions of the kingdom of Burgundy have never been again united. That which became the property of Charles has ever since been incorporated with France: but the portion which fell to Lothaire was, at his death, divided between his two younger sons, Lothaire king of Austrasia, and Charles king of Provence. The former made a further division of his share between his brother Louis, emperor and king of Italy, and Charles; since which time, 870, these portions have never been reunited. Other kingdoms were thus made from the ancient one of Burgundy, and its name alone remained to the duchy and the county. The latter, better known as Franche Comté, became a separate jurisdiction in the reign of Charles the Simple. The history of this, as well as of the duchy, become so intermingled with the general history of France, that we shall content ourselves with very briefly touching upon a few events of the latter till the death of Charles the Bold, with whom the dukedom ended. From the sixth to the ninth centuries the dukes were revocable; in the tenth century the dukedom was considered hereditary, though still held at the pleasure of the king. In the beginning of the eleventh century Hugh Capet, on becoming king of France, bestowed the dukedom of Burgundy upon his brother Henry, who has the surname "Great" given to him, not on account of his exploits, but because he was the first hereditary duke not revocable. About 1078, Constance, a daughter of Robert le Vieux, widow of the Comte de Challons, married Alphonso, king of Castile and Leon. On her marriage many of the Burgundian nobles attended her to her kingdom, who afterwards joined the banner of the Cid, and were present at the taking of Toledo in 1085. Henry, a brother of Eudes, the fifth duke of the first line, married a natural daughter of Alphonso VI., was made Count of Portugal, and became the founder of the royal house.

During the eleventh and till the latter part of the twelfth century the history of Burgundy presents nothing of interest. In 1185 Hugo the Third rendered the Burgundian name illustrious by his valour in the Holy Land, and on his return to his dukedom endeavoured to render himself independent of the king of France. After many struggles he was obliged to relinquish his attempt and to acknowledge himself the vassal of Philip. Under his son Hugo the Fourth the territories of the dukedom were much extended by

purchase; great possessions were thus acquired in the county, and the count himself did homage to the duke as his feudal lord. The strong desire of the dukes of Burgundy to render the province an independent kingdom made them particular in exacting homage from the chief nobles, while the continual extending of their territories seemed to promise an early fulfilment of their hopes. This desire appears to have lain dormant during the dukedom of Robert the Second, who became titular king of Thessalonica, and was honoured with great proofs of confidence by the king of France. He was appointed Grand Chamberlain of the kingdom, Lieutenant in the Lyonnois, and Guardian of the County of Burgundy. These various offices he filled with zeal and fidelity, but at the same time was cautious in not permitting the slightest encroachment upon the rights of the dukedom. One privilege which it possessed was that no tax could be imposed without the consent of the duke, and when Philip in 1295 levied money from the Burgundians, a letter was given to the duke stating that it was with his consent, and that it was done without any prejudice to his rights. Plancher describes him as “ Dans le gouvernement du duché il fut doux, un peu trop ardent pour des intérêts, pas assez attentif à ceux des autres; prompt à faire des traités, lent à les exécuter; toujours prêt à recevoir, jamais empressé de donner, il laissa plus de preuves de sa puissance et de sa grandeur, que de sa religion et de sa piété.”* On the extinction of the male line of the old dukes in 1361, John, king of France, conveyed to his favourite son Philip the Hardy and his posterity the duchy of Burgundy, who, to render himself more acceptable to the Burgundians, married the widow of the late duke. During his dukedom the gabelle on salt † was first introduced into Burgundy. In 1370 granaries were established at Dijon, Autun, and several other large cities, and the tax on all the salt which was sold was given to the duke for two years. The possessions of the dukes of Burgundy continued to increase during his lifetime, and that of his son John the Fearless. On the accession of Philip the Good they consisted, in addition to the duchy, of Flanders, Artois, Franche Comté, with Nevers, Rethuel, Mechlin and Antwerp; he himself acquired by purchase Namur and Luxemburg, by inheritance Brabant and Limburg, and he extorted from Jacqueline of Hainault, Hainault, Holland, Zealand and West Friesland.

It was Philip who in the year 1429, on the occasion of his mar-

* Vol. 2, p. 132.

† This most odious and oppressive tax was first levied in 1286 by Philip the Fair. Philip of Valois was the first who built granaries, and prohibited any other persons from selling salt. The tax was remitted and renewed at different intervals, but at last was firmly established. ‡ Latterly it was computed to amount to one-fourth of the revenue. It was abolished at the Revolution.

riage with Isabel of Portugal, instituted and founded the order of the Golden Fleece, to consist of thirty knights besides the chief. He chose for its motto "*Aultre n'auray*," I will have no other; and by one of its laws no one belonging to it, except a king or reigning prince, or one of royal race, could become a knight of another order. When Charles the Bold succeeded to its dignities he changed the motto to "*Je l'ay emprins*." At his death Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, became sovereign of the order by right of his marriage with Mary, daughter of Charles. From him it descended to the kings of Spain, though the emperors of Germany claimed the sovereignty, and exercised the right of conferring the knighthood. It now continues to be esteemed the third, if not the second, of European orders.

Charles the Bold, the last of the dukes, added to the extensive dominions just mentioned, Guelderland and Zutphen. The desire of regal dignity was stronger in him than in any of his predecessors. He had privately caballed with the electors of Germany in the hope of being chosen king of the Romans. Failing in that he applied to Frederic the Third to raise the duchy of Burgundy into a kingdom, promising the hand of his daughter Mary to the archduke Maximilian. Influenced by the prospect of this splendid alliance, Frederic readily expressed his willingness to gratify the duke. Thinking that his wishes were near their accomplishment, Charles prepared all the ensigns of royalty, and even ordered the throne for his inauguration to be erected in the cathedral. Louis XI., the most crafty monarch that ever swayed the sceptre of France, was not an idle spectator of what was going on, and so worked upon the suspicions of Frederic that he declined any further proceedings in the business. After a reign of wars and fightings Charles the Bold fell before Nancy, January 5th, 1477, and with him expired the Dukes of Burgundy. Louis XI. seized upon the province, which has ever since that period been incorporated with France.

ART. III.—*Geschichte Polens, von Dr. Richard Roepell.*
 Erster Theil. Hamburg, 1840. (History of Poland, by
 Dr. Richard Roepell.) Part I. Hamburgh, 1840.

SHOULD all the works on Poland that have appeared during the last ten years both here and on the continent, in the shape of regular compositions, pamphlets, and articles in the periodical press, be collected, they would form a by no means inconsiderable library. At first sight it may seem strange that a nation politically dead should still provoke so much discussion, and some may be inclined to consider this phenomenon as nothing more than ordinary posthumous talk and lamentation.

But such is not the case with Poland. Though for fifty years she has ceased to be numbered amongst the independent nations of Europe, her record in their memory lies in the permanent, unrelenting, and unmerited oppression which has been exercised against her, and which is not the mere ebullition of rage in a frantic tyrant, but the effect of an organised system for the extermination of her people; it lies in the destruction of all her national institutions of church and state; in the pillage of her libraries and museums; in the periodical exportation of her population without regard to age or sex; in the unprovoked extirpation of whole families in time of peace; in the proscription of right, of civic virtue, and of a national language; in the vandal-like profanation of temples and tombs, in the sweeping away of public monuments, even to the very forests associated with national recollections; whilst, in conformity with such barbarous reform, the Polish names of provinces, cities, and villages have been exchanged for Asiatic appellations, in order that, to use the expression of a Polish prelate and poet, "the remnants of the people may not know themselves." We need not here adduce special instances to confirm the truth of these facts, since our readers must be already well acquainted with them through the public press.

The great interests of civilisation and the peace of the world, are intimately connected with the Polish cause; and the general conviction of this is so strong as to have become a popular prejudice, and the fact is admitted almost universally without proofs being required of it. At all events, it is not now our task to produce them; let it suffice that the late Prince Talleyrand considered the Polish question, at the Congress of Vienna, 1815, as "*la question la plus Européenne*;" and that the English plenipotentiary, Lord Castlereagh, insisted upon the restoration of Poland under a national dynasty. In order to perceive at once in what consists the vitality of this question for Europe,

only a slight knowledge of geography is requisite. Through the acquisition of the greater part of Poland, Russia presses with her whole colossal weight on the European states. "Poland," as it has been said, "has become the conductor of her power in the east, south, and west directions, and is for Russia what the heart is for the circulation of the blood; she is the pulse of a new north." The aggressive advances of Russia cannot be checked except by depriving her of the means by which it is promoted; in other words, by restoring Poland to her rights. This measure would remove the danger which threatens the independence of Turkey, as well as the cause of continual uneasiness respecting our Indian possessions; whilst at the same time the interruption of the immediate connexion between Russia and central Europe would lead to tranquillity, France would be set at rest as to coalitions planned against her by the powers of the north. General tranquillity would thus be secured, and the great armaments in time of peace, which are more ruinous to governments than an actual war, would cease. England, France, and Austria were fully aware at the Congress of Vienna of the importance of Poland in the system of the substantial powers of Europe; and if the then existing difficulties opposed her restoration to complete independence, they yet obtained for her the rights of nationality, and of a free constitutional government. The Whig ministry however allowed Russia to trample upon those rights. It is earnestly to be desired that the Conservatives, who at a former period vindicated them, will embrace the earliest opportunity for demanding their restitution.

For our own part we have ever been foremost in the defence of the imprescriptible rights of Poland, and on many occasions have brought the subject before our readers in various political and literary articles. With the same view we now introduce to them the work of Dr. Roepell, which, on account of its able exposition of the early destinies of Poland, hitherto wanting abroad, will no doubt be welcome to them. Dr. Roepell is one of an association of distinguished literary men in Germany, each of whom has undertaken to write a special history of one of the European states; and these different productions, when completed, are designed to constitute a single work, to be published under the auspices of the well-known historians, A. H. L. Heeren and F. A. Ukert. On Dr. Roepell has devolved the task of writing the history of Poland during the middle ages, and we shall examine how far he has realised the expectations of the public, and satisfied the postulates of historical criticism. He has endeavoured, as far as lay in his power, to qualify himself for the subject, by visiting the country about which he had to write, and

has studied the Polish language, in order that he might avail himself of all the national historical resources—a step never before taken by any German writer, except Niebuhr, who first set the example. Another characteristic in our author is his earnest love of historic truth, unbiassed by natural prejudices, or by any subserviency to the present masters of Poland, which is of rare occurrence with the German writers on Poland of the present day, who but too frequently prostitute their talents to the perversion of truth, for the sake of the Prussian title of state councillor (*Staatsrath*) or of a Russian decoration. So much for the qualifications of our author, and now our business is only with his work. It opens with a beautiful geographical sketch of the country, so accurate in its details, that one might suppose it to have been made by a native.

“Poland extends over a large portion of the vast plain which stretches from the Elbe to the Volga, and from the shores of the Icy Sea to those of the Euxine, thus embracing the whole of the north and east of Europe. In striking contrast with the south and west, this plain appears nowhere interrupted by the sea, and no mountain within it rises above a few hundred feet above the level of the sea, so that it has nowhere limits marked out by nature. Great rivers traverse the country in one normal direction either from south to north, or reversely, and their respective systems of water so frequently flow into one another, that even these nowhere form separate limits. Only towards the north and south the plain is enclosed by slight elevations of the ground, many miles in width. Nevertheless this vast region presents within its own precincts a variety of aspects.”

Let us accompany our author in his excursion to the south of Poland.

“On descending from the high Tatra into the rocky vale of the northward-flowing Dunajee, we arrive where the river forsakes the high lands, at a valley about fifteen miles wide, in which the Vistula, yet an inconsiderable stream, flows in an eastern direction, a little inclined towards the north. Eastwards this valley subsides, in the angle formed by the Vistula and the Sau, into a tract of low land (*niederung*), which almost entirely uncultivated, and covered with marsh and forest, extends fifty miles in length, and thirty in breadth. Westwards the mountain feet of the Karpats stretch nearer to the river, and the valley which forms its opposite bank rises likewise to pointed rocks and steep heights. From one of these, Wawel, the theatre of many primitive traditions, the once magnificent royal castle of the Jagellons, now in ruins, looks down upon the ancient capital of the Polish empire, where the kings used to be crowned. Adorned with numerous steeples, magnificent churches and ancient edifices, Cracow lies stretched at the foot of the mountains in the valley of the Vistula. Beyond it, on a high mountain, stands the monastery of Tyniec, one of the richest and most ancient abbeys of the Benedictines in Poland. On one side is seen the picturesque mount of

Kosciuszko, and southwards the distant heights of the Karpats rise distinctly in the horizon. Their anterior elevations (Vorberge) occupy nearly the whole of the district south of the Vistula, which is inhabited by a strong and handsome race of Goralys (highlanders), and with its deep river valleys, its abrupt rocks and heights, its forests and meadows, it offers a romantic spectacle. A multitude of strongholds, some of them castles belonging to noble and celebrated families, others built by princes for the defence of the country, stand in ruins on the rocks, or appear in the midst of forests. Westwards, towards the Silesian frontier, lie Robrek, which in the eighteenth century was the camp of the Confederates of Bar; Zator, the capital of the ancient duchy, bearing the same name; Zywiec, amongst the mountains close to the frontiers of Hungary; Landskron, on a high precipitous rock, and Wisnice, the castle of the family of Kmita; Matozryn, belonging to the house of Tarnowski; and finally, in the vicinity of the two last, the famous and extensive salt mines of Wieliczka and Bochnia, yielding both in ancient and modern times inexhaustible riches.

“Less mountainous, but still by no means level, is the land north of Cracow, and towards the upper Vistula. It forms a plateau, of which the average elevation above the sea is from 800 to 900 feet, to which however deep clefts in the hills, bordered by perpendicular precipices, give a mountainous character. This plateau attains its highest elevation between Pilica and Skala. There lie the silver mines of Olkusz, which afforded rich produce in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but were subsequently neglected. The Warta, the Pilica, and other smaller rivers, tributaries of the Vistula and Oder, flow here in all directions. But it is the eastern frontier of the plateau which has the most mountainous character. Above the Jura limestone, of which it consists, and in which are here especially deep valleys, as those of Sklary and Piaszkowa Skala, rise isolated and picturesque rocks many hundred feet high, which running in a direction slightly inclined to the west, from Cracow by Skala, and gradually diminishing in height, disappear in the vicinity of Wielun. These rocks, everywhere surrounded by wood, also bear numerous ruins of princely and noble castles. Out of the beautiful valley in which the Prondnik, then a mere mountain spring, has its source, rises a steep rock surrounded by thickly wooded hills, and crowned with Oycow, the ancient castle of Casimir the Great. Between Oycow and Piaszkowa Skala, Solomea, the pious sister of King Boleslaus Wstydlivy (pudic) erected a convent of nuns at Grodsisko, and not far distant lay Zenczyn, the castle belonging to the celebrated family which still bears the name of Ossolinski. At the sources of the Pilica and Warta, in the midst of a forest, is seen Ogródeniec, the castle of the mighty Firley; and near it, Pilica, once the property of the princes Zbarawski. A little more eastward are Konieczpol and Potok, the family seats of Potocki and Konieczpolski; towards the north, the ancient castle Olsztyn, and the rich monastery of Alstow; finally on the last heights Czenstochowa, famous for its miraculous image of the Virgin, and for the immense riches it was once considered to possess.”—(pp. 4, 5, and 6.)

The province of Podolia is of a different character, and it would seem from our author's description that its rivers flow with milk and honey.

"Pleasant hills often crowned by the most beautiful groves fill the whole province, which extends from the Dniester to the Boh, and is bounded on the north by the plains of Volhynia, and on the south-east by the steppes of the Ukraine. Those hills acquire a mountainous character between the rivers Zbrucz and Smotrycz in the environs of Midryzec and strikingly alternate with fertile valleys and rich pastures. Fine herds of cattle, sheep, horses, &c. find here abundant nourishment. The soil yields unusually rich crops almost without cultivation, and in the middle of the fifteenth century, Greece and the islands of the Archipelago were supplied with Podolian wheat, transported thither by Venetian and other merchants. The climate of Podolia differs no less than its soil from that of the adjacent provinces. When these are still covered with snow, the banks of the Dniester already begin to grow green; trees blossom here earlier than elsewhere, and melons, mulberries and other fruits of the south ripen here without any care of them being necessary, and as the summer is free from the squalor that prevails in the steppes of the Ukraine, so is the winter also exempt from their icy cold."—p. 11.

We finish our extracts from this part of the work with the concluding remarks of the author.

"From the shores of the East Sea to the Karpaths and the coasts of the Euxine by the mouths of the Dniester and Boh, extended the once powerful empire of the Poles. Those vast plains are limited on the north only by the sea, and on the south by the Karpaths; without a natural barrier on the West, they stretch in that direction to the mountain chain which extending in a north-west line from the sources of the Vistula as far as the Weser separates the level from the mountainous part of Europe Eastward they reach to the Volga, and here are in almost immediate connection with the plains of Asia north of the Caspian Sea. Being entirely open towards the east, and separated from the south by the Karpaths, not coming in contact with the ocean, and having no strongly marked demarcation either externally or internally, the whole tract bears the decided character of a wide continent, the geographical situation of which and its peculiar nature have in no slight degree influenced the development of the races by which it is inhabited. Often enough shall we have occasion to remark these conditions in the course of their history."—pp. 16, 17.

Next follows a historical sketch of the early destinies of the Slavonian race in general, but this is far from being satisfactory. Our author it must be acknowledged has fully availed himself of the labours of the Polish historians, Dlugosz, the father of Polish history, Naruszewicz, Czachi, Oszolinski, Lelewel and Brandtkie, whose names are probably already familiar to our readers; but to our astonishment, he has in no one instance referred to the classic work on Slavonian antiquities by M. Safarik, a Bohemian. Owing

to this circumstance all that Dr. Roepell brings forward as regards the early history of the Slavonians is extremely imperfect and fragmentary; a defect much to be regretted, and which the author might have avoided by consulting the work alluded to, and which forms an epoch in Slavonian literature. As M. Safaric's book has been already noticed in this journal, we refer our readers to that article, and shall here repeat only so much of the substance of it as is necessary to render our present subject intelligible. The migration of the Slavonians into Europe must be referred, as Lelewel has justly remarked, to the period of the universal deluge, long before the historic era. At the beginning of the said era they were found by Herodotus inhabiting the vast plains already alluded to, with the exception of the country between the Elbe and the Oder and the south of the Karpats, as far as the shores of the Adriatic, which were not occupied by them until a later period. The constitution of this race, both moral and physical, and above all, their language, shews them to have been members of the great Indo-European family of nations. They were known to the Greeks under the name of Enetoi, Enetes; to the Romans as Venetæ, Veneti, Vinidæ; to the Germans as Winden or Wenden, which last name is still applied to a portion of them, &c.; whilst their national appellation was that of Sirbi or Serbi, which name is still preserved in the Serbia or Servia of the present day. Later we meet in the Byzantine historians, Jordanes, Procopius, &c., the names of Sclavi, Slavi, Sclavini and Antes mentioned together with Vinidæ. Setting aside the last mentioned foreign generic appellation, that of Sclavi was given to the Slavonians of the east. The word signifies *gigas*, giant, monster, an appellation not uncommon amongst nations in the early stage of their existence. The fall of the Roman empire in the west makes an important epoch in the history of the Slavonians, as they, then emerging from the obscurity in which comparatively they had hitherto remained, began to spread over central Europe and to establish separate independent kingdoms amongst themselves.

Dr. Roepell says little or nothing of the social condition of the Slavonians during the period just alluded to, although without such a foundation being first laid, no firm edifice can be subsequently raised. The Slavonians never having been subjugated by the Roman world-enslavers, the information to be obtained on this subject is necessarily imperfect, although still enough might be found both in ancient historians and in the traditions of the Slavonians themselves to reward a diligent enquirer. The anti-historic period of their race must be comprised under what is usually called the origin of nations, and about this there is com-

monly but little known, for this simple reason, that there is very little to be known. The origin of nations is like that of an individual, namely, a bare existence which must be abstracted from all institutions of church and state. The Slavonians then constituted one substantial and united whole, as yet not split into the numerous small democratic communities which were seen amongst them in the time of Herodotus, and which, though much less perfect than those of Greece, nevertheless bore a close resemblance to them. Those democracies subsequently acquired an aristocratic character, owing to some families appropriating to themselves the high offices of state; and this stage of their existence bears again some resemblance to the ancient Roman republic. It is besides a fact deserving the especial notice of historians, that at the fall of the Roman empire in the west, the popular form of government amongst the Slavonians rapidly declined. As to religion, their notions on this point were more elevated than those of the Greeks and Romans, for they worshipped one supreme God, the Creator of heaven and earth, although they still admitted the existence of secondary deities as mediators between man and his maker. In letters and arts they were much inferior to either of these nations, for they knew only the Runic characters in which their priests used to record on wooden planks the laws and the memorable events that occurred. Music and dancing they carried to a high degree of perfection, whence, in the middle ages, originated the saying, *Slavus saltans*. Polygamy was an exception, not a law, amongst them, and the sex was held in high esteem. Their kindness towards strangers was proverbial, and their law respecting prisoners of war would have done honor to a higher state of civilization. They were never the aggressive party, but fought valiantly for the defence of their country; and they alone of all their contemporaries cultivated the arts of peace. All classes were free, servitude being only subsequently introduced amongst them; in the west by the Germans, and in the east by the Romans. Most of these characteristics remained peculiar to their race up to the present day, and the foregoing remarks on the Slavonians in general, are applicable in particular to the Poles, to whose origin we are going further to advert.

We agree with our author in considering the present grand duchy of Posen as the primitive seat of the Poles, and the people of that country as the nucleus of their subsequently great empire. Dr. Roepell's information on this head, however, goes no farther back than the middle of the sixth century, whilst there can be no doubt that the Boloni, or Poloni, or Bolonnense, mentioned by Pliny in his ethnographical description of Europe, preserved in the Vatican, meant no other than these, and they are designated in the

third century as occupying the same territory in which we find them at a later period. To them also apply the words of Tacitus about the Vinidæ, that they were divided from the Germans by mountains (those of Silesia) and mutual fear,—*Montibus et mutuo terrore dividuntur*, the country between the Oder and the Vistula being perpetually the theatre of their warfare. The Germans became invaders in proportion as they were pressed by the Romans, and this was ever the case subsequently under analogous circumstances, and is so even at the present day, the Germans still endeavouring to gain upon the Slavonians what they have lost on the side of France. At the fall of Rome the Poles emerged from the insignificance and obscurity in which they had till then remained; we meet with the name of their chief Lech, as the founder of Gnesen, the first capital of Poland, as early as 540. After that epoch the information of Dr. Roepell is correct and may be relied upon. The dynasty of Lech ruled Poland until 850, when it was extinguished in the person of Popiel; but it seems to have done very little towards extending the limits of the rising state. After his death, Piast was elected as his successor in a general assembly of the nation held at Kraszwica, the second capital of Poland. The two contradictory traditions respecting the origin of Piast are well known. The story, manifestly a fabrication of the monks, which refers his election to the miraculous intervention of two angels, and states him to have been a wheelwright by trade, dwelling in the vicinity of Kraszwica (a fable no doubt suggested by his name which signifies the nave of a wheel) however unsatisfactory, nevertheless found credit not only at home, but up to the present day has been received by other nations. M. Safarik is the first who has ventured to attack this respectable prejudice, and according to him, and to trustworthy historical evidence, Piast was a rich landed proprietor, an influential individual, famed far around for his hospitality, whose son Ziemowit early distinguished himself in war. His name besides is not spelt by the earliest Polish chroniclers, Gallus and Bojuchwal, Piast, but Piesth or Pasth, and he is said to have been the son of Choscedzko or Chosischonis, which in modern Polish orthography would be spelt Kosciuszko. We would not however be understood as meaning by this analogy to identify his family with that of the hero of modern days.

The dynasty of Piast ruled Poland for five centuries, and its memory was so much cherished by the Poles, that when their crown became elective, they used to call every Pole who was raised to the throne a Piast. Dr. Roepell's disquisition on this subject is not conclusive, being restricted to etymological conjectures. The two immediate successors of Piast, his son Ziemowit and his grandson Ziemomysl, considerably extended the limits of

their empire in the south-east direction by the acquisition of Little Poland, on this side the Vistula, though Cracow still remained in the hands of the Bohemians. It was after the accession of Mieczyslaus I., in 963, that Poland first took her station amongst the independent states of Europe, by becoming a member of the western Christian community. The memorable event of the baptism of this prince, followed in the course of the same year by that of all his subjects, took place 966. The Polish and German historians are still at issue concerning the individual who was instrumental in establishing Christianity in Poland. According to the former, it was received solely from the Bohemians, at the marriage of Mieczyslaus with Dombrowka, a Bohemian princess, in 965, who refused to marry him unless he should receive baptism, which rite was performed by a Bohemian priest. The circumstance that the Bohemians were only a branch of the Poles, and that they had been long before converted by two Slavonian apostles, Cyrill and Methodius, together with the fact that Cracow, before the time of Mieczyslaus, was in their possession, are reasons for assuming, as a historical fact, that the conversion of the Poles was gradual in the first instance, and in the next, that it was accomplished with the assistance of Bohemia. This opinion acquires the more force when we call to mind that no portion of the Slavonian race was ever converted by the Germans, the Slavonians of the Elbe preferring to die on the field of battle rather than to receive Christianity from them. The Polish historians even go so far as to maintain that the two supposed angels who announced to Piast his elevation to the throne, were no others than the same Slavonian apostles, Cyrill and Methodius, who converted a considerable number of Poles. The German authors do not exactly deny that the Poles were converted by the Bohemians, but they assert that the Duke of Bohemia was father-in-law to Mieczyslaus, and a vassal of the Emperor of Germany; and that Mieczyslaus himself, having, in consequence of a defeat, become *miles* or vassal to the emperor, the latter was thus the primary agent of the conversion, in accordance with his self-assumed dominion over all the world. This argument is too far-fetched to be quite correct; but still there lurks some truth in it, which we may best detect by ascertaining, first, the degree of vassalage to Germany which the Polish duke acknowledged. This, again, is a point of controversy which has been debated by both parties for centuries, and never before settled to mutual satisfaction. So far back as the year 1694, John Schulz wrote a large volume, to which he gave the title *Tractatus Historico-Politicus de Polonia nunquam Tributaria*, and was rewarded for his labours by the Polish Government with a title of nobility.

In later times, when some German princes took part in the spoliation of Poland, this subject acquired still more importance. One of the best Polish historians, alluding to the pretended foundation of the bishoprick of Posen by the German emperor, thus settles the question of his supremacy over Poland :—

“ Where the emperor possessed nothing, he could grant nothing, except the usual privileges on parchment; the right of conversion, the acquisition of donations, and such things as his pretended and fancied dominion over the whole world permitted him to confer; precisely as James I. of England distributed at pleasure, by his pretended right of discovery, the American territories from sea to sea, which he never knew anything about : *Omne simile claudicat*.” *

This author, however, admits that Mieczyslaus was a vassal of the German emperor for a part of Poland situated between the Oder and the Warta. Dr. Roepell refutes this assertion, and proves, by a series of historical facts, that the vassalage of the kings of Poland was purely personal, and in no degree regarded their country, with the internal affairs of which they never interfered. Even this personal vassalage was never real, but only nominal; and, such as it was, it also ceased in the time of the successor of Mieczyslaus. Besides, the Polish kings never paid any tribute to the German emperors, mutual gifts being all that passed between them. It depended, therefore, on the personal character of the emperors how far respect for their influence should be enforced abroad; and, on taking into consideration the zeal of Otho I. for the propagation of the gospel, it can hardly be doubted that by his connexion with Mieczyslaus he promoted the organization of the Polish Church, and in particular the establishment of the first bishopric, that of Posen, in 986, which was besides placed under the supremacy of the Bishop of Magdeburgh. The introduction of Christianity into Poland by the Germans amounts, therefore, to the simple co-operation of their emperors in the organization of the Polish Church, and so far Poland could only be benefited thereby. She thus became betimes an acknowledged member of the western Christian community, and took part in all the early advances of civilization. Finally, it cannot be of any very great political importance whether the Poles received Christianity from Bohemia or Germany, since, as Dr. Roepell has himself demonstrated, their conversion was in no degree compulsory, but entirely a spontaneous act on their part, and one which was of lasting benefit to their country.

Our author justly remarks thereon :—

“ On dying in 992, at an advanced age, Mieczyslaus had reason to

* *Historya Naroda Polskiego Bandtkie*. (History of the Polish Nation. Breslau; 1834.)

congratulate himself on the revolution which he and his nation had just witnessed. Separated from the christianized west, the bearer of new civilization, and restricted within her own limits, or to intercourse with her immediate neighbours who were still in similar or yet more confined relations of life, the nation had hitherto moved only in the narrow sphere of enlightenment attained by her own race. Now, for the first time, she came in contact with a people of a different race, pressing upon and conquering her ; a people who had already arrived at a social hierarchy manifoldly organized, the development of which just then took a sudden start, and whose situation, contrasted with the nations of the west, far exceeded theirs in brilliancy. At the same time, a church assumed a firm position in the midst of her, which, being possessed of a higher degree of spiritual cultivation, and of a pompous form of worship, rejected as unholy all that had hitherto been held sacred by the nation, opposed one super-sensual God to her many partly-sensual divinities, and enjoined faith in Him, and required the observance of new ordinances, whilst it began to enforce obedience by the aid of external force, in concurrence with her princes themselves. In a word, the ancient and narrow life of the nation underwent, in the course of a few years, a radical change, which greatly contributed to its further development. Although it required ages before the christian spirit could penetrate the consciousness of the people, and thereby conquer the pagan spirit ; and though, during that process, the mass of the population remained passive rather than active, still, to a certain degree, a spiritual back-ground was thus formed on which the energies of the nation could manifest themselves." —pp. 103, 104.

Poland having, by adopting the Latin ritual, become a member of the western community of Europe, Russia, shortly after, (991,) received Christianity according to the Greek ritual. This circumstance, seemingly of small importance, most seriously influenced the subsequent destinies of both these countries, as well as of Europe at large. Hitherto no impassable barriers had existed between the Poles and the Russians, for they had possessed the same elements of government and religion, together with the same customs and language ; and the sword alone had traced their respective limits, which were soon again to be obliterated. But the distinction introduced by this event stamped at that epoch their geographical character for ages, and the two kindred nations thenceforth diverged towards the opposite poles of civilization. Then arose the still unanswered question, at what spot between the Vistula and the Dnieper the fraternal bond should be severed ; and this consideration may serve as a clue to the respective histories of Poland and Russia.

To Mieczyslaus succeeded his eldest son, Boleslaus the Great, who is generally acknowledged as the real founder of the Polish State ! Our author thus remarks upon him :—

" In the more ancient history of almost every people we generally

meet with princes who, distinguished by their intellect and energy, carry on their nation in the ascending movement which they themselves have made, lead them from victory to victory, extend their empire abroad, and at home mould the existing political elements into a fixed constitution of state. Although at the death of such mighty rulers a part of their creation is almost always lost, still they remain as the foundation-stone of the edifice they erected, and the grateful memory of the people adores the national hero to whom it takes pleasure in ascribing also the groundwork of later institutions.

"Such a prince was Boleslaus, the son of Mieczyslaus and Dombrowka. All the national chroniclers from Gallus to Duglosz portray his greatness with enthusiastic zeal. 'Who could,' exclaims Gallus, 'record worthily his chivalrous deeds, his struggles with the nations dwelling round him!' He then celebrates his victories from the Saale to the Dnieper, from the Danube to the shores of the East Sea; praises his zeal for the maintenance and propagation of the Christian faith, his care for the welfare of the clergy, and lauds his justice towards both poor and rich, his severity and mildness, his generosity, and the splendour of his court. 'When King Boleslaus left the world,' says he, 'peace and joy and the fullness of all things seemed to have withdrawn from Poland.'"

He devotes also to the memory of his hero an elegy of his own composing.

Immediately after the death of his father, Boleslaus manifested his vigorous and ambitious spirit by expelling from the country the sons of Mieczyslaus by a second wife, a German, in order to secure to himself the supreme power. Availing himself of the peace which at that time existed on the side of Germany, he extended his empire towards the north by conquering Pomerania and Prussia; and Dantzic thus became a Polish city so early as the tenth century. Desirous of securing his new acquisitions, he sent St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, who had been banished from his country, to establish the Christian faith in both nations:—

"In a vessel escorted by thirty Polish men of war, Adalbert sailed down the Vistula to Dantzic. Here great multitudes at once received from him instruction in the faith, and baptism. He then sailed to Eastern Prussia, where he suffered martyrdom with pious resignation at Tenketten, between Fischau and Pillau, on the 22nd of April, 997. His companions, who were detained prisoners by the Prussians, contrived at length to escape to Poland; and Boleslaus, having ransomed the body of the saint from the Prussians, caused it to be deposited in the Church of Gnesen, as an object of veneration to the faithful. Ancient traditions say that the pagans, having agreed that the ransom should be the weight of the body in gold, the holy man's remains were found to be unusually light."—p. 108.

This attempt to convert the Prussians—the first in which the Poles took part—entirely failed, and they remained as pagans for

two centuries longer, dangerous enemies to the Piasts. Boleslaus, however, soon succeeded in permanently extending his empire in the south, by wresting Cracow and the adjacent country, as well as Upper Silesia, from the Bohemians. The former of these conquests remained always united with Poland; but of the latter she retained possession only during a century. Boleslaus then carried his conquests still further southwards, and the whole of Moravia, together with the Slavonian country along the Danube, was subjugated by him. Thus, whithersoever we follow him, we see him march from victory to victory, extending his empire and increasing his power, and no doubt adding to the consideration felt for his person and his people by foreign nations. Already, by his advance to the shores of the East Sea, he came in multifarious contact with transmarine nations, the Danes and Swedes. He is often mentioned in the Sagas of the North under the name of Borislau; and it was about that period that the marriage of his sister Sigrid with the Danish king Swein took place. The fame of the Polish duke, so rapidly spread far and wide, awakened in the youthful and romantic Emperor Otho III. the desire of becoming personally acquainted with him; and he resolved accordingly to pay a visit to him—a visit which reminds us of that paid in modern days by Joseph II. to Frederick the Great. German writers, however, assign for it a different motive; and our author thus relates the circumstance:—

“It happened, then, that the Emperor Otho III., excited by the report of the miracles which occurred at the tomb of St. Adalbert, his early friend, felt himself mysteriously impelled to visit this tomb, and to pray there. True piety, and a faithful remembrance of his departed friend, probably also the charms presented by the idea of a long pilgrimage, determined the youthful emperor on undertaking the journey. It was towards the end of the year 999 that Otho set out from Rome; and having been everywhere on his road received with every demonstration of honour, he arrived in the beginning of 1000 on the frontiers of Poland. Boleslaus received him at Ilva, with great respect and pomp, and conducted him to Gnesen. Even the German contemporary Thietmar of Merseburgh, though no friend to Boleslaus, thus expresses himself: ‘The manner in which the emperor was received and conducted to Gnesen by the Pole is altogether incredible and unspeakable.’ Arrived before the town, Otho entered it barefooted, reciting prayers, and was received respectfully by Unger, bishop of Posen, who conducted him to the church. There he prayed with many tears that the saint would intercede for the remission of his sins.

“The Polish prince then honoured the presence of his imperial guest during three days by magnificent feasts worthy of a king. Each day different and more costly utensils appeared on the tables; and when the feasts were over, Boleslaus sent the gold and silver cups, knives, drinking-horns, precious covers, and all the magnificent services, to the emperor’s

chamber, as a gift, whilst his household received proportionately rich donations. 'With great gifts, then,' confesses even Thietmar, "did the Polish duke honour the emperor.'

"Otho's predilection, nay, enthusiasm, for the ancient Roman world, is well known; how he lived in the thought of restoring the ancient Roman empire, and of making the "eternal" city once again the seat of emperors. Here, then, in a place in which the foot of no Roman had ever touched, wondering probably at the power of the Polish duke, manifested in the splendour of his entertainments, in the multitude of the armed household which surrounded him, and in the victories by which he had just extended his empire both towards the north and south, Otho, conceiving his relation to Boleslaus in the mode of the ancient Romans, named the Pole 'Friend and ally of the Roman people,' adorned, according to Polish chroniclers, his head with his own crown, and conferred upon him the ecclesiastical rights of the empire both in Poland and in all the countries which that prince already possessed or should in future conquer from the barbarians. Then, penetrated with the remembrance of the saint in honour of whom he had come to Poland, and disregarding the metropolitan rights of the Archbishop of Magdeburgh, he founded, in conjunction with Boleslaus, the archbishopric of Gnesen, and appointed Gaudentius, the brother of St. Adalbert, Primate of Poland, ordaining as his suffragans the bishops of Salzthalberg, Cracow, and Breslau, whose bishoprics were erected on the same occasion."—pp. 110, 111, 112.

The presence of Otho in Poland proved very important to Poland. By his co-operation in the ecclesiastical organization of the Polish duke's new conquests, he to a certain extent gave his sanction to them; and by the erection of the archiepiscopal see of Gnesen, he effected the emancipation of the Polish Church from Germany. The next step for Boleslaus, was to achieve a similar political independence, nor was it long before an opportunity offered itself to him; to avail himself of which, Otho's late visit had rendered him fully conscious he did not lack power. The princes separated in apparently great friendship at Magdeburgh, whither Boleslaus had accompanied the emperor; but two years after, on the death of the latter, a war of sixteen years' duration broke out between Germany and Poland. The cause of these hostilities was of long standing; and to be made fully intelligible, it must be traced a little further back. After the fall of the Roman empire in the west, when the Germans migrated in large numbers to revel on its ruins, the Slavonians spread over central Europe, from the mouth of the Elbe to the Adriatic Sea; and the whole territory that constitutes Prussia and Austria of the present day was occupied by them, excepting only the Rhenish provinces of the former, and the Italian possessions of the latter. The new settlers in Austria were, however, for the most part, exterminated by the Germans under Charlemagne and his

successors. According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Germans treated them like dogs, sparing neither sex nor age, and selling them or reducing them to slavery. It was at that epoch that the hitherto honourable national appellation of *slavus* began to be converted into *slave*, *sklave*, *esclave*, *schlave*, &c. &c. A similar fate threatened also the Slavonians settled between the Elbe and the Oder, against whom Charlemagne, after subjugating the Saxons, had already made several expeditions. His successors followed his aggressive policy towards the Slavonians, who, without a central power whereby to oppose effective resistance to the united forces of the German empire, were reduced to partially succumb, though not until after a most determined struggle. That war of nearly four centuries' duration was kept up with unexampled animosity on both sides; the Germans carrying Christianity on the points of their swords, and endeavouring to establish it by the total extirpation of Slavonian nationality; whilst the Slavonians preferred death on the field of battle to receiving a doctrine propagated by such sanguinary measures. The German historian of the emperors of the Saxon dynasty, Witikind, thus describes that struggle and the character of the Slavonians:—

“The Slavonians are a hardy people, patient of labour, used to the most spare nourishment; and what appears a heavy burthen to our people, they consider in some degree as a pleasure. Esteeming above all their cherished liberty, they ever rise again in arms in spite of numerous defeats. Many days passed in that struggle, in which, with various fortune, some fought for fame, extensive and secure empire, and others for their freedom.” *

Upon the foregoing passage it may be remarked, first, that those characteristics of their ancestors have remained to the Poles up to the present day; and next, that the ancient German policy, exterminative of Slavonian nationality, is still prosecuted by Prussia, whilst that of Austria is of a more tolerating character. But to return to our immediate subject. The Slavonians of the Elbe were nearly exterminated, when the death of Otho III., and the dissensions consequent upon the election of his successor, Henry II., induced Boleslaus to declare a war against Germany; the immediate object of which was to rescue the subjugated Slavonians of the Elbe, who were Poles; and the more remote, to unite under his sceptre all the Slavonians of the west, in order to oppose an effectual barrier to the growing ascendancy of the

* Est namque hujuscemodi genus hominum durum et laboris patiens, victu levissimo assuetum, et quod nostris gravi onere esse solet, Slavi pro quadam voluptate deducunt. Transeunt sane plurimi dies, his pro gloria et magno tutoque imperio, illis pro libertate ac ultima servitute varie certantibus.—In Meibom. ii. p. 647.

Germans. On the outbreak of hostilities, in 1003, he made himself master of the provinces of Lusatia and Misnia, of the fortresses of Bautzen and Meissen, and of the country along the banks of the Lower Elbe, of which he ever after retained possession against the united power of Germany. Year after year the German emperor renewed the struggle, but was invariably worsted, and sometimes, according to German chroniclers, forced to return home with tears in his eyes.* The tactics adopted by Boleslaus were to allow the enemy to advance deep into the country, and to waste their time and strength in assaulting fortified places, whilst he harassed them on all sides, and ultimately compelled them to retreat—a measure always disastrous to them. At the same time he displayed that consummate patience which in our days has again been the grand cause of the successes of the Duke of Wellington. When on one occasion he kept his troops within the walls of Glogau, he replied to some who were impatient of inaction, “The army which you behold before you—the Germans were then passing before the town—is small in numbers but great in valour, and chosen from amongst a host of tried warriors. Should I attack it, conqueror or conquered, I am vanquished for the future. The emperor can easily collect another. It is much better that we wait patiently, and if possible work mischief to those proud men in some other way, without doing great injury to ourselves.” Another cause of his success was the perfect information concerning the plans of the enemy which he always contrived by bribes to acquire from the very persons surrounding the emperor. Yet in his other transactions with the emperor he behaved with the frankness characteristic of a genuine hero. When requested by the imperial envoys to resign his conquests, he replied, “Christ, who sees all, knows that if he (Boleslaus) complied with the request he would do so unwillingly;” and as an effectual proof of the sincerity of his words, he immediately prosecuted his march and made fresh conquests. Another time, when he was urged to the same effect, he answered, “That he would not only retain his present possessions, but would conquer more.” The war therefore recommenced with unabated fury, and was carried on in the devastating spirit of those days; and Boleslaus, anxious to strike a decisive blow against the Germans, endeavoured to draw the Duke of Bohemia over to his side. For this purpose he sent his son Mieczyslaus to him, “to remind him of their consanguinity, and to propose that they should together resist their common enemies, and especially the emperor.”

* Imperator quamvis dolens assumpta non bona pace cum lachrymis revertitur.—Chron. Quedlinb. ii. p. 79.

Dr. Roepell justly remarks upon this :

“ Who can mistake the ultimate end at which all these efforts of Boleslaus aimed? A bond between Poland and Bohemia, to which no doubt all the other Slavonian tribes between the Elbe and the Oder, then under subjection, but still longing for liberty, would have readily acceded, must have become very formidable to the German empire, and delivered the most advanced part of Slavonia from its preponderance. In this thought, which although Boleslaus had his own special interest nearest in view, he still conceived in that general significance, is manifested the greatness of his mind, as well as the danger with which his position and conduct threatened Germany?”—p. 129.

Fortunately, however, for Germany, Ulrick, the Duke of Bohemia, not only betrayed the scheme of Boleslaus to the emperor, but even delivered his son into the power of the latter. Boleslaus, however, through the influence which his system of bribery enabled him to preserve at the imperial court, and by promising to keep peace with the emperor, soon obtained his son's liberation. The latter condition, however, Boleslaus never designed to observe, so long as his new conquests should remain unacknowledged by the emperor. The Germans made most extensive preparations for war, and in their last expedition, 1017, they brought against Boleslaus not only their own united forces, but those also of Bohemia and Russia. They were more unsuccessful than ever. The most memorable event of that campaign was the heroic resistance of the Polish garrison of Glogau; and Thietmar of Merseburgh confesses, that “ he never saw or heard of any that defended themselves with more patience or greater prudence. When successful they did not exult, neither did they betray a misfortune by loud complaints.” At length the plague broke out in the imperial camp, and a most disastrous retreat followed, only to be compared to that of the Prussians in our days from France.

“ Who,” writes Thietmar, “ can paint the toils of the march, the general misery?” Nevertheless Boleslaus, although conqueror, was the first to propose peace, his presence being required against Russia. A treaty was concluded in 1018 at Bautzen, in virtue of which he retained his new conquests. That this treaty was looked upon as unfavourable by the Germans, may be conjectured from the words of Thietmar, who says that it was not such a treaty as became the emperor, but such as the circumstances of the time compelled him to accept. In the course of this long war Boleslaus also subjugated Bohemia, and made Prague his second capital; but this conquest he was subsequently compelled to abandon.

“ This,” says our author, “ was the last struggle of Boleslaus with the

Germans. It had been shown that the Polish tribes united into a political whole, were able under the command of an energetic prince, to oppose to the Germans a very different kind of resistance from that offered by the advanced part of the Slavonians on the Elbe and Oder. Favoured by a more remote situation, and by the nature of limitrophe provinces, by the internal state of Germany, and by the feeble character of his antagonist, the emperor Henry II., Boleslaus, boldly aspiring, won for himself, and maintained a position with regard to Germany very dissimilar to that held by his father. The victorious advance of German dominion towards the east, so rapidly and powerfully urged on by the first emperors of the house of Saxony, received its first check, nay rather was driven back by him and his people.

"The Germans had brought Christianity to the Poles, but they were unable to establish a political supremacy over them. The vassalage of the Polish king now already began to have very little, almost no significance, and from that time the most powerful emperors could only enforce a momentary acknowledgment of it in consequence of some casual victory, and Poland stood for centuries in the face of Germany, the unconquerable germ, centre, and support of Western Slavonism."—p. 198.

It used to be said of the Polish kings of a subsequent period, that they never slept on a bed of roses, but this may be especially applied to Boleslaus. No sooner did he feel himself secure on the side of Germany, than he turned his arms against Russia, to chastise her for her frequent invasions, as well as for her expulsion of his son-in-law from the grand duchy of Kiow. It is interesting to trace the beginning of that struggle between the Poles and the Russians, which was destined to continue for centuries. But let us listen to our author.

"In the summer of the year 1018, he commenced operations against Russia, and on the 22d of July he reached the banks of the Bug. On the other side of the river, Jaroslaus, Duke of Novogorod, lay encamped with a numerous army reinforced by bands of Normans. Whilst the Poles prepare bridges for the passage, the chamberlain of Jaroslaus, the palatine Rad, from the other bank mocks Boleslaus for his corpulence, calling out, 'We shall pierce thy thick belly well!' Thereupon the Polish monarch grows angry, and is the first to plunge on horseback into the stream. The army follows him, and the unexpected attack quickly decides the victory. The Russians strive in vain to resist the stormy advance of the Poles; their whole army is disbanded in wild flight, and Jaroslaus himself, accompanied by four men only, escapes to Novogorod.

"Without further combat Boleslaus advanced towards the East. Wherever he came all the inhabitants honoured him with rich presents, and after a short siege Kiow (the capital) also opened its gates to him. When he entered as conqueror at the head of his army, and attended by his son-in-law (14th of August) he made with his sword, a gift he had received from Otho, that famous cut in the golden gate, by which the sword obtained the name of *Szczerbca* (having a notch). For ages this sword

was preserved as a gem in the treasury, and all the subsequent kings were girt with it at their coronation. The campaign terminated with the capture of Kiow."—pp. 147, 148.

From Kiow Boleslaus sent envoys to the German and Greek emperors. To the first he offered gifts; to him of Constantinople friendship; but declared at the same time that he would prove his most persevering, unrelenting enemy, should the latter infringe their amity. He had now reached the zenith of his power; and having established his son-in-law as Grand Duke of Kiow, and made Russia tributary to his sceptre,* he returned home with immense booty and numerous prisoners, amongst whom were two sisters of Jaroslaus. At a later period, a Polish general made a triumphal entry into Warsaw, preceded by two czars in chains,—and the last king of Poland died a captive at St. Petersburg! Truly every nation, like every individual, will have its day in this world of ours.

"It must be acknowledged," observes our author, "that the position which Boleslaus had won for himself in a few years was a grand one. He had emancipated himself from the preponderance of the Germans, reduced the Bohemians to the limits of their own country, combated victoriously the Prussians and the Pomeranians, and stopped the advance of Russian power towards the west. From the Dnieper to the Elbe, from the shores of the east sea to the Karpathian mountains, he was now undeniably the mightiest ruler, and the Poles the predominating nation. With perfect justice did posterity surname him Chrobry, i. e. the mighty, the chivalrous, the man of great heart."—pp. 149, 150.

The court of Boleslaus wore a no less warlike appearance than his camp; and according to Gallus, the most ancient of the national chronicles, it was such as is described in the sagas of the heroic kings of the north. Every one who entered his service was welcome. Not servant, no, but son, was he called by Boleslaus; and if any one suffered a loss in horses or other possessions, the prince made him the most munificent compensation. Fowlers and huntsmen of all nations were to be found by his side. Besides the tables for the inferior portion of the household, forty others were daily and richly set out for the great. Even the external pomp described in the sagas, which, contrasted with the simplicity and wildness of their mode of life in other respects, appears so strange to us, was not wanting in the court of Boleslaus. The reception of Otho at Gnesen is a proof of this; but even on less remarkable occasions, not only the great, but the inferior nobles used to wear massive chains of gold, and the ladies, when they appeared at court, were so profusely adorned with similar ornaments, bracelets and jewels, that they could not support the

* "Ex eo tempore, Russia Poloniæ vectigalis diu fecit," are the words of Gallus.

weight of their apparel without the aid of their women. Although these pictures of the court of Boleslaus as drawn by Gallus may appear almost fabulous in their details, yet in general they furnish us with a true image of that life in which rich and sensual enjoyment constantly alternated with the dangers and pleasures of war. This period of Polish history may justly be characterized as the age of chivalry in its strict sense.

In the same generous and warlike prince, the chroniclers show us a strict and impartial judge, and extol his protection of the humble against the great, and the justice which he dealt to all, without any regard to rank. The distinctions between the several classes of society being not strongly marked in his time, all his subjects stood in immediate relation to their prince, and the administration of the laws was in general very simple. The country was divided into *viciniae* or *opole*, districts in the nature of parishes, the individuals of which constituted as it were one family. The members of these districts taxed themselves, and were held responsible for crimes committed within their precincts, whilst they acknowledged the supreme authority of the governor of one of the adjacent castles, which it was the custom of Boleslaus to erect for the defence of the country. This was the origin of Castellanies, and of the Castellans, who at a subsequent period acted so important a part in Polish history. At the same time Boleslaus zealously exerted himself for the propagation of Christianity, and for the firm establishment of a national church; inasmuch as it was through the latter alone that he could hope to secure his new conquests and the stability of his empire, a circumstance which there is frequent occasion to recur to in Polish history. With this view he invited foreign clergy into the realm, erected new bishoprics, and founded Benedictine monasteries at Tyniec, Sieciechow and Lyca Gora (bold mountain), so that where once stood pagan altars, the cross now shone on the highest mountains of Poland.

In the evening of his life Boleslaus gave a suitable appellation to the power he had acquired, by crowning himself king at Gnesen in 1025. Whilst the Polish chroniclers make express mention of the coronation of Boleslaus by Otho during his visit to Poland, the Germans preserve absolute silence on this point, so that we must conclude either that the report was incorrect, or, which is more probable, that Boleslaus would not owe his regal title to any foreign potentate, and consonantly to his character, chose to be as independent in name as he was in reality. However this might be, this act was a worthy conclusion to his career, and he died the same year on the 17th of June. He was buried at Posen.

Such men as Boleslaus are like pillars of fire going before their contemporaries destined to grope again in darkness the moment they cease to be guided by them. This remark holds true particularly with respect to his two immediate successors, who neither followed up his policy of promoting the union of the western Slavonians, nor inherited his powerful arm by which to keep in awe the neighbouring nations, jealous of the power to which he had raised his people. During the short reign of his son, all his conquests except Pomerania were lost, and during the minority of his grandson the people returned to the worship of idols, and thus his second grand work, the establishment of the church, was put in extreme jeopardy, and the country became a prey to anarchy and foreign invasion. The Bohemians were foremost in pillaging and carried off immense booty; amongst other spoils, they took from the Cathedral of Gnesen, the body of St. Adalbert, their countryman, whom in his life time they had banished. The Poles pretend that another body was substituted for it, and that the true remains of the saint are still preserved at Gnesen, and up to the present day this point is still undecided. The cause of these misfortunes of Poland must be sought on the one part in the difficulty of her position, she having to contend on all sides against heathens—the Prussians, the Lithuanians, the Jadzwingi or Jazygoe, and the Picezyngues; and our author justly remarks that as far back as the eleventh century, Poland was already the most advanced guard of Christendom against the barbarians of the east. On the other part, the grand fact proclaimed by all history should be kept in view, namely, that the moral, no less than the physical constitution of nations requires time to arrive at maturity, and that the seeds of the institutions of Church and State, sown by the genius of Boleslaus, required ages for their full development. The latter circumstance should be considered only as beneficial, in accordance both with the experience derived from history, and with the law of nature, that states and productions have a more durable existence in proportion to the length of time they take to become mature.

But Poland once impregnated with life-giving Christian truth, soon found strength within herself to rise from her humiliating position. Boleslaus the Bold (Imially) humbled all the enemies of his country; and interfered as the defender of thrones in the affairs of Bohemia, Hungary, and Russia. Still his views of policy were inferior to those of his great namesake, and he appears to have carried on war merely from the love of war. He however maintained his full independence with respect to Germany, and in spite of the emperor caused himself to be crowned in 1057, but he quickly lost both his regal title and his kingdom by the murder of Stanislaus, bishop of Cracow. The cause which induced him to

commit this act is still wrapt in obscurity. Gallus, who is the best authority on the subject, merely says,

“In what manner king Boleslaus was expelled from Poland, it would be long to relate; only this it is allowable to say, that a Christian should not have inflicted corporal punishment upon a Christian. Because this did him most harm that he used sin against sin, and punished the bishop for treachery by cutting off his limbs. For we excuse neither the traitor bishop nor praise the king who took such shameful revenge.”*

Whilst Gallus thus mentions the treachery of Stanislaus, Kadlabek, who 200 years afterwards was bishop of Cracow, states that the disorderly conduct and tyranny of the king drew upon him the ecclesiastical bann. It would appear however that the opposition of Boleslaus to the legates of Pope Gregory VII., who had shortly before arrived in Poland with the mandates of the Vatican, was the real cause of his excommunication, and of the subsequent assassination of the bishop, who refused him access to the Church.

The whole country having in consequence fallen under the papal interdict, and the nobles and clergy having united against him, Boleslaus, after a year's resistance, went into exile never to return. This was but another scene of the same drama, enacted at that very time by the same pope with the German emperor Henry IV.

How or when Boleslaus terminated his life is very uncertain. According to some accounts he committed suicide, in a fit of madness whilst he was in Hungary, and others say that he became a penitent in a monastery of Karinthis and died there. Some again will have it, that he was torn in pieces by his own dogs whilst hunting. The second account seems to be the most probable, and an epitaph lately found in the monastery of Ossya in Karinthis, which by its character indicates that it belongs to the twelfth or thirteenth century, goes far to remove all doubt. It runs thus: *Rex Boleslaus Poloniæ, occisor S. Stanislai.* As to the latter, he was canonized in the thirteenth century, and adopted as the patron saint of Poland; and it became a custom that all the kings on their coronation day should make an expiatory procession to the church of St. Michael at Cracow, where he was assassinated. After the expulsion of Boleslaus, his brother, Ladislaus Herman, was called to the throne. His reign presents no remarkable feature, except that during its course the Jews first made their appearance in Poland, destined, as has been said, to become their paradise, and they one of her plagues. This prince was the father of Boleslaus Krzywousty (wry mouth), a worthy successor of his great namesake. The whole life of this monarch from nine years of age was consumed in perpetual struggles with his neighbours, especially

* Gallus, p. 109.

with the emperor of Germany, Henry V., over whom he completely triumphed. But the most remarkable of his achievements was the conversion of Pomerania to Christianity, which he effected with the assistance of St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg. We regret that we cannot quote at length the acts of unwearied self devotion and true Christian charity exhibited by the prelate in his apostleship, and which form one of the most interesting episodes in the work under consideration. But here we must remark, as we have done elsewhere, that it was the Church alone which ultimately secured the conquests of Boleslaus the Great. Boleslaus Krzywousty, however, committed a great political mistake, and such it has ever been considered, by dividing, shortly before his death in 1139, the empire amongst his four sons. The regal title having been lost since Boleslaus the Bold, the right of exercising supreme authority over the other princes of the reigning family, in order to preserve the unity of the state, was vested in the grand duke of Cracow, (*monarcha maximus dux*), and this dignity always belonged to the eldest member. This partition of the empire was in accordance with the ancient custom of the Slavonians, but it had in this instance the effect of producing a civil war for the seniorate of Cracow, which lasted one hundred and fifty years, and of bringing Poland into a new stage of her political developement.

We cannot follow our author in his narrative of that struggle during which the nation, both from internal discord and external invasion, was many times brought to the verge of total destruction. It seemed, to use the expression of a national poet, "that Poland was about to be drowned in the ocean of misfortune." Dr. Roepell's narrative, besides, loses itself in minute and unimportant details, and neither do "his thoughts breathe nor his words live," as they should have done, whilst he was portraying a nation shaken in the inmost recesses of her existence, both natural and spiritual. Indeed this is the defect of his work in general, and not only of his, but in those of his fellow labourers, who have respectively undertaken to write these histories of the European states—life, the deep Christian life, so characteristic of the middle ages, breathes not in any of their works. The principal recommendation of the one now before us, is that it gives an accurate statement of facts, and this up to the present day has been a great desideratum in foreign literature as regarded Poland. We must limit ourselves to pointing out the general results, both external and internal, which the partition of the empire by Boleslaus entailed upon his country. As to the first, they were all disastrous; one of them was the loss of the important province of Silesia, ceded in 1163 to the sons of Ladislaus, the first Grand Duke of Cracow, who had been expelled by his brothers for attempting to deprive them of their paternal

inheritance. This proved a severe loss not only to Poland but to Slavonia at large, as Silesia became Germanized in the course of time, owing to the consanguinity of her princes with those of Germany. How must the shade of Boleslaus the Great have mourned over it! The next loss sustained by Poland was Pomerania, a duke of this country having rendered himself independent of her, whilst the Prussians, the immediate neighbours of Pomerania, were prosecuting their devastating inroads upon Poland. A crusade was preached against them by the pope, and the Poles joined the Germans in their endeavours to exterminate their brethren in blood, an occurrence deeply to be lamented by all the Slavonian race. At length, when all efforts to subdue the Prussians had failed, Konrad, duke of Masovia, the greatest sufferer by their incursions, called in to his assistance, 1225, the knights of the Teutonic Order, who had shortly before distinguished themselves in Syria and Palestine against the Saracens. With the consent of his heirs, he offered them in perpetuity the territory of Culm, as well as all the booty they should gain from the heathens. The deed of gift was drawn up in the form usual in those days for donations made to churches, monasteries, or families favoured by princes. The knights on their part engaged to defend Konrad from foreign invasion. The Grand Master of the Order, Hermann von Salza, most willingly accepted the offer, but his conduct towards the Polish duke was from the very beginning marked with treachery. In 1226 he induced the emperor of Germany to issue a diploma, by which the latter, according to his self-assumed right that all sovereign power on earth emanated from him, granted the Grand Master by anticipation all the land that he should conquer from the Prussians, to hold as a fief of the German empire. It is evident from this document, kept secret from Konrad, that the intention of the Order was to found a territorial sovereignty, to separate it from all connection with Poland, and to bring it into close relation with Germany. Thus at the commencement they assumed a hostile position towards the first mentioned country, and after a sanguinary struggle of a hundred years they partly exterminated the Prussians. The remnant they forced to embrace Christianity, or to retire beyond the Niemer into the then Pagan Lithuania. Another war equally long and fierce then broke out between the knights and the Poles, and this lasted until the former were completely defeated by Casimir, the son of Jagellon, when Prussia became a province of Poland. The eastern portion of it, however, with its capital, Konigsberg, was left in the possession of the Grand Masters of the Order, as vassals of the Polish crown. These having subsequently become Electors of Brandenburg, by their artful policy emancipated themselves from Poland, and finally,

as Kings of Prussia, took part in despoiling her. Dr. Roepell remarks with truth that there is not an inch of Prussian territory possessed first by the Marquisses and then by the Electors of Brandenburg, which was not acquired by some kind of treachery from some of the Slavonian races. In addition to this narrowing of her territory, Poland suffered incredibly from the incessant invasions of the heathens, and particularly from the Lithuanians and the Tatars led on by the descendants of Genghis Khan.

After a victory obtained by the latter over the Russian army on the banks of the river Kalka in 1222, followed by the subjugation of all Russia, they advanced into Poland, preceded by magnifying terrors, which spread all over Europe, not excepting England. Historians relate that even the price of herrings rose in the London market, because they could not be brought as usual from the coasts of Norway, owing to the universal consternation inspired by these invaders. They traversed Poland, converting her into a desert, until their progress was at length in some degree arrested by the united forces of the Dukes of Silesia and of Great Poland. The conflict took place in 1244 in the vicinity of Lignitz, and, though it was only a drawn battle, the Tatars, whose name fear had changed into that of Tartars—the sons of Tartarus or hell—made their retreat through Silesia, Bohemia and Hungary, to fix their abode in Russia, over which they held dominion during the two following centuries. The Polish historians state that no less than ninety-five incursions, though on a smaller scale, were subsequently made by the Tatars into Poland.

The melancholy state and weakness of the country, brought about by the dissensions of her princes, at length induced Przemyslaus, Duke of Grand Poland and of Pomerania, to make an attempt to re-unite her disjointed parts, in order to make head against her foreign enemies. In 1295 he was crowned king of all Poland by the Archbishop of Gnesen, and the regal title, which had been lost for upwards of 200 years, was again restored, though only for a short time. Przemyslaus was assassinated in the course of the same year at Posen by the Marquis of Brandenburg, who coveted the possession of Pomerania. With his death terminates the first portion of Dr. Roepell's work; and whilst waiting for the second and concluding part of it, we hope he will profit by the above remarks, and, as is common amongst the authors of his country, improve it in a second edition.

With respect to the internal results consequent upon the civil anarchy of the period in question, however strange it may seem at first, they were on the whole beneficial. In thus speaking we by no means intend to say any thing in favour of anarchy, or to

imply that those same results could not have been otherwise produced. We merely wish to draw attention to this moral and political phenomenon, and to explain it as briefly as we may be able. During the preceding period the whole strength of the nation, subject to an absolute central power, was chiefly expended in foreign wars, the consequence of which was, that Poland became powerful abroad and weak at home. Now the case was entirely reversed; the internal discord of the princes weakened the external power of the country, and the national strength was split in various directions at home, and thus a more intensive life and spirit was engendered in the nation. In other words the vigour of the nation, left to its own free action, gradually developed itself into the several distinct functions of the body politic, and the seeds of the institutions of church and state planted by Boleslaus the Great began to bring forth their fruits in the appointed time, whilst his simple organization of the country into Castellanies gave way to a more complex and perfect state of society. Originally the nation was divided into *schlacta*, nobility, or the land proprietors; into *kmiemie* (emetonies) or farmers; and the simple peasants, employed as labourers by the latter. Neither slavery nor servitude was known amongst them. This state of things continued until the partition of the country by Boleslaus III., when the rich landowners, in return for the support which they alternately offered to one or other of the contending princes, acquired not only immunities and privileges for themselves and their posterity, but also an influence in public affairs. From that period the princes of the land never took any important resolution without their consent, and the words *cum consensu baronorum* became the usual form of their edicts. These barons were no other than grand officers of state, in whose families certain high offices became perpetual, and they subsequently constituted one of the independent powers of the state, namely, the upper house or senate; at the same time their privileges were in no degree derogatory to those of the inferior nobility, or the great mass of landed proprietors, the possession of land ever remaining the main privilege of nobility, and these latter preserved so absolute an equality with the former, that it was wont to be said, that a noble in possession of thirty acres was equal to a palatine. They all adopted distinct family arms, though it is not unusual to see 200 or 300 families having the same armorial bearings, owing to all the sons inheriting the paternal distinction, and to its being customary to confer on newly-created nobles the arms of the family that patronized them. Beyond their substantial privileges, the nobles had no titles of any description, such as those of baron, count, &c. to

distinguish them amongst each other, or from the other classes of society. The adoption by any one them of such a title would have been high treason according to the Polish law—*eques Polonus par omnibus, nemini secundus*, was its maxim. The inferior or poorer nobility (*ordo equestris*) afterwards constituted the large body of electors, amounting to about two millions, and the *nuncios* (*posel*) chosen by them, form again another independent power of the state, or the lower house. During the period in question the church perfected her organization, and achieved her independence as one of the powers of the state. The higher clergy, by interposing their spiritual power between hostile princes, and by proclaiming the refractory to be under the bann of the church, delivered the domains of the latter from being arbitrarily disposed of by secular authority, and at the same time secured to themselves an active part in public affairs. Polish bishops, in virtue merely of their dignity, were members of the senate. There arose at the same time a middle class, between the nobles and the clergy. In consequence of the great waste of the native population through foreign and domestic wars, the princes encouraged the immigration of German colonists, granting them the enjoyment of their national municipal privileges, known in Poland under the name of the Laws of Magdeburgh. By the industry of these settlers the fallen cities rose again, and contributed to the general prosperity. The more considerable towns used to send their deputies to sit in the lower house, and the inhabitants of some, Cracow, for instance, were considered as nobles. The only sufferers, as is usual in similar cases, were the weaker party, the peasants, who, from having formerly been free, were now reduced to servitude by individual oppression, though this was not sanctioned by the law. Subsequently it became the policy of the monarchs to restore to the latter their rights, and Casimir the Great having effected his object, the nobles in derision bestowed upon him the appellation of King of the Peasants. He was the restorer of order and peace at home, as his father, Ladislaus Lokietek (*elbow*, so called from his diminutive stature), was of the external integrity of the state.

The elements of a free government, which we have just noticed, were fully developed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the regular organization of an hereditary constitutional monarchy. This form of government, the most comprehensive and the richest of all—for it contains all others in itself—was so far in accordance on the one part with the whole previous history of the Poles, the substance of which it expressed, and on the other with the grand principle of Christianity, liberty, which has its surest guarantee in a constitutional monarchy. Besides, by the

full development of the said elements, a firm foundation was laid for supporting the weight of power which it pleased Providence to confer next upon Poland. By the union of Hedwiga, queen of Poland and grand niece of Casimir the Great, in whom the dynasty of Piast became extinct, with Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, Poland became again a predominating power of the north. For centuries her authority was acknowledged from the Black Sea and the Karpathian Mountains to the Baltic, and from the Dnieper and the Dwina to the Oder; the dukes of Prussia, Courland and Livonia, and the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia being her vassals. The existence of this power was, in a political view, of great utility to Europe, for Poland never employed it except in the defence of Christendom against the Turks, the Tatars and the Tatarized Russians. On the other side the extension of the Polish dominion far in the east, was a great victory gained by the western civilization of Europe over barbarism, and the struggle between the two, kept up for ages on the banks of the Bug and the Dniester, was thus at once carried to the banks of the Dnieper. Russia was either not heard of at that time, or the Poles were masters at Moscow as the Russians now are at Warsaw. The power of Poland began to decline when, after the extinction of the Jagellon dynasty in 1572, the crown became elective, which paved the way for the interference of foreign powers in her internal affairs, and ultimately led to her partition. But at the same time we must render justice to her conservative spirit, shown by her return previous to the partition to the true principles of government in 1791, when by the constitution of May 3rd, the hereditary succession was re-established, and the nation at large restored to her normal condition. The same form of government was sanctioned by the diet during the late war for independence, and the majority of the Poles now wandering in foreign countries follow this principle. It is well known that they look also to Prince Adam Czartoryski, whose family is a branch of the Jagellons, as to the future king of Poland. Let them remain true to the conservative principle embodied in their history, and "He who maketh nations" may grant them a return into their beloved fatherland.

"Yes! thy proud lords, unpitied land! shall see
That man hath yet a soul—and dare be free!
A little while, along thy saddening plains
The starless night of Desolation reigns;
Truth shall restore the light by Nature given,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of Heaven!
Prone to the dust Oppression shall be hurled,
Her name, her nature, withered from the world."

ART. IV.—*Wilhelm von Humboldt's gesammelte Werke.* 2 Band.
Berlin: G. Reimer. 1841.

It is very possible that some of our readers may have heard of a book, "*De omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*"—a title which has been quietly translated "*A Treatise concerning everything, &c. &c.*" Now, whether in some marvellously enlightened period of the middle ages some pantologist, before whose lustre even that of Dr. Dionysius Lardner must grow pale, did really concentrate the essence of human learning on all possible subjects into a thin 32mo. (for a folio with such a title would be inconceivable), we know not. Yet if such book be in any way a desideratum, it is at all events pleasing, and perhaps profitable, to know where a substitute for it may be found; and we should have little hesitation in recommending therefore to the inquirer the collected works of William von Humboldt. "*The Objects and Qualifications of Historians*"—"The Bhagatvad Gita"—"*Jacobi's Woldemar*"—"The New French Constitution"—"*The Odyssey of Homer*"—"Foreign Policy"—"*Basque Etymology*"—"Sonnets and other Poems"—"*An Essay on the Male and Female Figure*,"—such form some kind of sample from that bill of fare which the brother of Alexander von Humboldt lays before his readers. One not uninteresting consideration to ourselves is, that the task we have undertaken puts us in the position of reviewing a review, for no small part of the collection now lying on our table consists of contributions to periodical works. We shall therefore not lose sight of this fact in the remarks which we are about to lay before our readers. Nor will the comparison which we shall attempt to draw between English and continental periodical literature be, we trust, devoid of interest. And now having said thus much, let us address ourselves to our task.

We will commence then with the disquisition on the male and female forms, which is at once eloquent and philosophical. Not long ago a work fell into our hands, by the Rev. G. D. Haughton, entitled "*An Essay on Sex in the World to come*," and we there found many very interesting speculations, much akin to those of Von Humboldt. Nor did we see any other objection to the book—for the topic was treated with all the delicacy it required)—than a want of sufficient excogitation. This is not the case with the essay before us: Von Humboldt had evidently thought profoundly on the subject he investigates, and the lover of the fine arts will find this portion of the work highly useful.

There was probably never a greater mistake made by a clever man than that committed by Pope, when he said

“A perfect woman’s but a softer man.”

It was confounding “feminine” with effeminate, and overlooking the fact that the female intellect differs from the male *not* in degree, but in kind. Nor is it making a much greater progress in philosophy to suppose, with Lady Morgan (whose words we dare not quote), that the mental character of woman is formed by her physical character. There is an essential generical *intellectual* difference between the sexes; the *soul* is male and female; nor will any philosophizing which stops short of this admission clear up the difficulties in which this most interesting subject is enveloped. If we believe the distinction to which we allude to be *essentially* spiritual and eternal, and only *accidentally* physical, we shall look to the spirit for the traces of its developement, and regard the outward form merely as the index of that which works within. Doubtless the Author of all good has so far blended all fitnesses in his creation that we shall ever find some correspondence between that which our bodily eyes behold and that archetype in the divine mind, which only the devout student, and even he but dimly, can perceive. To consider this question then in any philosophical light, we must regard the distinction of sex to be internal, spiritual and perpetual; not merely external and physical; and we shall then see humanity but imperfectly represented by either of them alone; and thus too we get rid of the discussion as to the superiority of one sex over the other, by showing that it cannot be entered upon at all. The words of inspiration, “In the image of God created he him, male and female created he them,” are but little understood by those who would restrict the divine image to that holiness which ought to be common to the two sexes. The parents of the human race were themselves also its model, each one requiring the other to constitute the perfection of humanity; so that in the paradisaic perfection of the male character and of the female character consisted the image of God. It was a human perfection divided into two distinct parts, possessing in the abstract nothing in common, and in its most favourable subsequent types but little, save the principle of love towards God, and towards the complement of earthly excellence as developed in the other sex. Even the most simple feelings and the most uncompounded mental operations subsist under a different phase in the mind of a man and in that of a woman, if indeed they be not things having indeed a resemblance, but no identity. Benevolence itself would require a different description in the two cases: nor can the ambition of such sove-

reigns as Elizabeth or Catherine II. be fairly compared with that of any king or emperor. It is in this very *difference*—in the fact that each can supply what the other needs—that the attachment between the sexes is founded; and in proportion as the characteristic differences are obliterated, in the same proportion does such attachment decline, or rather disappear.

To talk of the moral difference would be a work of supererogation. Every poet—(and this subject is not the only one in which poetry and truth are identical)—every poet we say, from the earliest period till the latest, has taken delight in expatiating on the delicacy and tenderness of the female character—has compared it, with regard to the “sterner stuff” of which men are made, to the ivy that twines round the tower, or to the vine clinging to the stately oak; and universal nature has made the same *feeling* (for it is a feeling and not generally a conviction) prominent even in the very affectations which prevail both in man and in woman: the latter will affect a shrinking timidity even when it forms no part of her *individual* character; and men who are cowards at heart will be boisterous, and “speak prave ’orts at the pridge,” from an intuitive perception that to do otherwise would be a departing and a degenerating from the proper type of their character.

All this is acknowledged freely enough, and many elegant things have been spoken concerning the duty of man to afford protection, and of woman to afford consolation, by persons who yet perceive no *generic* difference between the two characters. Let us therefore go on—(we are not going away from Von Humboldt)—to show that the mental character differs as much as the moral. And here we shall be met with the names of eminent women, and requested to point out the difference between the learning of Madame Dacier and that of M. Sanadon—between the mathematics of Mrs. Somerville and those of Professor Whewell—between the politics of Miss Martineau and those of Mr. Malthus: but we would remind the inquirer that it is perfectly possible to arrive at the same conclusion by different premises. Two locomotive engines, one moved by steam, the other by air, may be placed on parallel rails, and though they may arrive at the terminus at the identical moment, yet it cannot be denied that they have been moved by a differing application of a different principle. The knowledge therefore of the same facts proves nothing as to their having been attained by means of the same process: the fields that are green to the eye of a Wordsworth would assuredly bear no other hue to that of an Edgeworth or a Hemans; the books that they read and the conclusions to which they came, if the one were rightly understood and the other rightly drawn,

would be understood in the same sense and drawn to the same meaning; but (we speak now of classes, not of individuals) it would be by a somewhat different process. Often, too, the shades of difference will be so minute, that the student will have to be reminded that the strongest resemblance may subsist without identity of species. Often again will he be perplexed by an approximation of the character *in individuals* towards the type of the other sex, so that what may be fairly predicated concerning the individual man, or the individual woman, would be very incorrect, if applied to the male or female character in the abstract. The difficulties therefore which beset the inquirer may be resolved into one, viz. that of finding a person who may be taken as a type of the sex to which he or she belongs. It is highly probable that since the first parents of our race there never was a specimen of pure (that is to say unmixed) manhood, or pure womanhood; no one person in whom the character, either moral or mental, did not in some way or other swerve towards the type of the opposite sex, losing in one respect what it gained in another. We must therefore call imagination to our aid, and we may possibly then find in her realms some fictitious character, whom we may treat as artists treat a lay figure. Von Humboldt refers to the Greek divinities, not the heroes of Homer and Ovid, but the loftier conceptions of the sculptors. In them, as revealed by a Phidias or a Praxiteles, he contends that we may find the types of a perfectly unmixed male or female character.

“In the circle of the goddesses we first meet with the ideal of womanhood, in the daughter of Dione; the comparatively small stature, which gathers together every personal attraction, the voluptuous fulness of growth—the moist and expressive eye—the passionate and half-open mouth—the reliance rather on maidenly bashfulness than on the strength of defiance,—all announce a creature who grounds her power on her very weakness. Whatsoever approaches her circle breathes of love and enjoyment, and her very glance is one of affectionate invitation. It was a large and comprehensive idea which the Greeks embodied in their Venus, the power which produces and which streams through all living beings. For the representation of this idea could they choose no better symbol than the ideal of pure womanhood—the loveliest of all reproductive creatures, and no fitter moment than that when the first and as yet unconscious sigh of passion escapes from the bosom.”

But this, however lovely and however unmixed be the character which it symbolizes, is yet by no means the most elevated point of view in which we may place the female character. It is true that there is an individuality about the Hellenic Venus which gives it somewhat of a moral, and somewhat of an intellectual nature; but that which is chiefly sought to be displayed is the personification of female gentleness—the softness of unmingled

womanhood—uninfluenced by circumstances—unfettered by reflection, but existing in its most complete unrestraint. Here then is the primary idea among the Greeks of the female character, perfect and mature, yet bound by no ties; these as yet have not given it their modifications, and we find it therefore marked by what the French elegantly and appropriately call “*abandon*,” it speculates, but it is upon itself—it enjoys its newly awakened feelings, and appears in a kind of dreamy delight to attempt to analyze them—the eyes are cast down with a most attractive reserve, and we have the perfection of female beauty physically considered.

“Now that which speaks so plainly and unmistakably,” says Von Humboldt, “in the goddess of love, rests yet latent and folded up as it were in the form of Diana. Decked with all the charms of her sex, she renounces the empire of love and occupies herself only with manly pursuits. In these respects she resembles Minerva, but the character of the two goddesses is essentially different. In the awful daughter of Zeus the force of wisdom has annihilated all womanly weakness—this is shown by the calm, reflective, philosophic eye. Diana is earnestly engaged about the objects of her desire. She has only renounced one desire for another desire. Womanhood is to her nothing strange. Nay, she exhibits nothing masculine. As yet in her entire freedom is she unknown to herself. Again, she is not the representative of her sex, but only of a particular age, the tenderness of even the earliest passion requires for its development the calm in-flowing of thoughts which reflect upon themselves.”

But previous to this the emotions are, as it were, thrown forward, and rest upon external and distant objects.

“Hence the period of early girlhood is not unfrequently marked by a kind of absence of feeling; and indeed when we consider that the softness and gentleness of the female character is called out and brought into action by the emotions and experience of a subsequent period, we may designate it a certain hardness.”

It must at the same time be observed, that in many individuals this period passes so swiftly away that it is scarcely to be noticed at all; while in others it is long enough to become the subject of remark. It is precisely this period of development that the sculptors of ancient Greece sought to personify in the daughter of Latona.

“The charm of womanhood radiates not from her in melting beauty, but is as yet hidden and folded up within itself. The outward form has more both of strength and activity than that of Venus, and the whole expression both of figure and countenance indicates that the soul is not sinking back into and resting upon its own hidden and deified imaginations, but is reaching out to and attempting to grasp the objects of external nature.”

This idea certainly did prevail, and not only among sculptors but among poets also, and so unattractive was the yet immature character thus depicted, that they (the poets) attempted, and attempted in vain, to assimilate it with a more ripened age by the fiction of Endymion—the incident suited not the individual, and the fable loses in its consistency without gaining in interest. Thus then we look on the Artemis of the Athenian sculptor as the personification of a period of female life, interesting only as containing within itself the germs of a lovelier and more perfect condition—but the Venus is a type of the whole woman, soul and body, seen indeed in her least elevated point of view, and with none of the loftier faculties called into play, but possessing nevertheless within herself all the prerequisites of the most exquisitely beautiful and attractive character. When to the loveliness portrayed in the personification of female physical beauty are added the case of responsibility, and the majesty of authority—then the latent energies are brought out, and we see the force and depth of the character which previously we noticed only in its calm and undeveloped repose; to the undiminished gentleness of the previous condition, is superadded the dignity of the existing one, and that which before won from us our love, now demands our reverence. This was the prevailing idea sought to be expressed in the figure of the Greek Hera—the Juno of the Romans.

“Comparing,” says Von Humboldt, “the loveliness of Aphrodite with the dignity of Hera we perceive womanhood transferred to a grander and wider sphere; in the latter it not only exhibits itself in every line and feature, not merely in the moment of passion or affection, but it is interwoven throughout with the active and responsible life.”

Here the mythologists have given a strange loose to their imagination, and have (as they often did) taken the *individual*, not the species for their model. Anger, jealousy, vindictiveness, the love of power, proneness to take offence, all characterize the poetic Juno, but form no part of the idealized creation of a Praxiteles or a Phidias. Now as we find the external aspect of Venus and Diana exactly corresponding to the internal development, so also the same rule will be found to hold in the case of Juno.

“For not,” we again quote our author, “as in the goddess of love, through a passion-breathing voluptuousness—not as in the daughter of Latona, by an unembarrassed earnestness—does the queen of goddesses indicate the essential character of womanhood, but by a calm fulness and collectedness of repose extending throughout the whole figure, the lofty stature, the large and majestic eye, the dignity of the entire form, which while above humanity is yet in no respect contrary to it.”

For as in the ideal of the sculptor the divine nature was but a

perfected humanity, so every attribute of manhood or womanhood had but the process of enlargement and purification to undergo in order to become, in the Hellenic mind, divine. In this light then should we look at the remaining monuments of Greek genius, not so much as mere works of art, but as models of the ideal, as personifications of humanity under various phases, but refined and etherealized and, if we may venture to use such a term, purified from earthliness. We will accompany our author for a while in his examination of the gods of the Greek Pantheon, and then, before turning to another of the multifarious topics treated of in these two volumes, we will make a few observations on the philosophy of what we have said.

“As the characteristic of greater loveliness than the mere human figure seems to imply, indicates without further trouble the female sex, so in like manner must manhood be visible by the outward indications of its internal and spiritual nature; there is however this remarkable distinction between the two cases, that the latter is less easily perceived when present, than it is missed when absent.”

We see at once and at the first glance that the connection between the physical and spiritual is less visible, is more subtle.

“There are indeed the tokens of a different character inwoven with what we behold, in the presence of greater strength, more constant activity, harder firmer muscles, and smaller masses.”

Not that therefore the male figure and its spiritual counterpart exist in a softened and adorned shape in the female—or that the former is a nearer approach to an ideal pure humanity, but simply that the conditions of manhood require a more perfect independence, a greater power and freedom of action, than are required by or are consistent with those of womanhood; the very beauty of the female figure, consisting as it does in roundness of muscle and softness of outline, necessarily causes a preponderance of volume over power, and directly this proportion is infringed, the beauty and the distinctive character are lost together; the figure becomes first awkward, then androgynous. In the male figure, on the other hand, volume, and therefore softness of outline, is postponed to muscular strength, and the violation of this proportion also has a similar effect to that which we have just noticed in the corresponding case. Now, so far as the visible is a type of the invisible, the external of the internal, so the androgynous figure must be not a mingling of the male and female characters, but a deprivation of the real types of each—it is not only unnatural but portentous, and this of itself ought to be sufficient to show us the utter and entire difference of those two natures which it attempts to unite.

"Even the very manner," rightly observes Von Humboldt, "in which power is manifested is not indifferent, for it is one thing to be nourished into fulness and another to be exercised into strength; the former case as it exhibits less of the distinctive character so is it lower in the scale of existence: this is exhibited in the Greek Bacchus."

And it is not unworthy of notice that he represents the might, not of will or mind, but of nature as contradistinguished from will, i. e. of matter; he is therefore destitute of the power which characterizes Zeus or Apollo—not entirely destitute of power—but only of that power which results from the exercise of the trained will; he is also, while he possesses the softness of woman, devoid of her gentleness and attractiveness. The remarks of Von Humboldt which touch on this subject are full of a profound philosophy, evincing a most thorough knowledge not merely of human nature, but of metaphysics in its noblest and most universal sense. Speaking of the Greek Bacchus he says:—

"Like Venus he signifies a power of nature, and is therefore like her more closely linked with mortality than the higher divinities, but exactly for the reason that she is a type of pure womanhood, so does he indicate a deviation from pure manhood—and as far as any man allows himself to be ruled by the power represented by Bacchus (not wine, be it remembered, but the collected might of sensual inclinations), so far does he degenerate from his sex and destiny. It is true that this is also the case with woman, but while by giving way to impulses, the most beautiful features of her character may be sometimes extinguished, yet in her case the bounds within which she may do so are larger, and it is her peculiar duty in a lofty sense to give way to her impulses, while it is that of a man to offer up his to the sterner duties of his sex."

This will be more easily understood when we recollect our author's theory as to the Greek Venus; that she represents all the softer emotions, in their normal state, untrammelled by any tie; and practically too it will be exemplified by the difference between the maternal and paternal affection—the one all tenderness and indulgence, a pure but most beautiful instinct of nature—the unconscious but pervading power of an irresistible impulse;—the other a shape or phase indeed of love, but mingled with care, and sometimes also with sternness—listening to the voice of reason even when counselling harsh things—growing up by habitude, and made up of forethought and pride, and responsibility, and general benevolence. But we must proceed. We have seen but one of the gods, and there are a whole pantheon awaiting us. Let us next contemplate manhood in its simplest form—that form in which there is but little beyond enormous strength and the absence of all that is feminine. Turn we to the Farnese Hercules.

"Wearied with his exertions, he rests, supported on the weapons of his might. Giants and monsters has he slain, but not with the power of a god, who by the word of his lips, and the wave of his hand, would annihilate his opponents, but he has laid them low by the energies of a mortal, and won the victory by the sweat of his brow.

"But when Hercules had elevated himself to heaven, and forgot in the joys of his divinity this troublesome earthly life, a somewhat less hard and angular form is attributed to him; and by this means the character is preserved, and the beauty, as applied to the man, united to that which belongs to the species."

In other words the individual is generalized, and at the same time etherialized. A higher step in the same scale is afforded us by the union of conscious intellectual power with determined energy, when this last also is made attractive by gracefulness. Let the bounds which confine the mental and physical capacities of men be removed,—let the higher virtues be active, and the personification of such a state will be found in the Apollo. Von Humboldt rightly observes that

"Were our senses so accustomed to beauty as to look for it habitually in all visible objects, we should be more aware than we are of the hardness of the male form as we usually see it, and be reminded by it more of the sex than the species."

Adaptation to its peculiar end is the great characteristic of nature's work, and it matters not how beautiful in detail—that is no copy of nature in which this one grand feature is not preserved. The essay from which we have been quoting extends to a considerable length; and were it not that we wish this article to resemble the book of which it is a review, we should quote much more, but we must hasten to other topics, and shall therefore add only a few remarks on the intellectual difference to which we have before adverted, and which we have all along borne in mind. We have said that the soul is male and female, and we have asserted that the feelings and mental operations which we call by the same names are nevertheless in the case of different sexes—different things. A simile may here help us a little, and render the brief remarks which follow more easily intelligible. The component parts of fat or tallow, are stearine and elaine—different things having nevertheless a great resemblance. Stearine is greasy—so is elaine, and rather more so. Stearine may be burned by itself, and will give a brilliant light—so may elaine; neither is there any remarkable difference between their compositions. Now we by no means intend that benevolence, for we must take an instance, resembles elaine or stearine, still less that it resembles the one when exercised by a man, and the other when exercised by a woman; but we do mean that some difference—

probably greater than exists between the two substances named, will be found to obtain between the feeling or sentiment called benevolence in the two cases referred to. In the one case it has more of impulse—more of nature; in the other more of obligation—more of principle. The impulses are followed in the one instance because they are good, and it is not intended that they should be resisted. The colder and sterner nature of man requires something to stimulate his benevolence, and he finds this in the sense of duty. This is one instance of the truth of Von Humboldt's maxim, that woman has usually to follow her impulses, man to combat his—but for the very reason that this difference obtains, a greater degree of moral strength is bestowed upon man, a more determined energy, so that the duties and the strength may be commensurate. Turn again from the moral to the mental condition, and we shall find another singular coincidence with the same theory. Women are said, in common parlance, "to jump to a conclusion." If we ask German metaphysicians what is the highest faculty of the mind, they will reply, or at least the best of them will reply, "the pure reason," and in this they are perfectly right. But what is this pure reason—not ratiocination—not causality—but the intuitive perception of truth, which varies in different minds, and which does, we are firmly persuaded, form the great distinction between man and the inferior animals. It is a difference not in *degree*, but in kind; and presents an essential, an eternal difference, an impassable gulf. It is almost impossible not to feel that there are conditions of *rational humanity* (for idiocy must be excluded from the question); it is, we say, almost evident that there are conditions of rational humanity so low that the higher animals—the dog, for instance, and the elephant, if they do not equal or even surpass it, do not at all events fall very far short of it. There are but few operations of the human intellect which we can trace in the Australian savage, of which analogous examples may not be adduced in the canine or elephantine races. We do not mean here to enter into speculations so wild as the civilization of wild beasts, nor do we ever expect to see a nation of Hounhwhyms, as Swift, in his nasty novel, calls the rational horses. The pure reason of which we have just made mention—that intuitive perception of the good, and the right, and the beautiful, which has nothing to do with argument—which requires no convincing—but which is the remains of a paradisaic nature; this forms the great difference between the conditions of humanity and those of mere animal life. Now this pure reason seems to exist more actively and more singly, if we may use such a term, in the female mind than in that of man. It is a rare thing for women to be possessed of great metaphy-

sical acuteness; rare, though less so for them to be mathematicians. They have quick perceptions, and are able rapidly to combine the vivid ideas elicited within them, but it is not often that they analyze either their own ideas or those of others. Phrenologists tell us that causality is smaller in the female head than in the male. This is not the place to discuss the truth of phrenology, but whatever be said of the organ, it will we think be generally allowed that the faculty is less prominent. But this is to women a matter of little moment; they have to deal more with conclusions than with premises; and a woman "of judgment" arrives at a correct conclusion, sometimes without troubling herself about the premises at all. This may be curiously exemplified by examining the works of female writers, when they treat on subjects supposed to require much ratiocination. They take so much for granted that a man would feel it necessary to *prove*. They rely so much, and so rightly too, on the *impression* made on their minds by a transaction, a character, or a condition, that it is quite easy to see how different is the process by which the same end is attained, to that which would be gone through by a man. Yet it is not at the first glance that even this will be perceived; for an assemblage of facts, with a deduction, looks very much like an effort of ratiocination. And so it is; but not of the same nature with a chain of arguments and a deduction. Mentally, therefore, as well as morally and physically, is woman essentially and eternally distinct from man, possessing all that he wants, and deriving from him all that she has not herself—formed for a separate sphere of distinct duties, and with man completing the circle of humanity. But we must here close these speculations; those to whom they may be agreeable will find in Von Humboldt's essay much to interest, and much to surprise them; nor will they regret the time they give to its perusal.

The politics of these two volumes are by no means so good as their metaphysics, but even these are interesting, for they show us what kind of ideas circulate by means of the German periodical press. In a land like this, of facts and railroads and calculations and spinning jennies, even the philosopher, whose enlarged mind reverts to principles in every case, is frequently set down as a mere theorist. *Practical* men are the only persons to be trusted, and it often happens that the true value of facts, viz., the power by their means to elicit principles, is overlooked in a love for the facts themselves; but the man who would advocate some wild theory must advocate it at his own expense; for in the first place he will be set down, and not unjustly, as a mere visionary; and secondly, if he print his lucubrations nobody will buy them. In fact the English have no time for speculation, unless it be in the way of business. Mathematical science is pursued as a means of advancement, and

metaphysics is scarcely pursued at all. This state of society has its advantages and its disadvantages; if it repress the production of some few works which might live to distant ages, it certainly stops the publication of a great deal of absolute nonsense. It is quite true that a very large portion of what is published in England at the present day *is* trash; but still where one volume is printed in this country, ten are printed in Germany, and moreover few persons proceed so far as to the press here without some chance of a remunerating sale, so that even in their case it is a matter of business. Now in Germany the case is somewhat different; thousands of stupid volumes are published, the authors of which wrote not for the market, but solely because what they supposed to be genius prompted them—these would here have contented themselves with talking nonsense, on the other side of the water they print it. But that this indiscriminate publication of every man's thoughts has also *some* advantages must be allowed; among the mass of absurdities some valuable thoughts will be found, a few grains of wheat among the chaff. Bearing these facts in mind, we shall the less wonder at some of M. Von Humboldt's waking dreams. What shall we say to the following ingenious sophistry? speaking of the application of certain principles he says—

“ But these applications will be the less destitute of utility, as I shall here solely consider the effect of war on the character of a nation, and shall therefore be circumscribed to that point of view which I have chosen in my present undertaking. War, then, viewed in this light, appears to be one of the most useful phenomena for the improvement of the human race, and I unwillingly behold it gradually receding from the theatre of the world. It is the extreme, a frightful one I freely allow, by which that active resolution is strengthened and maintained against danger, labour and indolence, and which modified in so many ways in human life, adds both power and versatility to the whole species, without which facility becomes weakness, and simplicity becomes emptiness.”

After this we need hardly require further proofs of the visionary character of the politics which are here advocated. We will, however, take one or two more extracts to show that it is not merely on one subject that this theorizing propensity is displayed, but on every topic connected with political economy. Public education comes in for a share of similar treatment, and here, indeed, we find one of the causes of the strange views taken up by our author, one of the clues to his philosophical system. A profound scholar, he had made himself intimately acquainted with the constitution of ancient states, and sought among them the ideal of perfection. Greece and Rome formed the world he

lived in, and if he did at any time transfer his attentions to other regions it was to India and Egypt, to the Basque provinces of Spain, but never to modern Germany. And there is yet a young Germany as well as a young France; less mischievous, less vicious, and therefore less offensive, but equally affected and equally ambitious. Now this ambition runs a good deal in the Greek and Roman line, and hence M. Von Humboldt would find an echo in many a bosom when he says—

“Talk to us about Greece and Rome—why a more exact knowledge of their constitution would quickly show us how idle are such comparisons. Those states were republics—their educational institutions were the supports of their free forms of government, filling the citizens with an enthusiasm which prevented their feeling the injurious effect of circumscribing the liberty of the subject, and made the energy of their character less liable to abuse. They enjoyed also a greater freedom than we do, and the sacrifices which they made were offered to an active power, to an essential part of their government. Between this and the greater number of our monarchical states there is a wide difference. What the ancients could do by moral means, national education, religion, legislation, all these among us produce less fruit and more mischief.”

After this, which might perhaps be more intelligible, we are assured that the wisest of modern laws are scarcely more than a shadow of those of Lycurgus; and moreover, that refinement has reached so high a pitch that it can only be increased by individual education, and that all attempts to bring mankind into classes, and consider and legislate for them as such, must now be more than ever injurious. We know not whether these and similar speculations arise from a proneness in the German mind to theorize, or whether they must be attributed to the political constitution of the country. We say political constitution, because, though we know that there are now many nations making up the total of the Teutonic race, yet wherever the German language is spoken we find the same virtual form of government existing—a government kind indeed, and easy at home, but essentially despotic; and, at the same time, among its subjects we find a not always very well regulated love of theoretical freedom.

It will be a relief to pass from these visionary theories to a subject which, though affording much room for speculation, is treated here with singular judgment and moderation. We allude to the investigation of the question—how far the ancient inhabitants of Spain may be determined by the test of existing languages. The Celtic character of the ancient Gauls and Britons is proved, not merely by the testimony of Cæsar, but by the dialects of the ancient Celtic even yet spoken in Wales and Armorica, and, till within a late period, in Cornwall also. The

Erse and the Gaelic are evidences of the same descent in the early inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland, and the admixture of Etruscan and Greek, which, when perfected, made the Latin, point to the source from which sprung the first cultivators of Italy. Nor are inquiries of this description valuable only to the etymologist, the character of a nation is stamped indelibly on its language; and in tracing therefore a great people to its origin, we are tracing the influence of climate, and laws, and civilization, and all those peculiarities which make up, as it were, the idiosyncrasy of a race. The stern, haughty and magnanimous character of the Roman is reflected, as in a mirror, in the stately and sonorous march of his oratory—the vivacity, the mental rapidity and versatility of the Athenian is equally well shadowed forth in the rich, flexible and mellifluous language which it was his pride, as well as his privilege, to use; the very existence of the term “barbarian” proved how clearly he perceived that his mother tongue was a part of his own intellectual nature—that, formed gradually for the wants of a refined people, it had kept up the standard of refinement. The songs of Tyrtæus would have been tamely expressed in a less happy dialect, and the eloquence of Pericles owed not a little to its graceful vehicle; and here, too, we might enlarge on the Pelasgi, but our space admonishes us, and the work of Von Humboldt requires consideration. Spain is one of those lands which affords us a clue to the discovery of her ancient inhabitants, by the existence of a language still spoken, and bearing but little analogy to any other western tongue, and which, moreover, is confined to a small part of the peninsula itself. Unlike the Welch (which finds its cognate dialects in the Erse, the Gaelic, the Cornish, and the Armorican, and, in common with them, its immediate parent in the now lost Celtic), the Basque, Biscayan, or ancient Iberian, stands alone, has no sister language, and points to a distinct and peculiar race of people.

“Yet,” says our author, “this clue has been long unnoticed, and it is only within the last twenty years (we must now say forty years, for these remarks were written in 1821) that any use has been made of them.” Two Spanish writers, Don Pablo Padro de Astarloa, and Don Juan Baptista de Erro y Aspiroz, one in his “*Apologia de la Lengua Bascongada*,” and the other in his “*Alfabeto de la Lengua primitiva de Espana*,” and in his “*Mundo Primitivo*,” have paid the most attention to this subject, though Larramendi in the preface to his *Biscayan Dictionary*, and Herivas in his *Catalogo delle Lingue Conosciute*, had previously more than alluded to it.

But both Astarloa and Erro were themselves Biscayans and led by a national prejudice to far more sweeping assertions than

any other etymologists were prepared to admit. The idea of exalting in dignity and antiquity to a pre-eminence above others their own language was not peculiar to Biscayan philologists, but it does pass the bounds of ordinary absurdity to be told, as Astarloa gravely does tell us, that *aarra*, which is the Basque word for man, and *emea* for woman, are original and primitive words, and take their derivation from the fact, that a male child first utters the sound *a*, and a female child the sound *e*. We shall hardly, after this, be much surprised to learn that neither the Hebrew nor the Sanscrit, nor the language of ancient Iran, whereof Sir William Jones discourses so learnedly, was the primitive language of mankind, but that Adam and Eve, in Paradise, spoke remarkably pure Basque. A stranger by birth has some and often no light advantage, in the freedom from such national prejudice; and he who would most satisfactorily search out the ancient tongue of the Peninsula, must seek its character and history, not in the Spanish pages of Astarloa or Erro, but in the German ones of Von Humboldt.

“ One of the greatest and most certain aids that we could possibly have in our researches concerning ancient languages is that which we derive from the names of persons and places, but it unfortunately happens that the very writers from whom we derive our knowledge of the persons and places themselves, have rarely condescended to hand down their names uncorrupted. Pliny expressly admits that he took especial care to mention only such among the Iberian cities as were to be pronounced by Roman organs.* Pomponius Mela remarks, ‘ There are among the Cantabri many tribes and rivers whose names could not be pronounced by our mouths;’† and Strabo ‘ is unwilling to heap together their names,’ and endeavours to avoid the disagreeable necessity of writing down such barbarous sounds; or else, he continues, ‘ the reader must be content to meet with names as bad and even worse than Pleutaurer, Bardyeter, and Allotriger.’‡ And indeed he must have found many more barbarous names, for these contain some very Hellenic syllables.”

At all events, these examples will show that the Roman, as well as the Greek writers, gave us only a selection of names, and made the sound of those they did give agreeable, so far as possible, “ to ears polite.” But much as the aid we derive from proper names is diminished to etymologists by the truly barbarous process to which we have adverted, still greater injury has been done to mythology by the determined purpose of both Greek and Roman to find every where no other deities but their

* Ed. Hard. i. 136, 14, 144, ii. 12.

† Pomponius Mela, iii. 1, 10.

‡ Strabo, iii. 3, p. 155. Cass.

own. In imposing the names of their own divinities alike on those of the Teutonic, Celtic, Scandinavian, Sarmatian, and Iberian pantheons, and thereby enveloping the most interesting relics of antiquity in an obscurity which, in many instances, time has rather thickened than dissipated, they were making somewhat of a "set off" against those advantages of civilization which they introduced. Among the most useful means of ascertaining the names, both of persons and places, may be reckoned the study of numismatology, "and those names which are found inscribed in strange characters, and therefore probably uncorrupted, are here especially serviceable; of these, however, those only are to be depended upon, in the interpretation of which there is nothing conjectural. Of such names seems ILIGOR, which, without the alteration of a single letter, is the Basque word for "high or mountain city." But the influx of strange tribes, by itself, must have a tendency to give double names to places, just as in Mexico we not unfrequently find a town distinguished by a Spanish and at the same time by a Mexican name; add to this the corruptions of foreign writers, and the gradual decay of and changes among the aboriginal inhabitants, and we shall be led to wonder, not that so great devastation has been made among these relics of more ancient languages, but rather that so many are left in a recognizable state.

In order to appreciate the labours of Von Humboldt, we must begin, not at the beginning, for, with the true spirit of the inductive philosophy, he sets out, not to prove an hypothesis, but to seek the truth. We must begin by the conclusion, which is this, viz. that the modern Basque, a language little known beyond the provinces in which it is spoken, is the aboriginal language of Spain, and the inhabitants therefore of those provinces the descendants of her aboriginal inhabitants. The train of proofs by which he comes to this conclusion are highly interesting, and calculated to excite our wonder that a man so much absorbed in other pursuits (for these two volumes are but the first instalment) should have been able to pursue with so much success a difficult, and, at first sight, not very inviting subject. But it was not pursued alone; Celtic and Teutonic etymology were studied at the same time, and some very remarkable analogies are elicited by means of "Davies' Celtic Researches." The roots of the Celtic language, remarks this last-named writer, are very simple; a single vowel or consonant signifies, not only a particle, but a noun and a verb. "There is scarcely a connection of a consonant with a preceding or following vowel which has not its own meaning," &c. "The longest of pure Celtic words may be resolved into such roots; these roots, however, are not to be con-

sidered as significations of visible objects, as earth, water, tree, and the like, but as symbols of various kinds of being and action." A similar mode is pursued by Astarloa in his "Apologia," and it is singularly curious to see how far words may be subdivided by an enthusiastic system-maker. *Axe* is the Basque word for air; this, according to Don Pablo, is derived from, or rather compounded of, *a*, extension, and *xe*, which is a diminishing particle, and *axe*, therefore, signifies thin extension, or that which is thin and extended. In like manner, in order to show that Astarloa treats the Basque no worse than Davies and others have treated the Welch and Irish tongues, Von Humboldt gives us, at p. 12 of his Essay, a few instances of a very rare quality. Where all are equal, there is difficulty in a choice: we take one as a specimen. *Tan* is the Celtic for fire; the roots of this word are, says Mr. Owen, *ta*, that which extends itself over any thing, and which therefore may be translated, over it, or stretched over, and *an* element. Really the genius of the ancient Celtic must have been somewhat like that of Moliere's Turkish;* it must have had the faculty of expressing a great many things in a very few words. At the same time that he rightly ridicules etymologies such as these, Von Humboldt is by no means blind to the fact, that many ancient words which appear simple are in truth compounds.

"We may with security assert, that any language consists of a certain number of simple sounds as its foundation, by whose working out, by means now of external additions, now of internal alterations, proceeds a vast number of derivative words; the former, which are called roots, stand in a double relation to the latter, first with regard to the analogy of the derivation literally, and next with regard to the ideal of the meaning philosophically. Of these two relations, the latter is in its very nature vague, and requires to be led by the former through every step."

And the truth of this observation will be more apparent when we recollect that in composition many words are used in a figurative sense, and however clearly the derivation may seem to be traced through the letter, it is not always preserved in the spirit. There are, moreover, but few languages in which it is possible to ascertain the greater part of the roots or primitive words, and to them to trace all other words. Wilson, in his Sanscrit Dictionary, tells us that the roots of that language are exceedingly simple; so simple, indeed, that they are only roots and nothing else, nor can they be brought into use without undergoing some change. They are, to use the phrase of another orientalist, "exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory," and that man would be greatly disappointed

* See *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*.

who should expect to find them rich in meaning, like the roots or radical words of the Greek. The Basque language partakes of this character, and though it will not allow of being treated in Don Pablo de Astarloa's way, it is yet curiously rich in *compound* words of one syllable. It is pleasing to meet with such a passage as that which follows, and which closes a chapter in which the errors of Astarloa and Aspiroz are very clearly pointed out.

"These remarks, which, while we were speaking of the principles hitherto applied, could not be suppressed, are neither intended nor adapted to disparage the merits of these writers; Astarloa is probably the first who, with an inquiring mind, applied them at all. Herein, especially in the grammatical part, has he wonderfully succeeded, and as he with unwearied zeal has sought in every corner of his country for traces of the ancient language, none can follow him in his investigations (except indeed where he has stumbled upon some unlucky theory) without meeting with a great number of very true and very interesting observations."

We shall now proceed to make a few observations and take a few extracts from that part of the Essay in which the author applies the principles he had before laid down; the etymology of the names of places is, as we have already seen, one of the chief instruments in the hand of the inquirer—and early among these, *Navarre* or *Navarra*. *Nava*, is a plain; and, indeed, according to a manuscript dictionary in the Royal Library at Paris, it is peculiarly a plain at the foot of a mountain. The word has the same signification now, and very probably had in the time of the Romans, for Ptolemy mentions a city which he calls Flavionavia, close to the Basque provinces, and not far from which there is a harbour to this day called Navia. The word too has become naturalized even in modern Spanish, and we hear of a great victory obtained by the Christians over the Moors "*en las navas de Tolosa*." As to the other part of the word, *arra*, it is a very common termination to the names of places, and thus *Navarra* will signify, a region of level land at the foot of the Pyrenees. Now this explanation was far too simple to occur to Astarloa, and he accordingly first writes, *Nabarra*, and then resolves it into *na* flat, *be* low, *ar* a man, *a* the article or pronoun, and consequently, *Na-be-ar-a* or *Navarra*, signifies "the man of the low plain." These are but slight tricks compared with what have been played with the Hebrew and Arabic; and we verily believe that a clever syllabist could take any English sentence and show that it was any given language and had any given meaning. Perhaps it will afford some amusement to Hebraists to be told, that Nazareth is pure Basque, and that it signifies "a great number of extended plains," the etymology being, accord-

ing to *Erro*, *na* plain, *z* a number or multitude, *ar* extended, and *eta* a local termination: thus we find that *ar* in Navarra signifies a man, at least so says Astarloa; but in Nazareth it is, on the equally good authority of *Erro*, to be explained as "extended." The mode in which our author applies his principles to the investigation of the ancient Spanish language is very philosophical—he applies first to the ear; and it may be observed in all similar cases, that the test will be valuable, where a great number of words having the same *kind of sound* occur in two languages, or in one which exists and the remnants of a more ancient one, there is *primâ facie* a probability that there is a connection between the two. No one could hear a modern Italian speak his own language and then pronounce a number of Latin names, without having somewhat more than a mere conjectural idea that the ancient and modern tongues were intrinsically the same. No one, again, who heard the ancient Greek and the modern Welsh would admit for a moment the probability of their identity of origin. Now, this test when applied to the ancient Spanish names and the modern Basque language gives at once the *primâ facie* evidence required.

If, after having thus ascertained that there is a probability of success in the investigation, we go on a step further, we shall see that the circumstances, from which it may reasonably be supposed that the places derived their ancient names, are expressed in words of a similar sound in the modern language; and the argument derives additional weight from the fact, that places similarly situated have, among the modern Biscayans, similar names to those prevalent among the ancient Iberians. To prove this, in a paper like the present, would be impossible; because the very nature of the proof consists in the number of examples adduced, and in order to constitute any satisfactory evidence of the fact, the number of the examples must be so great as to show the generality, almost indeed the universality, of the coincidence. It would, for instance, be doing little or nothing in the way of proving the Celtic character of the aboriginal Britons, to point out a city into the composition of whose name the word *Caer* entered, or a hill the name of which commenced with *Pen*; we must show that cities and high places were generally called by such names, and that a desert was never called *Caer*, nor a plain *Pen*. So when we find *Na* or *Nava* signifying a level ground in modern Biscayan, and places situated on such ground having among the ancient Iberians names in which *Na* or *Nava* forms a conspicuous element, we have done something but not much; but when we ascertain *that* to be a rule, of which this is an example, we have almost settled the question. Thus, *It*, signify-

ing a height or mountain, *iria* a city or region, *ura* water, *Iturria* a spring, and when we find ancient and modern names of places agreeing in the sense of these particles, and an infinity of others in like manner, we may fairly assume that very much has been done to prove the identity of the ancient Iberian language and that which, spoken in the same locality, preserves to so great an extent the same characters. Many travellers have told us that the Basque is a disagreeable dialect, and one very difficult to acquire. Strabo, Pliny and Ptolemy intimate as much of the ancient Iberian; moreover, we have seen somewhat of the analogies between the two; the next step is to get rid of the discrepancies, if such should appear. The modern Basque has no *f*, and does not admit of any word beginning with *r*, so that instead of *regue* for king, which is a direct derivation from *rex* or *regs*, the more ancient form of the word, we have *erregue*; nor is it unworthy of notice that the modern Spanish delights in similar modifications, thus we have *España*, *espada*, and many others; but there are ancient names of Iberian cities in which we find this letter *f*, and there are others beginning with *r*. The object then of the inquirer should, in these cases, be to ascertain whether any change has taken place in the language, or whether the names thus disturbing the analogy before settled, are themselves of foreign origin. The latter has been amply shown by Von Humboldt, and a few instances may not be unsatisfactory. He speaks first of names of places beginning with *R*, and of these he finds the following, *Raparia*,* *Rhauda*,† *Rhegina*,‡ *Rhoda*,§ *Rigusa*,|| *Ripepora*,¶ and *Rusticana*;** now of these he remarks that *Raparia* is sometimes spelt *Saparia*, and that all the rest, save *Rhauda*, are of evidently foreign origin.

It must be borne in mind that these are not names taken from a small region, but from the whole peninsula, comprising modern Spain and Portugal, and that they are the *only* places whose names begin with the inadmissible letter. This of itself, even were it not capable of proof that the places in question were of foreign origin, would be a coincidence too remarkable to be the effect of mere chance; but when we add to the strength of the argument by calling to remembrance the conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain, and with them the influx of Phœnicians and other Asiatics, and probably various African tribes, it will seem strange that the ancient Iberian tongue should have maintained

* Itin. Ant. Ed. Wessell, p. 426.

† Ptol. ii. 4, p. 40.

‡ Only to be found in the Latin Translation of Ptolemy, ii. 6, p. 46.

¶ Plin. i. 138, 5.

† Ib. p. 441.

§ Ptol. ii. 6, p. 23.

** Ptol. ii. 5, p. 41.

so decided a supremacy; and when we consider that, subsequently a greater and sterner power laid the whole of Iberia under the yoke, and introduced at once a new language, new laws and new customs, the wonder becomes greater. The chapter on the etymology of the names Basque or Vasque, Biscay, Spain and Iberia, is one very interesting—

“*Bassa*, a wood or forest, is a radical word from which the *Bastelani* or *Bastilani*, are derived, and their city, *Basti*, on the south coast of Taraconia. The name of the city seems to be a contraction of *Basseta* a woody region. Bas-contum again is *Basocoa*, near to a wood. From these words is derived Basconia and Bascon, but it must be remembered that all ancient writers have, not Basconia and Bascon, but Vasconia and Vascon.” (The letters are interchanged even in modern Spanish.)

So far the derivation is satisfactory enough, but now comes a fresh difficulty, for the Biscayans do not call themselves Basococ or Vascones, nor their language *Basque* or *Vasque*, but they term their own nation *Euscaldunac*, their country *Euscaleria*, and their language *Euscara*, *Eusquera* or *Euscuara*. *Aldunac* signifies of or belonging to one side or part, from *aldea*, a side or part; *duna* is simply an adjectival termination, and *c* is the Basque plural termination, so that the signification of *aldunac*, is “persons belonging to one side or part.” The important radical must, therefore, be sought in the first syllable, *Eusc*; and here Von Humboldt acknowledges that it is next to impossible to give any satisfactory elucidation. It will, however, be but fair to mention his conjecture: *Eusi* is a verb, and signifies to bleat, and probably, he remarks, the *idea* of the word is simply “cry,” and may also imply tone, speech. Thus then he thinks it possible that the Biscayans may have intended by the word *Euscaldunac* the persons or nation who alone possess that which is, par eminence, the language. We cannot say that this is at all satisfactory to ourselves, but must, at the same time, frankly confess that we are unable to furnish a better derivation. Our author considers his theory much strengthened by the existence of another word, viz., *Erdaldunac*, which (as *Euscaldunac* signifies the Biscayans themselves) has the meaning of foreigners. Von Humboldt explains the words thus—*Eusc-aldunac*, those who speak the Biscayan language; *Erdaldunac*, those who speak a strange language; but this is in fact taking it for granted that *Eusc* has a reference to the language, for as *Erd* signifies land or country, it can be only by a great degree of violence that *Erdaldunac* has any etymological connection with any “speech” or “language” whatsoever. Here our author then is most completely at fault, nor can we help him out of the difficulty.

Of Biscaya we have two etymologies, both are Astarloa’s, and

the first is from *bitsa*, foam, and *caya*, a bay, meaning therefore foaming bay, a very respectable description of the bay of Biscay, but hardly applicable to the Basque provinces; the second and later explanation is a better one, it derives the name *Vizc-aya*, land of hills. Spain seems more difficult to trace in its etymon. Astarloa traces it to the Basque word *Ezpaña*, an edge, because the peninsula is the end or edge of Europe; and Von Humboldt, while he is rightly dissatisfied with this, and remarks that the Spanish form is nothing more than a corruption of the early Latin, has yet no better one to propose, he remarks merely that many Basque words commence with *Isp*, and some also with *His*. Let us try to help him—*Isp*, there is reason for more than conjecture, signifies a race or tribe; *Ispaster*, a race or tribe living among rocks; *an*, as we have already seen, is “extended.” *Ispanac* would then be a people of a great or extensive race, and *Ispana* the country wherein they lived. This is, at all events, as good an etymology as trying to make one from a certain *Spanus*, mentioned by Plutarch. The name *Iberia* has been derived from the river *Iberus*; but as Von Humboldt remarks, considering the situation of the Iberians and their migrations, it would seem rather forced to find the origin of the names both of people and land in that of a river, which, with far greater probability, derived its own from some common source. This source is hidden in obscurity, nor can we, while we reject the theories of Astarloa and Von Humboldt alike, substitute any better of our own.

After much matter of a highly curious description, on the beginnings and terminations of Iberian names, we come to the question, whether the ancient Iberian, supposing it to be proved that the Basque is the modern form of the same language, was the universal language of the peninsula; and if not, within what bounds it was spoken? In order to do this it becomes necessary to search not for similitudes, but for differences—to ascertain what places and persons connected with ancient Iberia have names *not* resolvable into that ancient tongue which now exists only in the dialect of Biscay; but this is a much more difficult undertaking than the former. It requires the student to prove a series of negatives. It requires him, in spite of metaphorical expressions, changes wrought by time, variations of dialect, and above all, the fact that he is dealing with a language of which we have no relics saving proper names—it requires, in spite of all these, that he should be able to assert that such and such words are *not* derived from the ancient and lost language in question. Success in this must, in the very nature of things, be all but impossible; but it must here be observed that there are two distinct cases to which the inquiry may be applied. One where two or more *lost* languages were

spoken, in lands whose respective boundaries are not clearly ascertained, and to one of which languages we have a partial clue, while to the other we have none at all; if in a case like this the existence of the two languages be conjectural, that is, if we know of one, and think it probable that there was another, although our conjecture be a right one we have yet no means to prove it so, for as we have only a part even of *one* language we can never attribute a word to the *other*, because we find nothing analogous to it in that part of the partially known one with which we are acquainted; besides which all languages, and especially those spoken in lands near one another, have so many points of similitude that it is very difficult to decide from appearances as to difference of origin. Few words are more different than *larme* and *tear*, yet they are derived from the same source, viz., the Greek δάκρυ—they are traced thus:

		δάκρυ,	
Æolic,	δακρύμα	tagr,	Gothic.
Latin,	lachryma	τρεν,	Anglo-Saxon.
French,	larme	tear,	English.

Von Humboldt notes three classes of names, which, though names of Iberian, or at all events of ancient Spanish cities, do not admit of any easy derivation from the Basque; it would however be a sufficient answer to this, to refer the reader to our remarks on the etymologies of Euscaldunac and Euscara, to prove that this circumstance is no evidence of their non-Iberian origin. These three classes are names which commence with *her* and *se*, and those which have the termination *ippo*; but, as our author very judiciously remarks, we must, if the argument is to be a weighty one, prove that they cannot be traced to the ancient Iberian at all; that, in fact, they have no sort of relation with it, and this is to be proved with regard to a language which only exists in a few names of places. But there is another case in which the principle of which we have spoken may be applied; and that is, where we know of the existence of one language, and have no reason to believe that any other, now utterly lost, was spoken in the same or any adjacent country; we may, by tracing such words as do not agree with the aboriginal tongue (or that which we assume to be so) to *other known* languages, spoken in other lands and known to be confined to certain tribes, prove that *no other* aboriginal language did exist, or if it did, that it has not left even the slightest trace of its existence; but, as it is in the highest degree improbable that an independent language could prevail among a large body of men, and at last vanish from amongst mankind

without one trace left behind to commemorate its existence—no monuments, no words, no writings, no historical mention of or allusion to it—so we may argue as though such an event were absolutely *impossible*; but this is the case with the Peninsula. If there were any other language than that which in its modern form is called Basque, then that language has utterly and entirely passed away, nor does there remain the slightest chance of ever recovering it. The words or names which do not agree with the Basque, but which did, nevertheless, betoken places in ancient Spain, may be traced with almost unerring accuracy to the Celtic, the Greek, the Roman, or the Phœnician languages, but as it would never be pretended that these nations were the aboriginal inhabitants of the Peninsula, we must take up with the Iberians, and allow them to speak the Iberian language, or else decline to allow ancient Spain any inhabitants at all. We must now turn to Von Humboldt again, and observe in what manner he conducts the investigation into this difficult and delicate subject; the termination *briga* is one of those most adverse to the genius of the modern Basque, and therefore, it may be presumed, to the ancient Iberian; but it happens that this very termination is by no means unfrequent among the ancient Spanish names of cities, and it is too manifestly at variance with the genius and character of the Roman language, to admit the supposition that the true sound had been corrupted by the Romans. We have said that the termination was not only not Basque, but was contrary to the genius of the language; and this assertion was grounded on the acknowledged fact, that the Basque in its pure state would not allow of the collocation *br*, a fact which Von Humboldt has set in a very clear light in his remarks on such names as *Cantabri*; but *Astarloa*, not perceiving that the existence of a name traceable to another known language by an easy analogy, was a far greater help to his own theory, than by a singularly forced analogy to deduce it from the Basque, has set himself to prove that the word *is* Basque, even though the very proof itself is perhaps the most luculent “*lucus a non lucendo*” ever put upon paper; deriving the termination from *uria* a city, and *ga*, which is a privative particle, so that *b* is left entirely unaccounted for, *briga* is resolved into *uria ga*, no city, a wilderness, a place uncultivated, unbuilt upon!! Well might a late distinguished scholar say, that with etymological theorists, *any* word might be derived from *any other* word. Let us then see if other languages will be as impracticable.

“The peculiarity of Celtic names,” says our author, “is shown wherever their migrations extended in four terminations—*BRIGA*, *dunum*, *magus* and *vices*. Without here seeking for any etymology of the first of these terminations I name *briga*, so far Celtic as that names in

which this particle occurs are found in Gaul and Britain and in those parts of Germany and Spain where Celts were located; in like manner we find extended the names Brigantium and Brigantes. In Spain we have a Brigantium among the Callaiki and a Brigaecium. Among the Asturi in Gaul there is also a Brigantium, and the name of the harbour Brivates belongs to the same family. In Britain, not only were the Brigantes the most considerable people, but the name is found also in Ireland."

After these remarks follow a host of examples, which set beyond a doubt the fact, that *briga* is a Celtic termination, and a proof of Celtic colonization; in like manner *dunum*, wherever it enters into the composition of the names of ancient Spanish towns, is shown to be also a trace of the Celts, and the other two terminations are shown not to have existed at all. But as Celtic names are to be found among Iberian tribes, a thing not at all to be wondered at, when we call to mind the vast extent over which the Celtic family was spread, so are also Iberian names to be found among Celtic tribes. We see among the ancient Britons, names of places similar to those Spanish ones whose Iberian origin cannot be doubted—the river Ilas, the cities Isca and Isurium, the mountain Solurius, and many others. In the countries bordering on the Danube, we find an Astura, a Carpis, Carpi, an Urbate, and an Urpanus. We may make great allowances for mere accidental similarities, for resemblance of sound only. We may allow that the same or a very similar word may mean the same thing in languages widely distinct; thus we find the Polish *góra*, the Basque *gora*, and the Sanscrit *giri*, all signifying a mountain, and all these things prove nothing for the identity of the nations: but in the case of the Iberians there was a moral convulsion, which, to use a geological metaphor, had disturbed the human strata, so that they made their appearances at places far remote from their original dwelling. This disturbing force was the empire of Rome, which mixed up its heterogenous subjects, and caused intercourse between the very extremities of the earth; languages as well as nations were worn smooth by the attrition, and those only preserved either their speech or their nationality, who took refuge in impenetrable fastnesses among the mountains, and rejected at once the yoke and the civilization of Rome's iron rule. In Britain, the central and level part of the island became Roman; the mountaineers of Wales, however, remained Celts. In Gaul, though from the Belgæ to the Aquitani—all others were brought under the dominion of "the Eternal City," the Armoricans retained their freedom and their language. In Spain, too, while the greater part of the Peninsula offered but a vain re-

sistance, the mountains of Biscay afforded a refuge to a few at least of the ancient Iberian race. Elsewhere they were mixed with Celts and Romans, but for obvious causes more peculiarly with the Celts, and though an entirely distinct people, as all ancient writers agree, the peculiarities of the Iberians were gradually lost in those of the more powerful race. Yet the former were at all times a more peaceful people, they took no share in predatory excursions, nor were they ever found engaged in warlike expeditions beyond the bounds of the Peninsula. The bardic institutes, the druidical discipline and priestly rule, never obtained among the Ibero-Celtic inhabitants of Spain, for it is hardly to be believed that in a country which was then as well known as it is now, no mention would have been made of institutions so remarkable, had they existed, by any writer who treated on the affairs of ancient Spain; but another singular circumstance connected with this topic is thus referred to by Von Humboldt:

“The Druids, according to Cæsar,* passed from Britain into Gaul. Now if this assertion be incorrect, it at least proves that Druidism was not an original Celtic institution, that is, that it did not necessarily prevail among all Celtic tribes. It must have been unknown to the Iberians, because no mention is ever made of it, and had it flourished in Spain as among the Gauls, it would have effected a gradual union of the nations, whereas no great communication seems ever to have taken place (till the Roman times); for all Druids, under whose influence the several nations stood, had one head and regular assemblies.”

We would willingly go on to analyze and make extracts from the rest of this highly interesting Essay, but we have one or two other subjects on which we wish briefly to touch before dismissing the two first volumes of the book “*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis.*”

We shall close this paper, therefore, with a few remarks on the system of reviewing as pursued here and on the continent, particularly in Germany, and we shall find that there is a remarkable difference between them. A review of a book, until within the last twenty years, was an analysis, more or less complete, of the work itself, with critical remarks appended or interspersed. Reviewing was comparatively an easy task under such circumstances, for he who could read and understand a book was considered competent to review it also, and while an author was less likely to be misrepresented as to what he did assert, it was a very great chance that the true value was set upon his production. When however the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviews were established, a new kind of reviewing was introduced, and essays written by

* De Bello Gallico, vi., 13.

the most eminent men in the country upon the *subjects* of books, superseded the analysis of the *books themselves*. This was a great era in the art of reviewing. Scope was given for the display of genius and information of a far higher order, and to a far greater extent than before, and instead of a low and poor class of writers being employed in this branch of literature, the very chief and élite of our republic of letters assumed the task. It would be found on examination, that few men of *very* high literary reputation in this country are not contributors to the principal quarterly reviews. But this enlarged system has its disadvantages. An essay by a Southey or a Scott, or an Alison or a Hallam, may be, and unquestionably is, far more valuable than a work on the same subject (be it what it may) in three volumes by Mr. Tomkins or Mr. Popkins, but reviews *have been* written with scarcely even an allusion to the book which has served as a peg to hang the reviewer's opinions on. So far therefore as an account of *books* is desired the older method is to be preferred.

It is now however rare in the higher class of English publications that this system is pursued, and still more rarely that which, taking it for granted that the reader of the review is acquainted with the work reviewed, confines itself to a critical examination of isolated passages. In Germany, however, such form by far the greater part of the reviews of new books—reviews which most fully deserve their name, “recension.” A remarkably good specimen of such criticism is to be found in the first of the two volumes before us, pp. 262—270, in a review of F. A. Wolf's second edition of the *Odyssey*, and which originally appeared in the *Literary Gazette* of Jena, 1795, No. 167. To attempt to give extracts from this paper would be absurd—we rather refer the reader to the volume itself. As to the fairness of English criticism we would say nothing, were it not that Mr. Ward in his last novel, *De Clifford*, has published what is probably a very gross caricature even of the lowest class of critics, and evidently wishes to have it understood as generally applicable to our periodical criticism. A few words will be necessary to explain our reasons for noticing this circumstance at all. Mr. Ward, with what justice we shall not now inquire, has been supposed to be a highly philosophical as well as a highly moral writer, and to have an European reputation. This latter supposition is so far true, that any assertion of Mr. Ward's will weigh much more with continental readers than if it were made by any other novelist, and this is partly due to his station and fortune, and partly to the philosophizing and moralizing tone of his works. We use the terms philosophizing and moralizing advisedly, for we do not choose to commit ourselves to the opinion that they are philosophical and

moral—but to whatever cause the effect be assigned, it certainly does exist, and therefore his caricatures before mentioned require some remark. Two reasons then have induced us to avail ourselves of the opportunity which the notices of Von Humboldt's reviews have afforded us, to disabuse the public mind on a topic by no means devoid of importance. These reasons are, first, that as from the very nature of our publication, we cannot be classed among those caricatured by Mr. Ward, so any remarks from us on the subject cannot be attributed to personal annoyance; and secondly, that as the caricatures in question will be more likely to do mischief among continental readers than among English ones—who for the most part are too well informed to be deceived by them—so there is a peculiar propriety in *our* notice of them. We have only room for one little extract, and it shall be an imaginary letter from the editor of a critical periodical to a graduate of Oxford strongly recommended, who applied to him for employment in the periodical work referred to—it runs as follows :

“SIR,

“I am really so oppressed by the numerous applications from literary gentlemen of Oxford and Cambridge and the Scotch universities (indeed from all parts of the world), that it is impossible to say when I can see you, or whether I can see you at all; I am even obliged to make use of my chief clerk's hand to acknowledge Mr. W.'s letter. I have great respect for *that* gentleman's *own* abilities, but I cannot conceal from you that I have been so often disappointed in the assistants whom he has recommended, that I am forced to be very chary in my selection of them. Most of them, however well intentioned or versed in book knowledge, have no knowledge of the world, still less of business, and of the *principles* which necessarily govern the directors of the *critical* press they are totally ignorant. Mr. W.'s eulogy of you is strong, and I have no doubt you deserve all he has said of your TEMPER, LEARNING, CANDOUR, FAIRNESS and IMPARTIALITY, but to be plain with you, temper, learning, impartiality and all that, though good in themselves, are not only common among young men, but are not exactly what we must look to in a widely circulated periodical like ours. I therefore by no means wish you to remain in town to wait the time when I can see you, but if you are in the way, and will take the chance of my being at leisure some day next week, I will be glad (should I be so) to enter into your qualifications, terms, &c., &c. Meantime I remain, Sir,

Yours, &c. &c.

SOLOMON SPLEENWORT.”

After this we have instances given of ill-bred, ignorant and insolent pretenders, who simply because they were writers for some slanderous newspaper were admitted to the very highest society, and fêted and caressed, not merely by persons of title, but by those too of the loftiest mind and character. We cannot help

thinking that the cause of all these absurdities is, that Mr. Ward has been somewhat severely reviewed somewhere himself, though we really cannot guess where, and has vented so much nonsense by way of revenge, and we think this the more from the following remarks.

“‘But is there no chastising such nuisances?’ asked I.

“‘Yes:—for an illiberal critic is always as thin skinned as Mr. Farrchild himself. Flog him therefore with his own rod, that is, review his review, and he will whine like an hyæna or squeak like a pig, particularly if he be an author himself and you review him in your turn. No one is then so sore, not Sir Fretful himself, and he will go whining about the town, wondering what can have occasioned him so many enemies. This however is rare, because he generally conceals his identity under the royal term *we*, while the honest author is forced for the most part to present himself in *puris naturalibus*.”

But we have said enough, there are few subjects that we might not enlarge upon were we inclined to touch on all the topics discussed by our author, but we respect our reader's time and also his patience, and we therefore quit Von Humboldt, satisfied that the volumes will be at least dipped into by many a student desirous of information “*de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*.”

ART. V.—*Famiglie Celebri di Italia*, del Conte Pompeo Litta.
Milano, 1819—1841. 6 vols. folio.

“NOBILITY,” observed a very clever mathematician of our acquaintance, who, by a gift analogous to Midas's, was apt to turn every thing to cyphers,—“nobility is like the *zero* in arithmetic; it is of no value in itself, yet placed by the right side of other figures it has power to multiply their quantities by ten, hundred, and thousand folds.”

Nature is a partial mother, and as such apt to spoil the children in whom she most delights. Among the descendants of heroes, one will rise to lead his country's armies to the triumphs of Waterloo, another will rest satisfied with the glory of knocking down inoffensive watchmen bent on the discharge of their duties. In all cases, however, the prestige of high-sounding names tends to give these dissimilar achievements an equal degree of conspicuousness and notoriety. The public gaze is bent on their perpetrators with all the eagerness of expectation. High birth had already raised these very different personages to a lofty stage with multitudes crowding round as spectators. Their nurses might have told the

young heroes in the words of Napoleon—"Songez que du haut de ces pyramides quarante siècles vous contemplent."

Man as a social being is born to the exercise of rights and duties. His obligations to the commonwealth increase in a just proportion with his privileges. The higher the sphere he moves through, the stronger in him the necessity of action. The wider the planet's orbit, the swifter the rapidity of its motion.

Men of high rank are not all equal to the task imposed upon them by the loftiness of their station; many are not penetrated with a due sense of the charge imposed upon them. Many are the young orators whose maiden speeches have disqualified them for life for parliamentary debates; many the young officers sent home to their mothers after the first encounters never to smell gunpowder again; many the earls, marquesses and dukes, either through indolence or imbecility set down by public opinion as being absolutely "nothing but lords," and the time is long since gone by when men would walk many miles out of their way to set their eyes on a "live lord."

"Mal scende spesse volte per li rami,
L'umana probitade."—

True, but shall we assert for this, that "all men are born equal?" all dogs and horses are not; with hunters and racers at least "blood is not water." There are aristocratic inequalities in all the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and an exemption from them could not be made in favour of the human races without the strangest anomaly. Rivers of water cannot whitewash the face of a negro, nor can a hundred generations efface from a Jew's countenance the features of his tribe. There is no equality, even though there be justice, in the works of creation, and it behoves us to beware lest, in the haste of our levelling systems, we proceed in manifest violation of the laws of infinite wisdom.

These obvious and perhaps somewhat hackneyed remarks were suggested to us from a comparison between the aristocracy of England and the nobility of a country in which the ravages of revolutionary fury and the more systematic attacks of absolute despotism equally conspired to strip the coronet of its lustre, and to reduce all distinctions of rank to empty and discredited titles.

The pompous appellations of *Conte*, *Principe*, *Duca*, &c. in Italy generally mean nothing; sometimes even less than nothing. The abolition of the rights of primogeniture, the equi-division of property without regard to age or sex, in almost all the Italian states, and above all the indiscriminating prodigality of orders and diplomas of every description by petty princes who thereby thought to add lustre and importance to their faded courts, and to enlist the vanity of their most influential subjects in the cause of their

tottering thrones, have rendered such dignities so very easily accessible, so common and cheap, that it is by no means unfrequent to find in that country men really noble by birth, talents and fortune, as anxious to wave their undisputed honours as one of our English upstarts would be to display his newly-gilded coronet and newly-painted escutcheon.

Hence the Conte Pompeo Litta of Milan, when undertaking to compile what might not inappropriately be called an Italian peerage on a gigantic scale, took good care to call his work by the name of "*Famiglie Celebri*," not "*Famiglie Nobili d'Italia*," being well aware that no aristocratic distinctions in Italy can receive the sanction of public opinion, except such as are grounded on historical reminiscences, that no princely house can lay any claims to really illustrious descent, except those whose genealogy is written in the pages of national annals.

The publication of Count Litta's work began in 1819. More than six large folios have been successively printed in the course of the last eleven years; the author himself is said to have lavished his vast fortune in collecting ample materials and in embellishing his volumes with most splendid illustrations of sepulchral monuments, ancestral portraits and pictures, medals, escutcheons, topographical maps of the domains of each family, and their manor houses and castles, the whole drawn up with all the exquisite neatness of Italian art, of which Milan is now the metropolis; the assistance of a vast number of *litterati*, artists and antiquaries has not been wanting; and still not only is the work as yet very far from drawing to its close, but, such is the wide range of its subject, that it is more than doubtful whether the well deserving compiler himself will ever live to see the end of an enterprize to which he alone at first dedicated himself, but in the continuation of which the noblest feelings of national pride are now powerfully interested.

Of this important, and we would venture to say immortal work, scarcely any account has as yet been given in this country, if we except a very unsatisfactory notice in an article on "*Historical Publications in Italy*" in one of our Reviews, and a place at the head of an essay on "*Italian Art*" in the "*Quarterly*," in the course of which hardly any allusion is made to the magnificent enterprise of Count Litta.

In order to conceive an adequate idea of the vastness of such an undertaking, it must be remembered that what is now rather abstractedly called Italy, is the assemblage of small and insignificant states, each of which—nay every fragment of which—played a prominent part in the infancy of modern European civilization, each of which had a separate, independent and not always ephemeral existence, whose historical records are pregnant with achieve-

ments securing immortality to almost numberless names, whose archives teem with documents asserting the indisputable claims of almost innumerable families to the honours bequeathed to them by forefathers illustrious in arms, in letters, in arts.

As early as the year 1297, at the epoch of the closing of the great Council at Venice, that city boasted no less than four hundred and eighty patrician families. The members of each of those families had but too frequent opportunities of adding to the splendour of their houses by their strenuous demeanour during the ruthless struggles of their country against its rival Genoa, during the unequal contests against the Carrara, Visconti and Sforza, and the colossal powers of the formidable league of Cambrai, and ever since, in the Turkish wars of Cyprus, Morea and Candia, down to the extinction of their illustrious republic. To enumerate the noble houses from which the warriors sprung that fell at Curzola or Chioggia, at Agnadello, Padua or Ravenna, at Lepanto, Famagosta or Corinth, at almost every battle in the Mediterranean from the Crusades down to the French revolution—and the wary yet unswerving statesmen who piloted the fragile vessel of that amphibious government in the midst of the envy and rapacity of no less unprincipled than powerful neighbours, and the diplomatists who laid the rudiments of that treacherous but salutary science of lying that has spared Europe torrents of bloodshed—to name in short not only the titled but the historically noble families whose descendants still linger amidst the desolation of that tottering beaver-city alone, would prove as arduous a task as to compile the peerage of any of the great European monarchies.

An equal, if not a larger, number of heroic names are to be read in the pages of the "*Libro d'Oro*" at Genoa. Two hundred patrician families, all belonging to the Ghibeline faction, were registered at Milan by the warlike archbishop Otho Visconti, who had driven as many of the Guelph party into exile at the close of the popular convulsions of 1277; neither is the burgher aristocracy of Florence, Pisa and Siena, nor the feudal nobility of the two Sicilies and Sardinia, nor the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the patrimony of St. Peter, nor the courtly and country gentry of every petty town in Piedmont, Romagna and Lombardy, less multitudinous; nor are their pretensions to purity of blood, to historical traditions, and very frequently to territorial sovereignty, less loud, less ambitious, or less satisfactorily demonstrated.

Placed by the side of the aristocracy of Italy, the nobility of every other country of Europe sinks into comparative insignificance. Not that, with the exception of Venice, Lucca and Genoa, it either ever received any constitutional organization, or

ever exercised any permanent influence as a body; but because the divisions of the country, and its frequent political vicissitudes, had the effect of calling forth the energies of a greater number of individuals, whose share of public events reflected on their descendants a lustre that no lapse of time could ever eclipse.

Certainly when we look into the volumes of the "*Biographie Universelle*," a work edited in France, and entirely after French views, where we are almost sure to meet an Italian at every third name, where amongst men of all races and colours who are sent down to posterity, distinguished "*par leur écrits, leur actions, leur talents, leur vertus, ou leur crimes*," we see no less than eighteen or twenty that bore the name of Colonna, and as many of the Doria and Dandolo, Strozzi, Spinola and Foscari, not to speak of Este, Visconti and Medici, we feel inclined to think less of our own Talbots, Percies and Douglasses; we wonder whether a diploma of nobility might not be at once indiscriminately bestowed on the whole of the Italian nation, and we expect to meet every lazzarone wearing a chieftain's plume on his pointed cap, every labourer painting a mitre or a coronet on his plough.

Of this vast farrago of celebrated families only seventy-five have as yet found a niche in Count Litta's Grand National Gallery. These are not all among the most conspicuous: on the contrary, many of them, such as the Arcimboldi of Milan, Cavaniglia of Naples, Martelli of Florence, &c. with reverence be it spoken, might easily be lost among the crowd; one table is often sufficient to give their genealogy from Alpha to Omega; and, with the exception of a stray bishop or cardinal, of some Arcadian poet or court chamberlain, on many of their members might be written the summary epitaph—

"Lelio è sepolto quì
Nacque, visse e morì"

But when we come to those big names which Fame has trumpeted far and wide—to those families, to the biographies of whose members the history of their age and country, the progress of literature, science and art, have become, as it were, episodical, then, notwithstanding the author's admirable sobriety and conciseness, and the printer's industrious economy, every branch of the genealogical tree is bent with the weight of the fruit it bears; column follows after column in unwearied succession, and the tables swell to a large atlas in folio. Each family is published and sold separately, the author being unwilling to bind himself by any contract to his subscribers, and the work has as yet assumed no other than the alphabetical order. It may be how-

ever subject to question whether the publication might not have been susceptible of a more philosophical arrangement, and whether, were it ever brought to a close, it might not then be practicable to give the work something like chronological order and system.

The aristocracy of Italy, in accordance with its original derivation, might, we think, be divided into four distinct classes, of which the first might be designated by the appellation of ancient patrician or classical aristocracy; the second might be called feudal or castellated nobility; the third might be formed of the burgher aristocracy, and to the last might belong the courtly or modern titled nobility. We do not of course pretend that in this, any more than in any other arbitrary classification, every individual family may be sure to find its proper place, nor that each division may not be susceptible of further distinctions and definitions. But the advantage of starting from an orderly principle will be obvious ere we are far advanced on the subject.

The first class would comprehend those that Count Litta, no less than the Italians in general, emphatically call "*famiglie antiche*," houses that claim their origin from ancient Roman antiquity—every thing connected with events posterior to the downfall of the Roman empire being in that classical land invariably designated as modern—and which for the better intelligence of Transalpine readers we would call "*classical families*."

The claims of any of the Italian families to Roman patrician descent may possibly be grounded on doubtful conjectures, may peradventure rest on universally cherished traditions, but never, we believe, on well-determined genealogical evidence. That the invasions of the northern races did not overrun the whole country, that all the natives were not utterly destroyed, even though sadly dispersed and sifted, no man is unwilling to admit, but it is also natural to presume that

"*Siccome il folgore non cade*

In basso pian ma su l' eccelse cime,"

even so the merciless sword of the invader must have aimed its strokes against the loftiest heads, and the hand of desolation have weighed harder against the turreted halls of the luxurious patrician than against the humble abode of the unresisting crowd.

From the Alps to the Tiber every thing that stood was levelled with the ground, and though the Eternal City itself contrived to purchase a precarious and ignominious security at the expense of the provinces, still the final day came for the metropolis itself, and then no shelter was to be found but among the rocks and banks of the Adriatic, or far on the shores of the Bosphorus.

Still some, even of the most conspicuous families, may have escaped unscathed during the ravages of that tempestuous era, a few stray castles may have been suffered to stand on the Apennine, either overlooked by the hurried conqueror, or by him deemed too arduous or too worthless a prey. A few houses may have been preserved till the day when victors and conquered came to a compromise, and rested at leisure, if not at peace, from their work of destruction; and these are to be generally recognized by the circumstance of their following the Roman instead of the Lombard or Salic law; it having been enacted in that chaos of civil and political institutions, that every family should be ruled according to the statutes of the nation to which it belonged. That several of these families may have been perpetuated to put forward their claims in less inauspicious ages, we have almost a moral certainty. It is only the means of historically demonstrating the validity of those claims that is wanting, and in such lack of positive authentic testimonials, their pretensions must depend on the courtesy or credulity of their contemporaries.

It is nevertheless highly amusing to hear how far heraldic ingenuity and antiquarian research have succeeded in supplying the want of historical authority. Among the houses that go farther back into the past, a few are to be found in Rome or Florence, but a still greater number at Venice.

Human ambition, for instance, can aspire to no loftier origin than what befel the Massimi at Rome. Every school boy is well acquainted with their history. As early as the year of Rome 275, B.C. 478, three hundred and six of their ancestors, all belonging to the patrician order, and known in Rome as the Fabian *Gens*, followed by about 4000 of their clients, were cut to pieces by the Veientes, against whom they had volunteered to wage war alone in the name of the republic. Of that numerous progeny one only survived, a child, who, on account of his tender age, had been left at home. A descendant of that only survivor was destined two hundred and forty-two years later to check the Carthaginian invader in the height of his prosperous career. This was Fabius *Maximus*, and it is his latest posterity that are said to be still living at Rome and elsewhere, bearing on their armorial shield the "cunctando restituit" of that no less discreet than valorous dictator.

"There is a tradition," observes Count Litta at the head of the first columns consecrated to that family, "that the present *Massimi* are derived from the ancient stock of this name, so illustrious in the annals of the Roman commonwealth. It might be doubted,

however, whether it is to the Valerii or to the Fabii that they trace their origin, for both these houses and several others through adoption rejoiced in the appellation of Maximus. There exists a famous inscription in Rome, which is considered as the most ancient among the heraldic monuments of that town, formerly in the pavement of the church of *St. Bonifacio* and *Alessio*, on the Aventine, now in the cloisters of the adjoining monastery, which was intended as a tombstone of a certain *Maximus*, who is said to have lived in the tenth century, and sprung from a race of heroes."

Thus far Litta, who, in the progress of his learned disquisition, expresses his doubts as to whether the Maximus there buried might not as well proceed from the house of the Sergii, who, as it is well known, were fond of tracing their pedigree up to Sergestus, one of the followers of Æneas, and from whom the notorious Catilina descended.

The last Maximus mentioned in ancient history is said to be a Roman senator, so called, who was slain during the storming of the city by the barbarians of Totila, in the year of our era 552. From that epoch the name of Maximus is lost in the darkness of time, to be revived only four and a half centuries later, in the year 1012, the date of the above-mentioned inscription, preserved, as it were, in the Aventine Monastery only to prove the survival of the house by the identity of name. *Et voilà comme on fait le blason.*

Count Litta, who, by the way, is no fanatic in these heraldic matters, concludes by stating, that, as far as popular reverence has power to sanction similar traditions, few genealogies can be more satisfactorily authenticated than that of the Principi Massimi, it never having been matter of question in Rome that what now runs in their veins is the identical cold blood of that good Fabius Maximus Dictator, against whose wadded shield the spear of the fiery African was blunted and deadened. We have been curious, of course, to see how a race whose source was thus hidden in Roman, or may be in Trojan mythology, would demean themselves during so long a series of generations.

From the epoch of that tell-tale inscription, all along the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Massimi seemed to have passed away in silence and obscurity, their names being occasionally met with in ancient inscriptions or other documents, as lords of castles, founders of convents or hospitals, &c. &c., only as it were to assure us that the old stock was still living and prospering, leaving us at a loss to guess for what purpose it might please Providence to keep it alive. The lustre of that family must, to a considerable extent, have been eclipsed by the ascen-

dency of the rival houses of Colonna and Orsini, though these last may be said to be mere upstarts placed by the side of the Massimi, both these houses being generally reputed of foreign or barbarian descent. In 1347, we find the Massimi involved in the calamities of the tribunitial revolution of Rienzi. Late in the following century they had the glory of granting an hospitable reception to Sweynheim and Parnartz, the two worthy Germans who introduced the art of printing into Italy, and whose very first works were published in 1467, "in ædibus de Maximis," the palace of their patron Pietro Massimo at Rome. The Massimi lived then already in a princely style, and had given their country not a few warriors, statesmen and senators. Their palaces, for one of which Michael Angelo gave the design, were tenanted by one hundred and fifty servants, and their names stand prominent among the promoters of art. Only the Part I. of what concerns this family has hitherto reached us, and their genealogy is interrupted about the middle of the sixteenth century. The remainder is, we understand, on the eve of publication. Meanwhile we are satisfied to hear that the family is still extant, several branches having spread over other parts of Italy, and one even beyond the Alps in Carinthia.

Equal pretensions to ancient Roman descent, most probably grounded on analogous conjectures, are perhaps to be found at Rome, though as early as in the days of Petrarch, that eminently classical poet complained that the good Roman blood was fast disappearing. Of these were the Crescenzi, Savelli, and among others the Frangipane, whose claims to the consideration of their countrymen were at least founded on better titles than is generally the case with the *Flay-neighbours* (Pela-Vicino or Pallavicino), and the *Evil-thorns* (Mali-spini) of the feudal nobility; their name having arisen from the liberality with which they came forward in days of distress and famine and *broke their bread* with the poor.

These families, of which the greatest number was crushed by the oppressive power of the Colonna, have not yet come out in Count Litta's catalogue, unless we except the Cesarini and Cesi, whose names in the middle ages appear comparatively unimportant. The Cesarini are traditionally numbered among the classical families, but their historical documents ascend no higher than the beginning of the fifteenth century, when Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini was sent first as a legate, then as a warrior, to Bohemia, for the purpose of putting an end to the heresy of John Huss and Jerome of Prague. The warlike prelate was however unsuccessful both as a diplomatist and a general, but his discomfitures were not sufficient to give him a distaste for martial encounters, in one of which he finally lost his life. There are other

prelates of that name, renowned in after ages, down to the year 1685, when the male branches of the family became extinct.

The Cesi also did not play any conspicuous part till the middle of the fifteenth century, when the head of their house was raised to the dignity of senator of Rome. His descendants were decorated with the titles of Marquises of Monticelli and Dukes of Aqua Sparta, by the pontiffs, to whom they were by turns useful friends and dangerous opponents. But the boast of the house was the amiable and unfortunate Federico Cesi, the same who in his eighteenth year, 1603, founded in Rome the famous academy "Dei Lincei," and was the firmest supporter of Galileo, and whose discoveries in natural history raise his name so high among the precursors of Linnæus.

The young prince's lofty station and the ascendancy of his family were no shelter against the persecution with which, in that age, the lovers of truth and knowledge were visited. Indeed the duke, his father himself, was enlisted in the cause of a cunning priesthood, and ranked among his most relentless adversaries. Federico was driven from Rome, the academy was dissolved, and the Lyncean hall broken into and laid waste by the fanaticism of a deluded populace. Brighter days seemed indeed to dawn for him, at the accession of the mild and accomplished Gregory VIII. in 1626. The pope reconciled the prince with his father, and screened him, as far as it lay in his power, with every fold of his pontifical mantle. But even the pontiff's personal favour was inefficient to guard the devoted victim against domestic chagrin and private outrages, by which he was hurried to an early grave in 1630. His memory was dealt with with unabating inveteracy. The Lyncean academy was soon after his decease put an end to, once more and for ever, and two centuries elapsed ere any monument was suffered to be raised to his manes. His bust stands at last on the Capitol, where it was reared early in the nineteenth century, the work of a Roman lady of rank.

The direct line of Federico's descendants is now extinct, but one of his collateral branches, which has inherited the titles and dignities of the family, is still conspicuous among the princely houses at Rome.

Classical families are likewise still supposed to exist at Florence, where, according to Malespini, the earliest historian of the republic, there flourished in his own times (before 1281) not a few descendants of the ancient Roman colonists, to whom the lovely city of Flora owes its foundation. Dante is well known to have belonged to one of them, though, as Litta observes, many of the poets and biographers incline to think that the Elisei proceeded from the Frangipane, and only migrated from Rome to Florence during the middle

ages. Whatever may be the case, Dante himself has frequent allusions to his ancestry, and, though invariably modest and shy in all that personally concerns him, yet seems plainly to intimate his belief in his classical descent.* The name of the Elisei occurs for the first time in 1019, when at the epoch of the solemn entrance of the German Henry II. into Florence, one of that family was among the number of distinguished personages deputed by the city to greet and escort the emperor. Dante's regular pedigree, however, only ascends to that warlike ancestor of his, by name Cacciaguida, whom he meets in his *Paradise* and who is made to predict to the poet the vicissitudes of his life. This hero was knighted by the emperor Conrad III., whom he followed to the second crusade, and lost his life in Palestine in 1147. From Cacciaguida's wife, a Ferrarese lady, they derived the name of Aldighieri or Alighieri, which remained to the family instead of the primitive Elisei, down to its final extinction. The poet himself was Cacciaguida's great great grandson in a direct line, and his family continued at Florence till the year 1558, the epoch of the death of Francesco, the last of his male descendants in the sixth generation.

Still by far the greatest number of Roman patricians who did not perish in those frequent barbaric invasions, must either have repaired to the Italian sea-ports, such as Venice, Ravenna, Bari and a few other towns garrisoned by Greeks from Constantinople, or migrated to that seat itself of the Eastern empire. Venice alone is well known, in all times, to have withstood every successive assault, and there is not the slightest doubt, but that all the best families of Cisalpine Gaul, Istria, Dalmatia, &c. especially during the terror and desolation of the inroads of Attila in 452, sought their refuge among the glorious lagoons. The different petty colonies of the Venetian islands were independently governed by their tribunes till the year 697, when twelve of the most conspicuous citizens met in a single assembly at Heraclea and elected Paolo Lucio Anafesto as the first doge or duke of maritime Venetia. Venice itself was only built in 809, and in the same year became the capital of the republic.

Three or four of the families whose ancestors were mentioned among the twelve electors of the first doge are already registered in Count Litta's grand catalogue, and that important transaction seems to constitute the earliest mark of aristocratic distinction at Venice. Of these the Orseolo and Candiano, so highly renowned in the primeval annals of the republic, were but too soon extinct,

* Par. Cant. xv. xvi.

but the names of Erizzo, Tiepolo, and others equally immortal, are still in existence.

The Candiano and Orseolo are known to have given tribunes to the republic previous to the election of the first doge. The former, however, professed the Lombard law, a circumstance which might raise some doubts as to the purity of their ancient Italian blood. Four of the Candiano, all named Pietro, were successively elected doges after 887. Venice was then struggling for existence against the Slavonian tribes of the neighbouring shores of Dalmatia, whose daring pirates carried their depredations into her very heart. The Candiano first taught their countrymen how to chastise the insolence of those barbarians. They ruled the republic during three successive generations, the doge's son being invariably associated with his father to the highest dignity with the universal assent of the people. But the ascendancy and prosperity of that family, their alliance with some of the reigning houses of the east, their wealth and splendour, finally roused the jealousy of these fierce republicans, who saw with displeasure the supreme power becoming, as it were, hereditary in their hands. Pietro III., doge in 943, willing to remove all suspicions, firmly refused to share his throne with his son, whose haughty and overbearing conduct had given general offence. A rebellion and civil war were the consequence of the prudent doge's forbearance. The undutiful son was defeated, taken prisoner and banished to Ravenna, where he joined the enemies of the republic. The doge's heart was broken by this act of unnatural apostacy; but veneration for the father's virtues prevailed in the hearts of the Venetians against their resentment for the son's misconduct. They sought for a reconciliation with their rebellious citizen, sent three hundred vessels to Ravenna to lay the doge's cap at his feet, and the traitor, at his return, was by them received with such greetings as no conqueror or deliverer ever met at their hands. The people had soon reason to repent their indiscriminating enthusiasm. They hastened to break the idol which they had so rashly raised to the throne; and only four years after his triumphal entry the last of the Candiano was besieged, burnt and buried in the ruins of the ducal palace in the year 975. The star of the Orseolo arose in the Venetian horizon directly after the setting of the Candiano. Indeed the tradition is, that the downfall of the latter was immediately instrumental to the rise of the former. When the people had wasted all their energies in ineffectual assaults against the tyrant Candiano's fortified palace, Pietro Orseolo, whose house was adjacent to the doge's stronghold, is said to have offered to set fire to his own dwelling, whence the flames soon reached the besieged palace, and

it is added that the supreme magistracy was given as a reward of his patriotic devotion. But whatever might be the origin of his greatness, it is certain that Orseolo's name was already distinguished previous to his accession, and few of the Venetian doges ever left stronger claims to the gratitude of their fellow-citizens. A warrior and a legislator, he turned all his efforts to the augmentation of the grandeur and prosperity of Venice. In 997 he laid the first stone of the cathedral of St. Mark, which he reared entirely at his own expense, though it was only finished by the Doge Contarini in 1017. His sincere and somewhat morbid religious feelings prompted him to found a vast number of churches and monasteries, to one of which at last, secretly stealing from the pomp and cares of his lofty dignity, he repaired in 978, and where he died in 997 a Franciscan. His wife, no less piously inclined, also ended her life among the shades of the cloisters; though this worthy pair, even whilst in the world had made a convent of home, and after the birth of their first son and heir they had, by a mutual agreement, entered into a vow of perpetual chastity, living together according to the rules of a shaker community.

Piero, his son and successor, the twenty-sixth of Venetian doges, and the greatest of all his predecessors, accomplished the conquest of Dalmatia, and for the first time assumed the title of duke of the conquered region, and led the Venetian fleets to the scene of their future conquest in the Levant. The ceremony of the bridal of the Adriatic was instituted under his reign in the year 999. His name, and that of his house, was borne by fame to the remotest corners of the earth, and the proudest monarchs courted their alliance. But in the same measure as it commanded veneration abroad, it became an object of envy and animadversion at home. Soon after the death of Piero, Ottone his son, whom he had raised as his colleague to the throne, was driven into exile, and his descendants, after several unsuccessful attempts to return, languished in comparative obscurity and became extinct towards 1050.

The house of the Giustiniani, though it dates from scarcely less remote epochs, has been perpetuated to the present age both in Venice and elsewhere. The Giustiniani are said to have been driven from Constantinople, where their ancestors had borne the imperial diadem (probably descending from their illustrious namesake, the wise legislator of antiquity) in consequence of one of those frequent courtly factions that almost at every generation dyed with new tints the purple of the eastern empire. At first they are said to have sought a refuge in Istria, where they built Justinopolis, afterwards Capo d'Istria, and hence migrated to the

Venetian lagoons. One of their name is mentioned among the tribunes as early as 756; but in the year 1170 the whole of their numerous family, actuated by hereditary rancour, embarked in a fatal expedition against Alexius Comnenus, in which plague, famine and treason conspired against the fortunes of Venice. With many thousand other combatants all the Giustiniani found their death in the east; and that would have been the end of them for ever had it not been for a pious monk, by name Nicolò, who had been left alone in the silence of his monastery at home. The Venetians, grieved at the impending extinction of so illustrious a name, sent an express embassy to the pope to obtain the good monk's release from his vows—drove him from the solitude of his cell, supplied him with a wife among the noble brides of Venice, and bade him provide against what they unanimously considered as a national calamity. The holy Nicolò, with a rare self-denial, took the youthful bride to his bosom, consented to become a husband and a father for the sake of public welfare, and after six years, having given sufficient proofs of his devotedness to the interest of the commonwealth, withdrew himself, and persuaded his wife to repair to the cloisters, where they both closed their life in odour of sanctity, and received the honours of pontifical canonization.

The seed of the blessed Nicolò proved fruitful even beyond the ordinary measure of the human races, and spread with all the vigour of patriarchal multiplication. No less than fifty different houses of the Giustiniani contemporaneously flourished in the halcyon days of the republic; no less than 200 senators of their name sat, or at least had right to sit, at once in the great council, which, as it is well known, never in its best days numbered more than 2000 members. Scarcely a battle was ever fought, scarcely a vital measure adopted, scarcely a legation sent to any foreign court in which one at least of the Giustiniani had not a principal share. Their pedigree is almost equivalent to another version of the history of Venice. Among so great a number, it must be expected some reflected no great credit on the family escutcheon. But they can boast of perhaps a greater number of really good and useful citizens—of warriors, statesmen, and diplomatists—of *procuratori*, *oratori*, and *provveditori*—of authors, historians, and bishops—to say nothing of two saints and a doge—than any of the proudest houses in Venice.

Out of the above-mentioned fifty different branches of this house, forty were extinct before the beginning of the eighteenth century; but some of the Giustiniani were still high in dignity when the republic came into collision with Bonaparte in 1797. One of them is well known to have firmly protested against, and

bravely withstood all the vengeful fury of, the rapacious invader ; but others, on the contrary, hastened with their cowardice the final hour of the republic, and crowded around the new Austrian rulers with time-serving abjectness.

One of the Venetian families, towards whom popular tradition shows the greatest partiality, is the still existing house of Tiepolo. "To doubt of the authentic descent of this family from Roman patrician descent is to offer an insult, which every Venetian resents as personal." So says Count Litta, who adds that this name was already well known in the seventh century, a Tiepolo being numbered among the electors of the first doge in 697. This house had already given to the republic several *Procuratori di San Marco*, when, in 1204, Giacomo Tiepolo having highly distinguished himself during the crusade against Constantinople, under the doge Enrico Dandolo, was appointed first duke, *i. e.* governor of Candia. The same was, two and twenty years later, raised to the dignity of doge, and under his government the republic began to exercise its influence on the affairs of the main land. Venice embraced the cause of the Guelph party in Lombardy, and aided her confederates against Frederic II. and his Ghibeline adherents. Pietro, his son, won by his personal valour the admiration of the Milanese, at the head of whose forces he was routed at the fatal combat of Cortenova, and taken prisoner. He was led away into captivity in Apulia, where Frederic, contrary to his usual magnanimity, doomed him to the gallows in 1237. Another of the doge's sons, by name Lorenzo, fought the battles of the republic in the east, and reaped laurels, especially at Acre, a spot in all ages the theatre of warlike exploits ; the doge himself, in his eightieth year, 1268, resumed the command of the Venetian fleets, and led them once more to victory. By this time, however, the Tiepoli were looked upon with that jealousy with which transcendent merit and popularity are always attended in republican states. After the doge's death, in 1274, his eldest son, Giacomo, unsuccessfully contended for the *Dogado* against the strong-minded Pietro Gradenigo, who, three years later, gave a permanent constitution to the Venetian aristocracy, by what was called "*Serrata del Maggior Consiglio*." Before the firmness and resolution of that famous aristocrat the power and credit of the Tiepolo failed, and when, in 1310, Bajamonte Tiepolo attempted to renew his hostilities against the established government by the aid of secret conspiracies, he drew new calamities and disgrace on himself and family ; their house was demolished, and on its ruins stood a column, which was meant to perpetuate their infamy. The Tiepolo lived to recover from the consequences of that dis-

aster, they were gradually restored to their rank, but never again played so conspicuous a part in the transactions of the republic as their ancestors' glorious career might have entitled them to aspire to. It is sad to hear how Count Litta concludes the pedigree of some of the branches of this house.

"Girolamo—He belonged to a family which had fallen into very humble condition, but which as it could not, on account of indigence, be excluded from the patrician rank, was supported by government by the aid of secret subventions, or petty offices. This branch was reduced to utter misery, and perished in obscurity soon after the fall of Venice in 1797."

Some of the Tiepoli are however in better circumstances; the representative of one of their surviving houses, Domenico Almorò Tiepolo, is not only a wealthy but even an accomplished nobleman. He published a work in 1828, entitled "*Discorsi sulla Storia Veneta*," written in confutation of many inaccuracies or deliberate calumnies in Daru's *Histoire de Venice*, a work dictated by laudable patriotic motives, upon which Litta, even whilst he cannot always subscribe to his opinions, bestows the most unqualified encomium.

The two houses of Corrado and Erizzo likewise are reckoned among the first settlers in the islands on which the queen of the ocean rose. But little or nothing is said concerning them previous to the closing of the great council in 1297, where they were confirmed in the patrician order, to which they had for several centuries most probably belonged. We are not aware that the Corrado ever associated their names with any of the great transactions that immortalized the name of Venice, with the exception of a few ambassadors, and one or two writers of considerable celebrity. But one of them, named Angelo, had the fortune or misfortune to be elected pope in 1406, when he assumed the name of Gregory XII. It was in the epoch of those ecclesiastical disturbances, well known under the name of "Great western schism," and Gregory's election was not unattended with violent opposition. His best friends and even his country stood up against him, and his pontificate became for him the source of endless tribulations and sorrows. At last the cardinals, his supporters, were prevailed upon to give up the contest, and he was at liberty to resign in 1415. This act of abdication was dictated with such sincere feelings of modesty and benevolence, evinced so ardent a wish for the union and harmony of the church, that it won him the admiration of the world and the warmest thanks of the council.

The fame of the Erizzi rests principally on the share that the members of that house took in the Turkish wars of the fifteenth

and following centuries. Paolo Erizzo commanded at Negroponte, when the triumphant Mahomet II. landed all his forces on the shores of Eubœa. Both the Venetians and their leader performed prodigies of valour. At last, driven to extremity, the garrison surrendered, and was immediately put to the sword under the eyes of its commander; and as the Ottoman had solemnly promised that Erizzo's head should be spared, he redeemed his pledge by ordering him to be sawed through the body. One of the late descendants of that unfortunate warrior, after having fulfilled high offices in the state was raised to the supreme dignity in 1632. He had reached his eightieth year when the war of Candia broke out, and notwithstanding his decrepitude, such was the reliance of his countrymen on his valour and wisdom, that they appointed him *generalissimo* of the troops. But the tidings of that signal honour so powerfully affected the old doge, that he died in the first entrancement of joy, in 1646. Numerous members of this family found a glorious death on the last bulwarks of Christendom in Candia and Morea, and the senators of that name still preserved the greatest influence in all state deliberations till the last disgraceful transactions of 1797, in which we regret to say this noble family were too deeply involved.

Both this family and the Corraro have been confirmed in their ranks by diplomas of the new Austrian government, and such honours as the cabinet of Vienna has power to bestow are heaped upon the heads of the ladies and gentlemen who bear their name. But titles, crosses, and ribbons can neither add to the lustre which tradition attaches to such names, nor for any length of time save their bearers from that state of squalor and indigence which makes so many Venetian nobles dependent on the alms of government. Woe to the children of Venice that survive the fate of their country!

The last among the Venetian families whose genealogy is drawn up at full length by Count Litta is that of Foscari. They are said to have migrated to Venetia in the ninth century, and were, in 1122, admitted as patricians into the great council. The sympathies of all English readers have been too powerfully called forth of late in behalf of the virtuous doge Francesco, and his ill-fated son Giacomo Foscari, for us to waste words in repeating the sorrowful tale. But curiosity prompted us to look with anxiety to the last destinies of their posterity, and behold how Litta concludes the long columns of names, the sound of which sends a thrill of enthusiasm to our inmost hearts.

“Federigo; born very rich, he died exceedingly poor in 1811. The

immense palace of his family, so famous once both for its magnificence and for the hospitality that so many foreign sovereigns met with within its walls, whilst visitors at Venice, is now abandoned and tottering."

And at the close of another branch :—

" Francesco, *velite* in the Italian guard, died in fight at the close of the Russian campaign, in 1813. The last glory of the house of Foscari."

And again :—

" Filippo, body-guard in the Italian kingdom, then a lieutenant in the fourth regiment of foot. At the fall of Napoleon he refused to enter the Austrian service; and now exercises the comic art on the stage."

" Domenico, an actor on the Italian stage."

" Marianna, married to a coachmaker in Pordenone."

" Luigia, lives in Dunkirk, married to one Bowden, or Smallwood,"
etc.

And can we believe all this? The last heir of the "Two Foscari," now perhaps acting at the *Fenice* the part that the great doge, his progenitor, played in the Council Hall of the Republic! The daughters of Venice, for whose hands royal lovers were once known to sue; an alliance with whom turned the heads of continental noblemen, now given to a tradesman or to some one whose very name is below our notice.

Happily death is busy to efface from the world these living testimonies of fortune's sad frolics, and the day is perhaps not far distant when ruins and tomb-stones shall be all that remain of the aristocracy of Venice.

Still the great houses of Dandolo and Zeno, Pisani, Contarini, and Pesaro, Gradenigo, Mocenigo, Loredano, and a greater number than our page could contain, are yet a desideratum in Litta's work. Venice alone is likely to give him employment for all his life-time, every one of the above-mentioned names compelling him to a new rhapsody of Italian history, from the fall of Rome to the last day of Venice. Of Genoa also not one family has, as yet, engaged our author's attention; and yet as the ruggedness of the Ligurian mountains, and the fierce temper of their inhabitants, offered a more permanent resistance against northern invasions, the Genoese boast, not perhaps without reason, that the ancient blood of their patricians has passed more uncontaminated across the storms of the dark ages than that of any other district on the Italian main-land. The proofs of their ancient classical derivation, however, are still more vague and conjectural than those on which rest the claims of Venetians and Romans; the annals of Genoa ascending no higher than the tenth or eleventh centuries, in which epochs all repositories of private or public documents were repeatedly destroyed by the

frequent onsets of the Saracens. All that can be positively stated on that subject is, that long before the year 1100, Genoa was swayed by four ancient, noble, powerful families, the Doria and Spinola, Grimaldi and Fiesco; and as these names rose to celebrity long before any other, so have they in after ages stood first and foremost in all national vicissitudes. The aristocratic houses of Genoa have been preserved from generation to generation with a more uninterrupted continuance, and their representatives live now in a state of greater affluence and splendour than those of the rival republic. Their marble palaces, although oftentimes too spacious for the number or for the wealth of their inmates, are yet far from crumbling to ruins; private industry and enterprise surviving among that hardy and frugal race, even after the extinction of public spirit.

But if the antique origin of Italian families is, to say the least, so problematic even at Rome and in the two maritime republics, what are we to think of the pretensions of other minor houses of Romagna and Lombardy and other provinces in which the night of the middle ages set in at so early a period, and on which it dwelt so long and thick and chaotic as to change the very face of the land? What shall we say, for instance, of the Pepoli of Bologna, who adopted a chess-board as the cognizance of their family, which they are fain to derive from Palamedes, the pretended inventor of the game of chess at the siege of Troy? What shall we say? why, nothing; for it would be as great a waste of time to bring proofs against, as in favour of, such idle but harmless assertions.

For a long lapse of ages the Italians had that horror of their barbaric descent that the Spaniards evinced in reference to any mixture of Moorish blood. Such prejudices are, however, fast wearing off, and there are few at present unwilling to admit that next to those who claim kindred with the Roman Pisos or Scipios, are to be ranked such families as can trace their source up to Gothic, Lombard, or Frankish progenitors.

The feudal system in Italy first received a permanent organization at the Lombard invasion in 568. It was modified and strengthened by its adaptation to the Salic law after the conquest of Charlemagne in 774. Soon after that emperor's death it had become so powerful as to prove fatal to the interests of monarchy. The Italian great feudatories (they were thirty at the epoch of the partition of the land among the Lombard conquerors), the Dukes of Ivrea, Spoleto, Friuli, Benevento, &c., successively presented themselves as candidates for the fatal iron crown of Italy, and exhausted their forces in long bloody struggles, which involved their own in the ruin of their country. The German-

emperors, who made their appearance at the close of that sanguinary contest, who profited by Italian dissensions, lost no opportunity to set the few survivors by the ears, and in their eagerness to free themselves from such dangerous competitors, they not unfrequently countenanced that independent spirit of the Lombard municipalities which was slowly preparing a new era of Italian freedom.

Thus even before municipalism entered the lists against feudalism, even before the first meeting of the memorable Lombard League in 1163, almost all the original thirty houses of dukes and counts, who had swayed the country since the first setting in of the northern host, had become extinct, and a new generation of minor nobles had risen on the wrecks of those families, often bearing their titles and claiming their privileges. Of these also a vast number were destroyed during the popular contest, or were immolated by the people in the first intoxication of triumph. A few of them, however, lived through that long ordeal of fire and sword. Their hawk-nests in the Alps and Apennines sheltered them against the first democratic effervescence, and enabled them in progress of time to come to a compromise with their burgher opponents, and eventually to reassert their ascendancy over them.

Few, therefore, if indeed any, of the Italian families can boast of their descent from the earliest northern feudatories; they generally derive from those comparatively obscure adventurers, who, either through usurpation or imperial bounty, stepped, as the saying goes, into their shoes, tenanted their vacant castles, and wielded their broken sceptres. All of them, indeed, though prompted by ambition to adopt the law of the conquerors, did not belong by birth or origin to the northern race with which they claimed kindred with as much eagerness as in after ages of classical civilization they endeavoured to disavow it. Feudalism underwent in that age an awful shipwreck, and the clumsy raft that was made to stand up in its stead was not unfrequently found to be composed of extraneous and adventitious materials.

One of the feudal or castled families (*nobiltà castellana*) that first attempted a strenuous reaction against democracy was that of Ezzel, or Ezzelino, lords of Onara and Romano, in the territories of Bassano and Padua. The first Ezzel came from Germany in the train of Conrad II., in 1036, and was son of an obscure German, named by the Italians, Arpone. Ezzel having received from that emperor the investiture of the above-mentioned estates, was induced to fix his residence in the country. His grandson, Ezzelino, renowned for prodigies of valour performed in Palestine, sided with Frederic Barbarossa at the diet

of Roncaglia in 1154, and aided that emperor in the demolition of Milan in 1162. But when the rebellion of a few burghers assumed the aspect of a general revolution that was to lead to the emancipation of Italy, Ezzelino felt the necessity of espousing the popular cause, and joined the Lombard League in 1167. He fought all their successive battles, and was found among the ranks of the leaguers on the glorious field of Legnano in 1176. But the unnatural alliance between the Ezzelino and the people could not last long. The lords of Romano were soon reconciled with the German monarchs, and at the rise of the Guelph and Ghibeline parties they stood constantly at the head of the latter. The sixth and last of that family, also named Ezzelino, strong in the favour of the second Frederic, extended his tyrannic sway over the cities of Verona, Trento, and Padua; and after that emperor's demise, throwing off all allegiance towards his successors, he ventured to aspire to the independent sovereignty of Lombardy. But the fate of that beautiful province was not yet mature. The whole country rose in a crusade against him, and after a few years of gallant resistance he was routed and wounded at Cassano, and died in the hands of his adversaries, 1259. His brother, Alberigo, who had shifted his policy from the Ghibelines to the Guelphs in the vain hope of surviving his brother's ruin, met with a still more calamitous end. His sons were beheaded, his wife and daughters burnt alive in his presence, and after witnessing their fate he was compelled to follow it with a refinement of cruelty that all the far-famed ruthlessness of Ezzelino could scarcely authorize.

The fall of the Ezzelino was the signal of the rise of several families who had joined his Guelph opponents. It was then that the Este began to build their greatness on the delusions of a confiding democracy. The diligence and ingenuity of Count Litta has thrown considerable light on the earliest genealogy of this house, which the flattering fancy of grateful poets had involved in a chaos of mythological conjectures. There is, it appears, but little foundation in that tradition which would trace the Este up to the ancient dukes or marquises of Tuscany. Tuscany was, undoubtedly, one of the thirty great duchies into which the Lombard conquerors had partitioned the land; but the marquises of Tuscany, concerning whom something positive is known, are not mentioned till the year 812, long after the conquest of Charlemagne; nor can it be decided whether the first, second, and third Boniface, who bore that title down to the year 1052, were real descendants of the original Lombard feudatories, or whether they were invested with their estates at the extinction of the primitive line. The third and last Boniface, marquis of

Tuscany, died in 1052, leaving only an heiress, the high-minded Countess Matilda.

The earliest ancestor of the House of Este, by name Adalberto, lived towards the opening of the tenth century, and, whether connected with the Bonifaces of Tuscany, or descended from the earliest race of Tuscan feudatories, he certainly bore the title of Marquis, which was continued to his successors, though it was, for a long time, a matter of doubt in what regions of the earth or of the air their marquisate might lie. The Este, says Litta, followed the Lombard, whilst the Tuscan marquises obeyed the Riparian law; and this appears to him a strong argument against the alleged consanguinity of the two houses. Oberto, son or successor of Adalberto, had four children, who, in accordance with the Lombard statutes, were entitled to an equal share in the paternal inheritance. One of these, whose name was Oberto II., was the continuator of the house of Este; another, named Adalberto, according to Litta, confirmed in this instance by the authority of Muratori, was the progenitor of the far spread and far famed house of the Pallavicino; a third, by name Oberto Obizzo, gave rise to the no less conspicuous families of the Malaspina, Lords of Lunigiana; and from a fourth, who went by the name of Alberto, sprung another branch of the Malaspina, once Marquises of Massa.

The splendour of the house of Este began with Alberto Azzo II., grandson of the above-mentioned Oberto II., who succeeded his father in 1020. He sided with the Emperor Henry III. of Germany during those obstinate contests between the German court and the Papal see which so powerfully aided the popular cause both in Germany and Italy; and was by the grateful emperor rewarded with high sounding titles, which, however, in that gradual decline of the imperial power, scarcely conveyed any meaning. Henry, however, conferred upon his liegeman a more substantial favour, by marrying him to Cunizza or Cunegonda, daughter of Guelph II., and sister of Guelph III. of Bavaria. After the decease of this last, who left no heir, the throne of Bavaria devolved upon Guelph IV., son of Cunegonda and Alberto Azzo of Este. This Guelph IV. was, as every body knows, the illustrious progenitor of the houses of Brunswick and Hanover; and Litta gives, at full length, the genealogy of the *Este of Germany*, down to Queen Victoria of England. Alberto Azzo hoped to have equally helped another of his sons, Ugo, to the inheritance of the County of Maine in France, which, in consequence of the extinction of the male line, became the property of Ugo's mother, his second wife. But Ugo met with competitors whom he had no power to withstand. He gave up the contest

without even a struggle, and this branch of the *Este of France*, after a short, inglorious career, soon became extinct. The second of Albertazzo's sons, by name Folco, inherited his father's estates at home, and from him sprung the *Este of Italy*.

The Italian house of Este rose rather by a combination of auspicious circumstances, and by an ambi-dextrous policy, than by any eminent virtue. The progenitor of the three houses, Alberto Azzo, himself scrupled not to forsake the cause of the emperor, to whom he owed his rise, as soon as he perceived that the haughty Gregory VII. carried everything before him. In the like manner, his descendants set up as champions of the people when they became aware of the inevitable downfall of feudalism and monarchy. Obizzo, grandson of Folco, joined the Lombard league in 1167, and was comprised in the imperial amnesty at the peace of Venice in 1177. Before the end of that century, Azzo V. had courted an alliance with the Adelardi, the leading family of the Guelphs of Ferrara, and been admitted to the liberties of that city. In 1208, Azzo VI. was invested with the supreme magistracy by the Ferrarese, wearied with discord and anarchy. Next came the wars of Frederic II. and the Crusade against Ezzelino, at the end of which the Este, who had faithfully sided with the Guelphs, were acknowledged as Lords of Ferrara. To this title, the pope, thankful for their co-operation to the conquest of Naples by Charles of Anjou, added the investiture of Modena and Reggio. All was not, indeed, sunshine for the Este during the following century; the ascendancy of the Scala and Visconti often brought them to the brink of ruin; but a fortunate marriage, a well-timed shift from Guelphs to Ghibelines, or any such contrivance, enabled them to weather all storms, till their precarious dignities of Pontifical or Imperial Vicars gave place to the more substantial titles of Dukes of Ferrara, Modena and Reggio, of which the first was bestowed upon them by Pope Paul II. in 1471; the two latter were the gift of the Emperor Frederic III. in 1496.

Ferrara, it is known to all, remained to the Este till 1597, when, at the death of Alphonso II., Pope Clement VIII. seized on what he called church property, to the spoliation of Don Cæsar of Este, Alphonso's illegitimate successor. But the Este continued at Modena and Reggio down to the epoch of the French Revolution, when they became extinct. The last princess of Este, Maria Beatrice, daughter of Hercules III., was wedded in 1771 to Ferdinand, one of the all-marrying Archdukes of Austria, and from this union sprung that pitiable rather than formidable despot Francis IV., the present Duke of Modena.

The circumstance that the blood of that mock Nero may,

though at so prodigious a distance, be proved to be the same as that which runs through the veins of our own gentle and gracious sovereign, has given rise to vain conjectures as to what might be the mutual rights of succession and reversion, on certain eventualities, which late happy events have so widely removed. But let genealogists contrive to demonstrate what they please, it is not to be doubted but that, on the one side, the English have in all instances showed how antipathy against tyranny can get the better even of their strong feelings of loyalty, and on the other, Austria is too tenacious in her grasp to give up any thing without so long and obstinate a contest as it would never be worth our while to undergo for the sake of so insignificant a strip of land as constitutes what they emphatically call "*Dominii Estensi.*"

Had we the choice of our own descent, we would rather be derived from the Malaspina or Pallavicino than from any of the more fortunate branches of the house of Este. Though never raised by fortune to the royal dignity, these two heroic races had oftentimes a paramount influence on events that decided the fate of empire. The genealogy of the Malaspina, both those with the *green* and with the *withered thorn* (*Dallo spino secco, e dallo spino fiorito*), are yet to appear in Count Litta's collection; but the pedigree of the Pallavicino is given at full length, and nothing can be more surprising than the number of immortal names that are to be read in that long register. The Pallavicino possessed large estates in the territories of Placentia and Parma as early as 1116, when the Marquis Oberto first acquired the sobriquet of *Pela-vicino* (flay-neighbour), from the rather incorrect notions he entertained about the rights of *meum* and *tuum*. Some of his descendants afterwards settled at Genoa, and their numerous branches played a most prominent part in the annals of that republic. They gave their adopted city no less than five doges, an admiral, several archbishops and bishops, three at least of whom were also raised to the purple at Rome. Other branches continued on their original estates in the Parmese territory, where their ancient castles at Busseto, Bargone, Tabiano, &c. are still extant, and not always untenanted. Others again migrated to Naples, Rome, and even beyond the Alps into Hungary, where one of their name rose to the rank of marshal of the empire. Finally, another of them, the well known Horatio, from Genoa, came to this country in the days of Queen Mary; and having abjured Catholicism under Elizabeth, engaged in commercial speculations, in which he so far prospered as to be able to supply the queen with large sums of money, rather in accordance with patriotic devotedness than with mercantile dis-

cretion. Finally, in 1586, at the opening of the Spanish war, Horatio, true to his Genoese descent, though a Briton by act of parliament, armed at his expense a considerable number of vessels, and distinguished himself for his gallant demeanour against the Invincible Armada in 1588. He was knighted by the queen at his return, and after his decease his portrait was placed in the House of Lords among those that had well deserved of the country. This picture, by great good fortune, was among the few articles of furniture that escaped the ravages of the great fire of 1834. It is now to be seen in the British Museum, and bears the following inscription:—"Sir Horatio Pallavicino, obt. 1600." One of the suits he wore is, we believe, in the horse armoury in the Tower. But Horatio's ambition made away with the fortune his industry had amassed. Tobias, his son, connected by marriage with the house of Cromwell, ended his life in the Fleet; and Horatio, his grandson, died childless in want and obscurity. "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

We shall give only a few words to the other families, probably of northern origin, who, by associating their cause with that of the people, contrived to establish their sovereignty over them. Their names and deeds so essentially belong to the history of the country, that nothing that concerns them can be new, unless it were perhaps something connected either with their primordial rise, or with the fate of their posterity, when they fell back among the crowd of *figuranti* in the great drama of life.

The Visconti, for instance, were not known among the inhabitants of Milan before 1037, when Eriprando, called by Litta "*Milite millenario*," or leader of 1000 combatants, distinguished himself during the siege of his native city by Conrad II. of Germany. "He was then called '*Vicecomes*,' or Viscount," says Litta, "probably because his ancestors were vicars or lieutenants of the counts of Milan, or rather because they governed some portion of the territory placed under the jurisdiction of the archbishop, who was also count of Milan." Otho, the son or successor of Eriprando, a great warrior, led the Milanese to the first crusade; on which occasion, if we are to believe ancient traditions, he won from a Saracen, slain by him in a private combat,

"Lo scudo

In cui dall' angue esce il fanciullo ignudo"—

the snake devouring a child, which was ever since the cognizance of his family. In the year 1111 Otho accompanied Henry V. to his coronation on the Capitol. During the tumult by which that sacred ceremony was interrupted, the emperor, thrown from

his saddle, would inevitably have fallen a victim to the Roman populace, had it not been for the heroic devotion of Visconti, who gave Henry his own horse, and was soon overpowered and torn to pieces by the deluded crowd. The descendants of Otho continued to lead the Milanese into the field during that long series of disasters and triumphs, which ended with the enfranchisement of Lombardy at the peace of Constance in 1183. But no sooner had Italian liberty been so bravely asserted than the factions of the Guelphs and Ghibelines arose, when the Visconti embraced the latter party in opposition to the house of Della Torre, leaders of the Guelphs. The Torriani seemed for some time to prevail, but the valour and cunning of the war-like prelate, the Archbishop Otho, and his nephew Matteo Visconti, strengthened by the favour of the emperor, Henry VII. ended by firmly establishing the sway of that family in 1277 and 1311. The prosperity of the house proceeded without any important interruption under Matteo's children, Galeazzo, Luchino and the Archbishop Giovanni, and afterwards under Azzo and his successors Galeazzo and Bernabò, till the nephew of this last, named Giovan Galeazzo, already master of all Lombardy, of Genoa, Siena and Pisa, dared to aspire to the entire sovereignty of Italy, and would have accomplished its conquest but for his sudden and premature death in 1402.

The long minority of his children, and afterwards the brutal ferocity of one of them, Gian Maria, and the pusillanimity of the other, Filippo Maria, had considerably eclipsed the lustre of the house, when the extinction of its male line spared it the chances of further disasters. Filippo Maria died in 1447, and his vast inheritance passed into the hands of Francesco Sforza, the husband of the duke's only daughter, Bianca Visconti. But, independent of the reigning house, numerous collateral or illegitimate branches of the Visconti have spread all over Italy, and some of them are still in existence. A few gentlemen bearing that name are to be met with among the officers of the Sardinian armies. One of them at least is mentioned for his brave demeanour against the French at Antibes in 1815, no less than for the mistaken loyalty with which he sided with the perjured king, Carlo Felice, during the constitutional revolution of 1821.

The origin of the Scaligeri, or Lords Della Scala, formerly tyrants of Verona, is involved in obscurity. Their earliest ancestors were certainly natives of that city, but probably did not belong to the patrician order. Mastino was originally a Ghibeline, and rose under the favour of Ezzelino da Romano. He had however the good fortune to escape popular vengeance after that tyrant's downfall, and availing himself of the dissensions

that sprung up between two of the most influential Veronese houses, was in 1260 elected *Capitan del Popolo*, and two years later *Podestà*, or chief magistrate of the city. The Scaligeri held the supreme sway in Verona from that epoch; and the names of Can Grande, Mastino II., Cansignorio, &c. successively engage our attention as great, powerful, and not unfrequently liberal and magnificent princes; but the enmity of the Visconti, and yet more the atrocity of their family feuds, soon undermined a throne that was based merely on popular infatuation, and the last Della Scala being driven into exile and involved in dire calamities, the race became finally extinct in 1598.

The origin of the Carrara, for some time tyrants of Padua, ascends to a remoter antiquity. This family professed Lombard law, and were therefore most probably of northern descent. As early as 970 they are mentioned as owners of lands and castles, and before 1027 they were known as Lords of Carrara. The abduction of a lady of this family, the wife of Jacopino da Carrara, by the Count Pagano, imperial vicar at Padua, was an event fraught with momentous results. Jacopino himself was too staunch an imperialist to suffer his loyalty to be shaken even by so daring an outrage; but the lady's brothers joined in a vast conspiracy both at Padua and in the neighbouring towns; and a private insult thus gave rise to that universal insurrection against imperial authority, which in 1182 terminated in the independence of the country. Even after the peace of Constance the Carrara continued in their Ghibeline allegiance, and their loyalty was severely visited by the Paduans, who in 1200 stormed and demolished Carrara. The houseless family in progress of time became Paduan citizens, and one of them, the brave and wise Jacopo da Carrara, a great moderator of factions, restored peace to the town, and was its great bulwark against the towering ambition of Can Della Scala. He was then by the gratitude of his townsmen raised to the supreme power; but seeing the impossibility of resisting prevailing anarchy without the influence of a superior authority, he resigned his command into the hands of an imperial vicar in 1318. His successors did not always follow the dictates of his prudence. Marsiglio, his nephew, at the close of a long clashing of factions, usurped by main force the sovereignty that Jacopo had so generously abdicated, and by a series of treasons emancipated himself from the Scala, whose lieutenant and vassal he had, not without great indignation on the part of the Paduans, consented to be, 1328—1338.

The records of this family are henceforth contaminated by frequent deeds of bloodshed. The rivalry of Scala and Visconti allowed them not an instant of repose, and hardly had the death

of Gio. Galeazzo Visconti released them from imminent danger, when Francesco II. called Novello, ventured to grapple with a still more formidable and relentless opponent, the republic of Venice. Thence ensued a long and unequal contest, during which the flourishing city of Padua exhausted itself beyond recovery, and at the end of which Carrara and his sons met with a tragic and ignominious death on the Venetian scaffold in 1406.

The readers of history may feel inclined to fancy that such was the end of the whole race, but one or more of its collateral branches, known under the humbler name of Pappafava, is still flourishing in Padua, though we never heard of any of them rising above the common level.

The Bonaccolsi and Gonzaga, successively tyrants of Mantua, are not known before the beginning of the thirteenth century, nor can it be ascertained whether they were of Italian or foreign descent. Pinamonte Bonaccolsi usurped the supreme magistracy in Mantua by the darkest treasons in 1276; and Rinaldo or Passerino lost it with his own life and all his kindred in 1328, in consequence of a conspiracy, at the head of which was Luigi Gonzaga, anxious to avenge the violence offered by Francesco Bonaccolsi to the person of Anna da Dovara, the wife of Filippino Gonzaga. The Gonzaga, first lords, then marquises and dukes of Mantua, secure in the impregnable position of their capital, redeemed the insignificance of their territory by their brilliant valour as leaders of the forces of allied powers. In 1495 one of them, the Marquis Gian Francesco, was at the head of the Milanese and Venetian forces assembled to arrest Charles VIII. of France, in his hasty retreat from his ill-digested conquest of Naples. The battle of Fornovo, between the best lances of Christendom and those ill-assorted Italian recruits, has long been a source of discussion for the historians of the two nations, who have fought that fray over and over again with an obstinacy equal at least to that of the combatants themselves. Count Litta, as may be expected, claims for his countrymen the honour of the day, nor can it indeed be called in question, that, if Gonzaga failed in his intent of cutting to pieces the invading host and taking its king prisoner, on the other hand, Charles was forced to abandon all his designs against Milan and Genoa, and had to thank his stars and St. Denis that he was preserved to see the Louvre again. But the lineal descendants of the warriors of Mantua degenerated with the universal decline of the Italian nation; and when at last, early in the eighteenth century, they were "feloniously," as Litta declares, despoiled of their estates, even the unjust policy to which they fell victims was insufficient to call forth men's sympathy in their favour. The

extinction of the house of Mantua in 1708, was soon followed by that of its several branches reigning at Guastalla, Luzzara, Novellara, Sabbioneta, &c. The Marquises of Vescovado are the only noblemen bearing the name of Gonzaga, whose generation has been preserved to our own times. They are now living on their estates near the Po, forgotten by the busy world. "Napoleon," says Litta, "always so eager in his hunt after great names, sent the most flattering invitations, with a hope to draw the last representative of this house from obscurity. But even the great conqueror in his omnipotence could make nothing of him."

The city of Parma had also its tyrants, the Lords of Correggio, a race of minor Lombard feudatories, who derived their name from their estate of Correggio as early as the year 1009. Soon after the triumph of the national cause they abandoned their stronghold, suing for municipal magistracies in the emancipated cities. In 1203 they were already settled at Parma, and about 100 years later Giberto da Correggio, with a policy analogous to that followed by Jacopo da Carrara, though not with the same single-mindedness and disinterestedness, exerted his influence to bring about a general reconciliation and amnesty between the two inveterate parties by which Parma, no less than every other Lombard city, had been for so many years distracted. The blind gratitude of his fellow citizens rewarded him with the sovereignty of the town; but the faithlessness and disloyalty of Giberto and of his son Azzo, the enmity of some of the native families, and above all the ambition of powerful neighbours, rendered that proud title beyond measure precarious and dangerous. The Correggio were driven from Parma with incessant vicissitudes, till at last, Azzo pressed hard by Mastino della Scala, with a most flagrant violation of all rights and treaties, sold Parma to Obizzo of Este, defrauding his brothers of their share in that infamous bargain, 1344. His descendants continued at Correggio till 1517; long after the extinction of the direct line another branch was invested with their titles from 1616 to 1631. They all ended in 1711.

The two emulous families who were invariably to be found in the ranks of Correggio's opponents, the Rossi and Sanvitale, are also given by Litta in the fourth volume of his work.

The Rossi of Parma, whose earliest memorials date from 1100, number several heroes in their family, many of whom gloriously fell during the wars of Frederic II., when the whole host of that powerful monarch was routed under the walls of their native town in 1248. The Rossi followed the Guelph

party with zeal and consistency, and the two brothers, Marsiglio and Piero, the opponents of Azzo da Correggio, were considered as the noblest warriors of the time. They were invested with the title of Counts of San Secondo in 1300; and in that castle the family had their residence till the death of the last Rossi in 1825.

The Sanvitale begin their genealogy with Ugo, who in 1100 built the tower of San Vitale, on the banks of the Enza. They also were Guelphs, and lavish of their blood for the Guelph cause during the memorable siege of Parma by Frederic II. In later times the ascendancy of the Ghibelines of Milan and Verona occasionally drove them from home, when, together with a great many other Lombard families from every town, they sought their refuge at Venice, and were admitted among the Venetian patricians. The Sanvitale at a very early period were Lords of Fontanellato; their castle has in all times been a favourite resort for Italian literature and art. The late Count Stefano won a wide reputation as a founder of houses of asylum and education. Not a few of the most distinguished living artists were reared up in those liberal institutions, to which the good count consecrated all his time and pretty nearly his fortune. His son, Luigi, at his death endeavoured to repair his shattered patrimony by an alliance with the house of Austria, that is, he espoused the unfortunate offspring of Maria Louisa's frailty, more lately legitimated by a left-handed marriage with Count Neipperg, her paramour. The cousin of Luigi, Count Jacopo Sanvitale, followed a different, consequently a more losing policy. At war with all the established governments since his boyhood, he was implicated in every conspiracy that ever was brewing in subterranean Italy. Imprisoned at Fenestrelle by Napoleon in 1810, on account of a disrespectful sonnet* on the birth of the King

* We think our readers may like to see this famous *sibillone* or sonnet à bouts rimés, which Sanvitale wrote in an unlucky quarter of an hour among a company of friends, and which, when it fell into the hands of the emperor and king, so bitterly provoked him, that he exclaimed, "Send the man to Fenestrelle, and let him stay there as many months as there are lines in the poem."

"PER LA NASCITA DEL RE DI ROMA.

Io mi caccio le man nella parrucca

Per la rabbia che proprio il cor mi tocca

Se compro vate vaticinii scocca

E un regio Mida canticchiando stucca.

E m'arrovello se Firenze o Lucca

Chitarrino strimpella o tromba imbocca

Per un fanciul che in culla si balocca

E sallo Iddio se avrà poi sale in zucca.

Egli è del conio della stessa zecca

E rammento la rana che s'impicca

Perchè l'astro del di moglie si becca

of Rome, banished from Milan by the Austrians in 1816, sentenced to several years' imprisonment as a Carbonaro in 1820, and exiled in consequence of the insurrection of central Italy in 1831; he must be now, in spite of his eminent genius and most amiable disposition, languishing in some of the obscure *depôts* of Italian refugees in France, unless indeed his cousin's recent exaltation at the court of Parma may have smoothed the way for his return.

The Rangoni of Modena also are among the few families preserving some traces of their former splendour. They are fond of deriving their origin from German ancestors, and were landowners before 1040. Gherardo Rangoni was the first Podestà of Modena in 1156. Another Gherardo distinguished himself in the famous war of the "Rape of the Bucket" in 1249. The Rangoni were Lords of Castelvetro and Livizzano till 1702, when the elder branch came to its end; other branches however are still extant, and from them sprung a few but highly distinguished ecclesiastical or literary characters. The present representative of one of these houses is simply designated by Count Litta under his Christian name "Taddeo;" but his wife deserves a more particular notice.

"Rosa, one of the daughters of Count Carlo Testi, formerly a senator in the kingdom of Italy, accused of participation in the rebellion of February 3rd, 1831, at Modena, for having embroidered a silken standard with the three colours of the Italian kingdom. This lady was condemned by a *tribunale statario* to three years' imprisonment in a fortress of state. The penalty was afterwards commuted by special clemency into a seclusion for as many years in the convent *Delle Mantellate* in Reggio." The first instance, we believe, of female handiwork being accounted high treason.

But there still exists in Modena a family, by the side of whose antiquity, even the boasted genealogy of Este appears unimportant. The Pico were certainly a distinguished family before the conquest of Charlemagne in 774, since that emperor led away into France at his return, among other hostages, Manfredo, one of that house. Many years afterwards another Manfredo, Count of Milan, was among the opponents of Guido, Duke of Spoleto, for some time emperor and king of Italy. He continued his hostilities against Lamberto, son of Guido, also king of Italy, who laid siege to Milan, and after an obstinate resistance took

Ecco già l'ugne in sen d' Italia ei ficca
 E le trae sanguinose e il sangue lecca,
 Ei che far la potea libera e ricca."

prisoner and beheaded the Count, 896. Ugo, son of Manfredo, a youth of sixteen, also fell into the hands of the conqueror, but was pardoned. He even so far won the king's favour as to become his inseparable companion. One morning in summer, 898, King Lamberto was hunting alone with his favourite on the plain of Marengo. Wearied with long riding he lay down to sleep. The desire of avenging his father's death had long slumbered but was not extinct in Ugo's heart. From that sleep Lamberto never awoke. What became of the young murderer is not known, but in 900 he was no longer Lord of Milan. From him through almost mythological traditions, the Pico, or, as they were called, "the children of Manfredo," with great plausibility derive their lineal descent. They reappear on the stage as Lords of Mirandola and imperial vicars in 1311. Ten years later Francesco Pico fell into the hands of a ruthless enemy, Passerino Bonaccolsi of Mantua, and, shut up in a dungeon with his family, he died the death of Ugolino, after having devoured two of his children. The Pico were successively created Counts of Concordia in 1432, Princes and then Dukes of Mirandola, &c. &c. Still the greatest lustre was conferred upon them by the illustrious and unfortunate Giovanni Pico, named by the Italians the phoenix of geniuses. Giovanni died childless; the descendants of his brothers were stripped of their estates by the emperor in 1706, and became extinct forty years later. The Pio, at one time Lords of Carpi and Sassuolo, who derived from the same stock with the "children of Manfredo," are also extinct. But two different houses of their name, issuing from collateral branches, are still living at Carpi, and some of their members are still high in office; one of them, Galeazzo Pio, being Governor of Garfagnana for the Duke of Modena.

A few of the many hundred families belonging to the feudal nobility, who acted in Lombardy a subordinate part under the Visconti, Scala, Este, &c., already occur in Count Litta's catalogue; such as the Bojardo of Reggio, Lords of Rubiera since 1095, afterwards Counts of Scandiano, extinct in 1560; Da Camino of Trevigi, powerful since 1089, and ended in 1422; the Castiglione of Milan, whose castle was built before the year 1000, and whose representatives, the lineal successors of the brave, amiable and accomplished Baldassar Castiglione, author of "*Il Cortegiano*," are still flourishing; the Giovio of Como, Fogliani of Reggio, Trinci of Foligno, Varano of Camerino, &c. &c. these last tracing their pedigree up to the third century of the Christian era.—All these have been selected among the vast number, probably out of regard to some universally known individual, such as the poet Matteo Maria Bojardo, the historian

Paolo Giovio, the poet Alphonso Varano, &c.; but were Litta really to give us the history of every feudal house of Lombardy or Romagna, of all the petty but renowned Lords of Polenta, in Ravenna; Malatesta, of Rimini; Montefeltro, of Urbino; Manfredi, of Faenza, &c. &c. &c. there would positively be no end to his labours.

To all these, which in a general point of view, and in consequence of the law which they were known to profess, we incline to consider as issued from northern, that is, from, Gothic, Lombard, Frankish or German blood, must be added the numerous descendants of those brave Norman adventurers (few in number at first, but afterwards nearly as numerous as the followers of William the Conqueror of England), who, from the latter end of the tenth to the close of the following century, founded in the south of Italy the kingdom of the two Sicilies. The Filangieri, Caracciolo, and other Neapolitan houses, are well known to look up to those warriors as their progenitors; but not one of them has yet appeared in our author's register. Next come, at Naples, the French barons of Charles of Anjou, settled in the country since 1265; in Sicily and Sardinia, the feudal nobles, either foreign or natives, constitutionally organized in an oligarchic body by the Kings of Aragon; and more lately the Spanish houses, both in those islands and at Milan and Naples, who followed in the train of the triumphant armies of Charles V. and Philip II. Finally, among the feudal nobility, may be ranged the houses of those Condottieri of the fifteenth and following centuries, the Del Verme, Malatesta, Baglioni, Coleoni, &c. many of whom, often arising from obscure and even ignominious sources, owed their rise to the might of their arm, and established their precarious sovereignty almost on every petty town of Romagna and Lombardy; some of them having the good luck, for a time, to escape the wholesale massacres by which Borgia, Della Rovere, Medici, and other such popes, contrived to rid themselves of their presence.

Of these also the number is legion, and only two or three have as yet been published, nominally the Vitelli of Città di Castello, and the more famous Sforza Attendolo of Cotignola. These last, heirs to the greatness of the Visconti were known as private gentlemen in their native place, towards the year 1326; Count Litta having successfully combated an idle tradition, according to which the first Sforza Attendolo had been represented as changing a woodman's hatchet for a trooper's battle-axe. Whatever his pedigree, however, it is well known how Sforza, the founder of one of the great military schools in Italy, owed his rise to the keen edge of his sword in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

His son, Francesco, equally distinguished in arms, rendered his services acceptable to Filippo Maria Visconti, married the duke's daughter, Bianca, and, after the death of Visconti, was by the reluctant Milanese acknowledged as duke. The short and ignominious reign of Galeazzo, Francesco's son and successor, the usurpations and treacheries of Lodovico il Moro, and the fatal consequences entailed upon himself and his country by his improvident policy, are all matters essentially belonging to history. Maximilian and Francis, last heirs of Lodovico, both of whom (the former under Swiss, the latter under Austrian patronage) ascended their father's throne, left no legitimate issue. Still the blood of Sforza runs even now in the veins of several Italian families, and their name, coupled with the Cesarini, Colonna, &c., is still conspicuous at Rome, Milan, and elsewhere.

From what has been said, the reader may be enabled to catch a glimpse of the vastness of this second division of Count Litta's subject. As with the genealogy of the *classical* or ancient Roman aristocracy, the history of Venice and Genoa is more essentially connected, so are the numerous vicissitudes of every town in the main land written in the records of the feudal or *castellated* nobility. But the history of Italy is a study bordering on immensity; formidable in its array of individualities, of which he alone who is gifted with the greatest powers of abstraction and generalization can conceive a distinct idea; and Litta's work, from the very nature of its compilation, rejects all classification and method. Whilst, therefore, we are thankful for what he has already, with so much diligence, laid before us, we feel also persuaded of the great weight of the task he has imposed upon himself, a weight under which, without the active co-operation of his countrymen, he must eventually succumb.

It remains for us, before we proceed to take into consideration the third class of Italian families, those belonging to the burgher aristocracy (*nobiltà cittadina*), to give a few words, and only a few words,

“Però che si ne caccia il lungo tema,”

to two more of the feudal houses, still extant; one of them the most powerful, the other the most illustrious of all Italian surviving families—the Dukes of Savoy and the Colonna.

At the head of the genealogy of the first house Litta places an Umberto dalle Bianche Mani, Count of Savoy, flourishing at the very opening of the eleventh century. The thick darkness involving the immediate preceding age, so justly considered by historians as the Nadir of human intelligence, renders it impracticable for any family to ascend any further without resting on idle con-

jectures. The house of Savoy was till late regarded as deriving from, and connected with, the earliest Dukes of Saxony; but more recent researches seem to give a greater degree of plausibility to another tradition which would trace them to the Marquises or Dukes of Ivrea, lords of one of the thirty great feuds into which, as we have repeatedly stated, the country was divided soon after the Lombard conquest, and who during the decline of the Carlovingian dynasty entered, with more ambition than success, into the lists against others of their peers for the high dominion of the peninsula. Litta is evidently partial to this opinion, and corroborates it by the statement of an important fact, that in 1098, the Counts of Savoy professed Italian law, adopted perhaps by their ancestors during their contest for the sceptre of Italy. That *white-handed* Umberto possessed considerable estates on both sides of the Alps, among which was most probably the upper vale of Aosta. Umberto died about 1056, and his unbroken posterity, perhaps the most ancient among the reigning families of Europe, have been almost constantly rising in power for these last eight centuries. Their throne has been occupied by thirty-eight princes during twenty-six generations, and whilst all the illegitimate branches have become extinct, the direct line has been most wonderfully preserved. From its very beginning this house gradually extended its influence over those Subalpine provinces known under the vague name of Piedmont, overcoming the opposition of the rival houses of Saluzzo and Montferrat, and the democratic spirit prevailing at Asti, Turin, and Ivrea, formerly members of the Lombard league. What was at first merely high patronage or nominal allegiance ended by being acknowledged as absolute power, "in consequence," says Litta, "of inheritances, marriages, treaties, and the right of the strongest." The Dukes of Savoy did not reside on the sunny side of the Alps till about the middle of the sixteenth century, and even then, far from becoming naturalized to the climate of Italy, they gave Piedmont that tinge of French bastardism, against which the newly arisen national spirit is now so successfully reacting.

"Since the sixteenth century," writes Litta at the close of his introductory remarks, "the Dukes of Savoy had in consequence of their position to struggle between France and Austria. Their valour and wisdom secured them that independence, which they were always resolved, at the rate of any sacrifice, to maintain. Twice were they brought to the last stage of adversity and twice did they rise to still higher destinies. In the first instance a great man, Emmanuel Philibert, raised the house from its ruins. In the latter epoch of which we were witnesses, not a name was heard of! Fortune alone stood them in stead of valour and policy. The blind goddess favours and rewards whom she chooses? and Fortune is the Providence of the house of Savoy."

Seven *fascicoli* have already been consecrated to this family, and yet their pedigree has hardly reached the sixteenth century. We all know, however, in whose person their genealogy terminates for the present. Carlo Felice, last of the reigning dynasty, died in 1831, and Carlo Alberto, of the branch of Carignano, ascended the throne. This is the same glorious prince who in 1820, probably in imitation of his ancestors the Dukes of Ivrea, aspired to the great title of King of Italy, but who seems now satisfied with the more modest appellation of King of the Jesuits.

Whether the Colonna are to be considered of German or of ancient Roman descent, is a matter of controversy that Count Litta seems unable to resolve. Their ancestry, however, ascends no higher than 1066, towards which epoch they were already Lords of Palestrina. Their name is familiar to every one who can read. No other family ever gave a greater number of brave though fierce and restless warriors, nor ever was a throne more helplessly at the mercy of any one house than that of the popes in the hands of Colonna. Their house is still great, and stands on as firm and powerful a base as any thing connected with old Italy may be said to remain. Yes; the successors of the most warlike among popes and cardinals, the descendants of the great leaders of factions, Stefano and Sciarra,—of the great generals Fabrizio, Prospero, and Pompeo,—of the brave admiral Marcantonio, the conqueror at Lepanto, and of that noblest of her sex, Vittoria Colonna, still bear the titles of *Principi*, *Gran Contestabili*, &c., and are still greatest among the great in Rome, Naples and Sicily. Yet their wealth is far from corresponding to their station; and it was perhaps owing to economical views that one of the loveliest and most accomplished ladies of that proud house has lately been given in marriage to a son of the Banker-Duke Torlonia. Why not? even in this country, where aristocracy rests on the great rock of hereditary privileges, a *mesalliance* is oftentimes courted as the surest prop to a tottering house—even in this country, Mammon sits next to Blood in the house of lords, and the dwelling of a Jewish banker towers among the loftiest mansions in Piccadilly, second to none but that of the Hero of the age.

ART. VI.—*Petersburg in Bildern und Skizzen* von J. G. Kohl. (Pictures and Sketches of St. Petersburg.) 2 vols. Dresden and Leipzig, 1841.

THERE was certainly something bold in Peter the Great's idea of planting the capital of his empire upon the territory of his most powerful enemy. The marshes on which St. Petersburg now stands had scarcely been conquered from the Swedes when the foundations of the city were laid, and several times, while the building was proceeding, Peter was forced to lay aside the hod and trowel, and to gird on his sword, in order to defend the walls of his embryo metropolis against the attacks of his hostile neighbours. Several spots in the immediate vicinity of the city thus became memorable, and are still pointed out as the sites of imperial victories over the once dreaded Swedes. On one of these triumph-hallowed sites the conqueror built a palace for his consort Catherine. This modern edifice is still preserved in honour of its founder; and once a year, on the 1st of May, the population of St. Petersburg perform a kind of joyful pilgrimage to the gardens of the Catharinenhoff, to welcome the returning spring among the snow-covered avenues planted by the man to whom every Russian still looks gratefully back as the author of the greatness and prosperity of the country.

It was not till 1721, or ten years after the building of Catharinenhoff, that Peter was able, by the treaty of Neustadt, to remove the frontier of his empire permanently to about 150 miles from the walls of his new capital. At present the place has become central enough, and bids fair to become more and more so every day. The empire, only a century old, already presses uncomfortably upon Western Europe. Germany feels that pressure in a multitude of ways, and may feel it more painfully at no very remote period. The first general war in Europe will be sure to bring the Russians to the Oder and the Elbe again, where they will be able to hold a much more dictatorial language than in 1815; but let us forbear to speculate about the future; our business now is to speak of St. Petersburg as it stands in the year 1841, and the subject is amply sufficient for our present purpose without seeking to embellish it with a multitude of prospective dicta, which, probable as they may now seem, may none of them be ratified by future events.

The author of the book before us is already favourably known to our readers. In our last Number we reviewed Mr. Kohl's entertaining account of the Southern Provinces of Russia, and in so doing we made a passing mention of the work now under

notice. Mr. Kohl seems to have chosen for himself the task of introducing his countrymen to an intimate acquaintance with their northern neighbours. What he has already done for Odessa, Riga and St. Petersburg, he will scarcely fail to do for Moscow and Arkhangel; and, as far as we are concerned, we shall certainly not complain of the task imposed upon us of reading and reviewing such agreeable volumes. It is a new department of literature that he has chosen for himself. His works can scarcely be classed among voyages and travels; for that they enter too much into local details; just as little must we speak of them as guides for travellers, for there is nothing dull and common-place about any of Mr. Kohl's chapters, which, though often superficial, are always amusing.

Peter the Great was resolved that the inhabitants of his capital should not be at a loss for elbow room; when he laid out St. Petersburg, he destined at once a superficies of 50 square versts for the new city, and this allowed him to make his streets wide, his parade places spacious, and to leave ample room for the most advantageous display of all his public buildings. The city has gone on stretching ever since, but has not yet filled out the original frame designed by its founder, and another century will certainly elapse before the inhabitants of St. Petersburg will experience any necessity to economize their ground rents by building one city upon the top of another, as has been done in so many of the continental capitals. The spaciousness, which characterizes every part of the "Northern Palmyra," as the desert-circled city of palaces has not unaptly been denominated, though it imparts to every thing an air of magnificence and newness, has the effect of altogether preventing the development of the picturesque. St. Petersburg, therefore, with all its architectural splendour, soon becomes exceedingly monotonous to a stranger; and even the buildings, large as they are, appear often mean when compared with the breadth of the streets and the majestic course of the several channels through which the Neva winds its way to the sea. The extreme flatness of the ground adds to this effect. Palaces, worthy of mountains for their pedestals, stand grouped in endless rows like the emperor's own grenadiers when parading in front of the admiralty. Buildings, individually large, become thus collectively little, assuming a look of sameness and constraint, and at no season is this more striking than in winter, when streets, rivers, squares, and roofs, are all covered by one monotonous white, while the misty character of the atmosphere permits few of the distant outlines to be distinctly seen, so that the whole assumes a spectral and unsubstantial air. The last place in the world to which the lover of the picturesque ought to

direct his steps is St. Petersburg, particularly in winter. In the summer there is at least some variety for the eye to feast on. The broad arms of the Neva are then dotted with ships and boats; not crowded, for it would indeed require mighty fleets to crowd the Neva. It is true they would find it difficult to get there, unless they were flat-bottomed, for no vessel drawing more than six or eight feet of water is ever able to come up to the quays of St. Petersburg. The houses, too, as the snow melts away, lose their airy unsubstantial look, and seem to obtain a firm footing again, while the roofs, mostly of iron and of a bright green colour, present an agreeable contrast to the azure cupolas of the churches and their gilt spires. To see all this, however, the stranger must be content to raise himself above the ordinary level of those among whom he holds his temporary residence; for as the city nowhere presents a natural elevation, it is only from the top of some lofty building that a panoramic view can be obtained. For this purpose no place is better suited than the central tower of the Admiralty, which appears to have been built for the purpose. It stands in the very centre of all the most important streets and buildings of the Russian metropolis, and is provided, at different heights, with circular galleries, from the highest of which the city may be surveyed like a map; those of our readers, however, whose leisure will not permit them to climb the said tower to contemplate the living map below, will do well to provide themselves with a more portable map of St. Petersburg. In the Series published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, there is a plan of the Russian capital that may be had for sixpence, and by the aid of which our readers will be enabled to follow us with more satisfaction through the *oulitzas*, the *pereoulaks*, the *plashtshads*, the *rynoks*, and the *prospekts*, through which we are about to commence our wanderings.

The Admiralty, the Winter Palace, and the Palace of the Hermitage, are built along the Neva, where they occupy a space of ground of about an English mile in length, by about 1000 feet in breadth. This, it will be admitted, is a tolerably large site for three houses. Of course a good deal of ground is left uncovered including the *plashtshad* or square of the Admiralty, where the emperor almost daily reviews some of his troops, and where during the carnival and the Easter week, the humbler classes may be seen to most advantage, while indulging in the wild but disciplined excesses of their national diversions. From the summit of the tower we may behold the vast store of timber piled up in the inner yards; the men-of-war upon their stocks, ready to glide upon their destined element; and, carrying our glance across the

Neva, we are surprised by the aspect of that formidable citadel, bristling with artillery, and ready at any time to reduce the metropolis to a heap of ruins, should its inhabitants ever feel tempted to emulate the glories of a Parisian July. A citadel built in the very heart of a city announces too plainly the object of its being. To defend the town against a foreign invader it would be worse than useless; let us hope that it may never be destined to direct against the defenceless capital those murderous engines, which, from the place they now occupy, must always be harmless to an enemy.

On looking at the map it will be seen, that St. Petersburg has been built on the delta of the Neva, which discharges itself into the sea through some eight or ten channels, forming a multitude of islands of different sizes. The principal part of the city stands on the south side of the main branch of the river; on the islands opposite, the buildings are more scattered, and some are entirely occupied by public gardens, and by the villas of the Russian noblesse. Towards the south of the Admiralty will be seen three principal streets radiating from the central point formed by the tower already spoken of. These streets are called *prospekts*, a name given in St. Petersburg to all the more important streets; but those now under consideration are *the* *prospekts par excellence*, and of these the Nevskoi Prospect forms the great central artery through which the life-blood of the city may be said to be constantly circulating. It is to St. Petersburg more than Regent Street is to London, or the Broadway to New York. It is at once a great business thoroughfare like Cheapside, and a fashionable lounge like the Italian Boulevard in Paris; and a stranger taking up his position in front of the Admiralty may look down the busy street, carrying his glance along magnificent palaces and brilliant shops, through the markets of the suburbs, to the adjoining villages of Okhta, the only locality of older date than the great Peter; and beyond these the eye may lose itself in the gloomy bottomless morasses, by which the splendid capital is on all sides encompassed. Armed with a good telescope, a man may see from the Admiralty Square what is going on in the most remote quarters; and, if he can forget the tyrannical exercise of despotic power which was required to make so splendid a city spring into life among the inhospitable marshes, many objects will present themselves well calculated to awaken not only admiration but delight. The total absence of mendicancy, and of all those wretched objects who in so many cities studiously display their sufferings and deformities, cannot fail to strike a new arriver. The lower classes are evidently well fed and well clothed, though their diet would not perhaps stimulate the appetite of a London beggar, nor their costume excite the envy of even the humblest

among our mechanics. A sheep-skin caftan, the model apparently of those monstrosities known among us by the euphonious appellation of Taglionis, forms the chief clothing of every Russian of the lower, and in general also of the middle classes, though among the latter, it must be owned, the swallow-tail has of late been making fearful inroads. Black bread and cabbage are the customary fare of the labouring man; but, coarse as these may seem, custom has endeared them to him, and he would not relish the most refined luxuries if black bread and cabbage did not form the basis of his meal. What is of most importance, his wages are sufficient to ensure an abundant supply of the two staple articles of his diet, and when old and infirm, he returns to his village, and depends for support upon his feudal lord. It is to the state of serfage accordingly, in which the rural population is still held, that St. Petersburg owes the absence of importunate beggars, or of those more painful objects of compassion who with us parade their sufferings as a silent but more powerful appeal than any that the sturdy mendicant has to advance. Slavery enervates the mind both of the slave and his master, but it begets a connexion that never exists between the free labourer and his employer. The serf, though he forfeit the power of independent action, retains at least the right of looking to his lord for a maintenance; he must submit un murmuring to oppression, but he knows at least that he cannot in his old age be left to starve. The striking contrast between luxury and misery is less painfully observed in the Russian than in any other European capital.

The houses in St. Petersburg are rarely more than one or two stories high, except in the most thickly peopled quarters, where the rising value of the ground has of late years led to the construction of a few houses of four or five stories. They are of rare occurrence, however, and are still looked upon as architectural monsters by the native Russians, who for the most part detest the idea of having to mount staircases within their own homes. The houses of St. Petersburg, however, make up for want of height, by the immense space of ground which they often cover, and by the number of human beings which they often contain. The Winter Palace is supposed to afford shelter to no less than 6000 regular inmates. In the Military Hospital 4000 beds are made up for patients alone. The Foundling Hospital contains 7000 children, and the Corps of Cadets includes at all times several thousand pupils within its walls. There are private houses in St. Petersburg that bring in revenues of fifty and a hundred thousand rubles, or from two to five thousand pounds sterling, to their owners. Mr. Kohl mentions one house, in which there was an extensive bazaar on one side of the ground floor, while on the

other side a whole colony of English, French, and German traders and mechanics had established themselves. On the first floor dwelt a couple of senators, yet several other families of wealth and consideration occupied spacious suites of apartments there. On the second floor was a school of great celebrity, and most of the professors and teachers had established themselves there with their families. In the back buildings of the same house, independently of many obscurer individuals, there was a complete mob of majors, colonels, and retired generals, besides an Armenian priest and a German pastor.

"All Petersburg might have been swallowed up in its own marshes; yet if this one house had been left, there would have remained a little political community, in which every rank would have been represented. When such a house burns down, 200 families at once are left without a home. To hunt out an acquaintance in so extensive a building is a real trial for a man's patience. Ask a *butshnik* (the policeman stationed in the street), and he will tell you that he is tolerably well acquainted with the one side of the house, but knows nothing about the side which you are desirous of exploring. Ask the inmates of the house, and you are by no means certain of the information you desire, for those residing under the same roof are not in the habit of looking upon one another as neighbours. There would scarcely be anything hyperbolic in saying that almost every house in St. Petersburg is a little town. To see them from the street you would hardly be prepared for their extent, but once enter the *podyasde* or gateway, and you will be astonished to find yourself in a courtyard, perhaps, where a regiment of cavalry might perform its evolutions, while the endless succession of back buildings, passages, and side buildings form a most astonishing labyrinth."

St. Petersburg stands upon a piece of ground measuring about 570,000,000 square feet, and the population is calculated at about half a million. This leaves about 1200 square feet for every man, woman, and child. Yet in few cities are houses dearer than in St. Petersburg. Wages are high, and the ground in the central parts of the town has become so valuable, that in some instances the ground on which a private house has been built, is estimated at nearly 10,000*l.* English money, for which in the interior a man might buy several square leagues of territory, with all the forests, bears, wolves, and serfs upon it. To form the foundation of the house requires a little fortune, owing to the swampy character of the soil, into which so many piles must be rammed before a solid scaffolding can be formed, that an entire house might elsewhere be constructed for much less money. The mighty citadel of which we have spoken rests upon such an assemblage of piles, and all the palaces of the czar stand upon a similar foundation; nay, the very quays between which the majestic Neva winds her course, would sink down into the marsh on which they stand, but for the piles that have been sunk there

for their support. The foundation for the Isaac's Church cost upwards of a million of rubles, a sum for which a pompous cathedral might under more favourable circumstances have been erected. Yet even these costly foundations are not at all times to be relied on. After the great inundation of 1824, the walls of many houses burst asunder, in consequence of their subterranean woodwork having given way, and there are few parts of the town in which an evident settlement has not taken place in the elegant quays that enclose the several branches of the river.

The frost is another great enemy to northern architecture. The moisture imbibed by the granite during the summer, becomes ice in winter; the blocks burst, and on the return of spring fall to pieces. Most of the monuments of St. Petersburg have already been injured by its ruthless climate, and there are few of them that, if not constantly repaired, would not fall into ruins in less than a century; even the splendid column erected only a few years ago in honour of Alexander, is already disfigured by a large rent, which some of the Russians, however, consider it a point of patriotism to be blind to.*

For the houses, we have seen, a tolerable foundation has been obtained by driving piles into the ground, but no such precaution appears to have been taken to provide a support for the pavement of the street, and St. Petersburg has in consequence to be partially repaved every year. As soon as the frost breaks up, the swampy soil breaks out in every direction. In some places the stones spring up, in others they sink down and form dangerous cavities, while the whole pavement trembles under the rattling equipages, like the surface of a moor. In some streets the wooden pavement has been introduced, but this also is constantly in want of repair, and will, Mr. Kohl seems to think, be eventually altogether abandoned, the marshy ground on which the city stands making it impossible to obtain a solid foundation. The quality of the pavement, however, is a secondary consideration to a Russian, whom, during the greater part of the year, nature provides with a railroad of ice and snow, which the most refined ingenuity of man will scarcely attempt to equal.

Nothing can be more delightful than the easy noiseless manner in which a carriage rolls over the frozen snow of the Russian capital. The pedestrian may at times be annoyed, in the more frequented streets, by the clouds of snow-dust thrown up by the horses; for the constant trampling over the same spot converts a

* Since the above has been in type, we have received from St. Petersburg an official report, in which it is stated that the supposed fissure has been examined, and has been found to be merely an optical illusion. This may be so, but at all events the deception is complete, and will continue to deceive a multitude of sceptics. The report alluded to is given in the *Journal de St. Pétersbourg* of the 11th of November last.

large portion of the frozen mass into a light powder more annoying sometimes than the dust of summer. This, however, occurs only in the principal thoroughfares; and besides, who in St. Petersburg cares for the comfort of pedestrians? In the generality of the streets the snow is soon beaten down into a compact mass, over which the equipages of the Moscovite grandezza glide as lightly and silently as so many gondolas along the canals of Venice. To those who enjoy good health there is nothing very formidable in the severe cold of a northern winter. It is the return of spring that tries the constitution of a southern, and tests his patience by the infliction of a multitude of little annoyances. Nothing can equal the horrors of a Russian street when the frost breaks up. Many weeks elapse before the six months' accumulation of snow is able to wend its muddy course through the gutters into the Neva, and while in this intermediate condition, the streets are filled with a sea of mud, such as the liveliest imagination of a cockney would vainly attempt to picture to himself. During this period of transition the horses may sometimes be almost said to swim through the streets; and as to the poor foot passengers, they have good reason to be grateful if they reach their homes without broken limbs. Even to step from the carriage to the street door, is then a feat not always unattended by danger.

For six months in the year the nights are so short in St. Petersburg that it appears almost useless to light the streets; and whether it be owing to this circumstance, or to the vast extent of the streets and squares, certain it is, that the "Northern Palmyra" is, during winter, about the worst lighted capital in Europe. Gas has not yet established its supremacy on the banks of the Neva, and the few oil lamps scattered along the sides of the spacious street, emit rays too feeble to reach the kennel in the centre. The gay shops illuminate the Nevskoi Prospekt, but in the other streets the lamps are more for ornament than use, presenting only two parallel lines of glimmering stars, that afford no guiding light from one side of the street to the other. Every two or three minutes a noiseless sledge will be seen to emerge suddenly from the obscurity on the one side, to vanish again with equal rapidity into the blackness of the other side. To the credit of the Russian charioteers, however, it must be owned, that, notwithstanding this extreme darkness, accidents rarely occur. This may be owing to a salutary police regulation, which takes it for granted that when an accident does happen, the coachman must be in fault; and where the Russian police condemns, punishment is seldom slow, and is not remarkable for gentleness when it comes.

To speak of St. Petersburg without devoting a page or two to the magnificent Neva, would be to emulate that oft-cited dramatic expedient, the omission of Hamlet from the tragedy that

bears his name. A century ago the name of this beautifully transparent river was known to few but the fishermen of Okhta, and the herdsmen of the Finnish marshes; now its fame fills the world, and its crystal waters serve to mirror lines of palaces, among the most sumptuous that this earth has ever seen. The Neva is a river of about forty English miles in length, and is the channel through which the Ladoga Lake pours its waters into the Baltic. Just before reaching the Gulf of Finland, it divides into a multitude of arms, of which the principal are, the Great and Little Neva, and the Great and Little Nevka. Of these, the Great Neva is the most important, being in some places more than twice as broad as the Thames at Waterloo Bridge. It is impossible for a river to be of more importance to a city than the Neva is to St. Petersburg, and boundless is the affection expressed towards it by the inhabitants, and probably felt by most of them. The St. Petersburger maintains that no other water on the face of the globe is so sweet to drink; that with none other can coffee or tea be made in such perfection; and the first thing presented to a friend on his return from a journey is generally a glass of Neva water. The Emperor Alexander is even said to have always had a quantity of Neva water bottled up for his use when travelling. The Neva, moreover, abounds in a variety of delicious fish, serves to cleanse the capital of its impurities, and places it in easy connection, not only with foreign countries, but even with some of the most remote provinces of the empire. For nearly six months of every year, the beloved Neva is bound in icy fetters; for early in November the navigation closes, and it is rarely before the beginning or the middle of April that the water has acquired sufficient warmth to enable it to burst its bonds. This moment is anxiously looked for; and as soon as the dirty masses of ice have glided down the river far enough to make it possible for a boat to pass from one side to the other, the wished-for event is announced by a discharge of artillery from the fortress. Be it night or day, the commandant of the fortress, accompanied by the officers of his staff, and arrayed in all the insignia of his rank, embarks in his gondola, and crosses over to the winter palace. The commandant is immediately admitted into his sovereign's presence, to whom he announces that the winter has reached its close, in token of which he points to his gondola, and presents his majesty with a crystal goblet filled with the sparkling water of the Neva. The emperor drains off the uninebriating bumper to the health of his capital, and returns the goblet to the commandant filled with gold. Such at least was formerly the practice; but it was found that the goblet had a marvellous tendency to increase its dimensions, till at last the

emperor's potatory powers were scarcely equal to the task imposed upon him, while his privy purse was at the same time made sensible of the expansive quality of the commandant's goblet. A compromise was at last deemed expedient. The emperor fixed the officer's *douceur* at 200 ducats, and since then his majesty has found it less difficult to comply with the periodical usage of his water-drinking predecessors.

The first gun that announces from the fortress the return of spring, draws the multitude to the quay to admire the commandant's boat, and within an hour afterwards, hundreds of gondolas may be seen rowing merrily about in all directions. Masses of ice come floating down for several weeks from the Ladoga Lake, but the Russian gondolier is too familiar with ice to let it affright him; and besides, the spring ice is rarely so dangerous to shipping as the sharp ice that forms at the first setting in of winter. The young ice cuts like a knife, and the strongest vessel may be cut through in a few hours, by the successive masses that come floating down the river at the commencement of the frost. The old ice, on the contrary, though it often looks much more formidable, is comparatively harmless, for in the melting mood it yields to the slightest pressure, and is more or less broken by every collision it encounters.

"The first vessel that arrives is received with a joy bordering on enthusiasm, and the cargo, consisting mostly of foreign fruits and French fashions, is certain to go off at extravagant prices. A crowd of English, Swedish, Dutch, Hanseatic, and American vessels follow almost immediately. The deathlike silence of winter is converted in a few days into a scene of life and commercial bustle. From the Baltic come the foreign ships decked out with all the variegated flags of Europe, and from the interior there arrive a multitude of clumsy barges and fragile rafts, which when unloaded are mostly taken to pieces, and their materials disposed of as firewood. The native merchandize, stored up during the winter in the warehouses, is quickly got afloat, the men-of-war prepare to sally forth to their peaceful evolutions in the Baltic, steamers snort and smoke, and urge their splashing course backwards and forwards to Cronstadt, the light gondolas are flying along in all directions, every day, every hour brings forth something new, and the disenchantment of the icy palace is complete."

It must not, however, be supposed that the St. Petersburger lets all the ice of the Neva float away, to cool the liquor of the fishes in the Baltic. The Russian is too fond of ice to be a single day without it, if he can get it. Throughout the summer every liquid is iced, not even excepting tea, and an icehouse is of all others the appendage that a Russian *ménage* is least inclined to dispense with. Even the peasant's cottage is rarely without one, and St. Petersburg is supposed to contain no less than

10,000. It must of course require the work of many hands to fill all these cellars with ice, for each cellar is supposed to afford accommodation for fifty sledge-loads. Supposing each cellar to be filled, and there are few that are not, this would give 500,000 sledge-loads of ice for the consumption of the capital, or about one sledge-load for every man, woman, and child in the place. The most extensive commerce carried on during winter is decidedly that in ice, and many thousands find constant employment in fishing up this cooling produce from its "native element," the water of the Neva. The men who make it their business to raise the ice, go about it in a most artist-like way, sawing and chopping their raw material into such equal and mathematical shapes as may most conveniently be packed, first in the sledge, and afterwards in the cellar; but we will allow our author to describe the operation in his own words :

"They begin by clearing away the snow from the surface, that they may draw more distinctly the outline of their work. A large parallelogram is then sketched upon the ice, and is divided by cross lines into a number of squares to suit the dimensions of their sledges. The next step is to loosen the great parallelogram, which is done by digging a trench all round, and as the ice is often one and a-half to two ells in thickness, the stooping labourers are at last as completely lost to sight, as though they were so many miners working in a mine. Under their feet they must leave a coating of ice sufficient to bear their own weight, and the whole is afterwards loosened by the aid of poles. The subsequent subdivision of the parallelogram is a comparatively easy task; into each fragment a hook is then fastened, and amid shouts and acclamations, the beautiful, clear, green crystals are drawn to land. The Neva ice is of a sparkling emerald green, or at least looks so when laid on the snow. The glassy store is then piled upon the sledges, the drivers seat themselves on their cool thrones, and amid songs and jests they drive away to the habitations of their several employers. It affords no little amusement to visit these ice-quarries on the Neva, and to observe the Russians when engaged in an occupation so congenial to their habits and character.

"In the ice cellars the fragments are built up with mathematical exactness, but in such a manner as to leave shelves and niches for the reception, in summer, of milk, butter, meat, and other articles likely to be damaged by the heat. This description applies to what may be considered well-managed establishments; but into many cellars the ice is flung in good Russian fashion without the least attempt at order. So completely are the Russians accustomed to these ice cellars, that they cannot imagine a well-ordered household without one. It may safely be calculated that the ice consumed in St. Petersburg during the warm months costs the inhabitants at least two or three millions of rubles."

Over the four principal arms of the Neva no permanent bridge has yet been erected, but over the smaller branches, which have

been made to assume the appearance of canals,—the Fontanka, the Ligofka, the Moika, &c.—the number of bridges can scarcely fall short of sixty. These are far from being sufficient, for at several of them constant stoppages occur, and policemen are obliged to be stationed there to keep the carriages in proper order. The bridges over the main branches of the river, composed merely of boards resting on pontoons, are taken to pieces on the approach of winter, and put together again in spring. A stone bridge has often been talked of, but many difficulties oppose themselves to the execution of the plan. In the first place, the expense would be enormous, owing to the nature of the ground, in which it would be difficult to obtain a solid foundation for the piers. The Russian emperors, however, are not always deterred from a favourite enterprise by the apprehension of dipping too deeply into the public purse, and the Isaac's Bridge would probably have been replaced long ago by one of a more solid construction, were it not for the general belief, that no bridge could be built strong enough to resist the weight of the ice that pours down from the Ladoga Lake on the breaking up of the frost. It sometimes happens that a gale of wind will break up the whole of the ice in the Cronstadt Bay, before the ice of the Neva has put itself in motion. In such cases the entire body of the ice in the Neva, as the sides become loosened, glides down the river in a mass. No satisfactory plan has yet been proposed for providing a power of resistance against so enormous a pressure. Nevertheless, the inconvenience often felt, of having all communication cut off, for days together, between the several parts of the city, is so great, that a remedy will, no doubt, be some day found. In the mean time, we will give our readers an idea of the annoyances that attend the present system.

Of these bridges of boats there are nine. The longest is the Trozskoi Most (Trinity Bridge) more than 800 yards in length; but by far the most important to the inhabitants of St. Petersburg is the Isaac's Bridge, which connects the largest and wealthiest part of the city with Vasiliefskoi Island, on which stands the Exchange, and on which the foreign merchants find it most convenient to reside.

“ During the summer the pontoons on which they rest lie firmly anchored in the river, but as soon as the ice begins, in autumn, to make its appearance in large masses, the bridges are taken to pieces. To each bridge a regular commandant is appointed, who has a number of workmen under his orders. As soon as the ice stands the bridges are reconstructed, for as the Neva ice presents a very uneven surface, every one prefers the artificial to the natural bridge. In spring the bridges are kept standing till the booming artillery from the citadel sends forth

the official announcement that winter is departing. Upon this signal, the bridges immediately vanish, a passage for the pontoons having been carefully provided beforehand, by making open channels in the ice. As soon as the masses of ice have floated by, the bridges are put together again, to be again removed on the arrival of a fresh reinforcement. So great is the inconvenience felt when the communication is interrupted, that every moment of liberty is taken advantage of, and, though the mere putting together of the Isaac's Bridge costs each time several hundred rubles, it has often been taken to pieces and built up again two or three times in one day. In one spring this operation has been repeated no less than three-and-twenty times. It may easily be supposed, therefore, that these wretched wooden bridges are any thing but economical constructions. The frequent taking asunder and putting together again greatly accelerates the wear and tear of the material, while the upper boards are rapidly destroyed by the great number of carriages constantly passing over. The Isaac's Bridge alone has probably cost more, during the short time of its existence, than has ever been expended on the massive Dresden Bridge, which has now stood for more than three centuries.*

"While the bridges are down, the inhabitants of the several islands on which the city stands, become, for days together, so many separate communities. Relations are unable to hear from one another, the public officers, receiving no commands from their superiors, are reduced to the necessity of acting on their own responsibility; merchants are unable to receive communications from one another; teachers cannot visit their pupils, nor these the schools; the *isvoshtshiks* or hackney coachmen are forced to confine their courses within narrower limits; and the dinner parties and soirées have often to dispense with more than half their guests. In spring, therefore, as well as in autumn, when the bridges are down, every advantage is taken of the ice, however insecure it may be. Boards are laid side by side, till a complete path has been formed across. When the danger of these supplementary bridges is thought to have become imminent, they are prohibited, and policemen are stationed on both sides to prevent people from venturing across. Sometimes, however, messages of such importance have to be conveyed, that high rewards are offered to the *mushik* bold enough to brave a watery grave, and all the horrors of the police cane. On these occasions crowds assemble on the quays to admire the boldness and activity of the *mushik*, who armed with a slight board, makes his way nimbly from one flake to the other, and generally contrives to give the slip to the soldiers, who are watching for his landing. Often, of course, the at-

* The Dresden Bridge, known to the inhabitants under the name of the Elbe Bridge, is 1420 feet long, or 200 feet longer than Waterloo Bridge. The Elbe Bridge is considered the finest and longest structure of the kind in Germany. It rests on sixteen arches, is thirty-six feet in width, and has a foot pavement and an iron balustrade on each side. On the centre pier stands a bronze crucifix, with an inscription in commemoration of the partial destruction of the bridge in 1813, to facilitate the retreat of the French under Marshal Davoust, and of its restoration by the Emperor Alexander.

tempt fails, and the unfortunate messenger is swallowed up by the remorseless Neva. Indeed, it may safely be assumed, that in no city are there so many people drowned in the year as in St. Petersburg."

It is melancholy to contemplate the constant danger in which this brilliant capital is placed. If Mr. Kohl's picture is not overcharged, the occurrence of a strong westerly wind, and high water, just at the breaking up of the ice, would at any time suffice to occasion an inundation sufficient to drown the whole population, and to convert the entire city with all its sumptuous palaces into a chaotic mass of ruins.

"The Gulf of Finland runs to a point as it approaches the mouth of the Neva, where the most violent gales are always those from the west, so that the mass of waters, on such occasions, is always forcibly impelled towards the city. The islands forming the Delta of the Neva, on which St. Petersburg stands, are extremely low and flat, and the highest point in the city is probably not more than twelve or fourteen feet above the average level of the sea. A rise of fifteen feet is, therefore, enough to place all St. Petersburg under water, and a rise of thirty feet is enough to drown almost every human being in the place. The poor inhabitants are therefore in constant danger of destruction, and can never be certain that the whole 500,000 of them may not, within the next twenty-four hours, be washed out of their houses like so many drowned rats. To say the truth, the subject ought hardly to be spoken of with levity, for the danger is too imminent, and the reflection often makes many hearts quake in St. Petersburg. The only hope of this apparently doomed city, is, that the three circumstances may never occur simultaneously, viz. high water, the breaking up of the ice, and a gale of wind from the west. There are so many points of the compass for the wind to choose among, that it would seem perverse in the extreme, to select the west at so critical a moment; nevertheless, the wind does blow very often from the west during spring, and the ice floating in the Neva and the Gulf of Finland is of a bulk amply sufficient to oppose a formidable obstacle to the water in the upper part of the river. Had the ancient sages of Okhta kept meteorological records, one might perhaps be able to calculate how often in a thousand years, or in ten thousand years, such a flood as we are here supposing, might be likely to occur. As it is, the world need not be at all surprised to read in the newspapers, one of these days, that St. Petersburg, after rising like a bright meteor from the swamps of Finland, has as suddenly been extinguished in them like a mere will-o-the-wisp. May Heaven protect the city!"

The greatest inundations by which St. Petersburg has been visited were those of 1726, 1752, 1777, and 1824. The last of these, the highest on record, must still be fresh in the recollection of many of our readers, for our newspapers were, at the time, filled with details of the horrible scene. Trifling inundations, only just enough to lay the streets under water, and make it exceedingly uncomfortable for the beau monde to get home from

their balls and soirées, are of frequent occurrence and are not much *thought* of. When the water begins to rise, a gun is fired from the Admiralty, and a red flag is hoisted on every steeple. When the lower parts of the town are under water, guns are discharged every quarter of an hour, and in proportion as the enemy assumes a more threatening attitude, the artillery becomes more importunate in its warnings, till at last minute guns are fired, as signals to the gondolas and foreign vessels, to save as many human beings as they can from a watery grave.

During the warm and beautiful clear nights of the brief Russian summer, the Neva presents a scene of remarkable animation, far surpassing, while it lasts, what even the canals of Venice are able to offer. A St. Petersburg night at this season of the year is merely a short transition into twilight, to mark the limits of the departing and the coming day. The gay colours of the flowers remain visible in their minutest shades, and even the little birds think it scarcely worth while to go to roost, but keep chirruping away till morning. On such a night let the reader imagine a river like the Neva, in some places upwards of half a mile broad, and winding with its several branches, for nearly fifteen miles amid palaces, gardens, and villas. The open sea is close at hand for those of a more adventurous turn. The English captains in their light boats are proud to display their nautical superiority; the pompous gondolas of the Russian nobles are rowing about with bands of music; the humbler classes enliven the scene by their favourite national songs; and thousands come to admire a spectacle, to the gaiety of which they themselves contribute.

The immense extent of ground on which St. Petersburg has been built, the width of the streets, the vast space occupied by the squares or parade places, and the separation of the several quarters or "sides" of the city, by the great surface of water which the branches of the Neva present, contribute to prevent that bustling and populous appearance of the streets, that characterises the more ancient capitals of Europe. Along the Neva Quays, in the vicinity of the Admiralty, and in the Nievkoi Prospekt, there is at all times much life and activity; but in the other parts of the town the appearance of solitude and desolation is at times oppressive. Vast open unpaved spaces occur of many acres in extent, over which a solitary droskhy will now and then be seen wending its way, like a small boat on the open ocean; and streets of palaces succeed each other, with but one or two pedestrians to enliven the scene, having the effect rather of skulking banditti, lurking about a rocky gorge, than of the denizens of one of the gayest cities in the world.

In those quarters, however, where the people of St. Petersburg

do more especially congregate, the scene is one which no other city can match for the gaiety and variety of costume. The garrison seldom consists of less than 70,000 men, and includes generally detachments from all the Tartar, Circassian, Persian, and other oriental corps that have been incorporated with the great Russian army. St. Petersburg, moreover, is not only the principal garrison town of the empire, but also the great naval station; and no military or naval officer must ever show himself in the streets otherwise than in *grande tenue*. Every man holding a situation under government, however trifling, and every professor, teacher, or pupil, belonging to a public school, has a distinct uniform, in which alone it is lawful for him to appear in public. When to this we add the policemen, the servants of the nobles, and all the other human beings whose peculiar office it appears to be to wear bright colours, and to go about bedizened with tags and lace, the imagination will be at no great loss to form a picture of the gay and tulip-like effect of a St. Petersburg promenade. The mercantile portion of the public add to the variety of the groups that are constantly forming in the more busy parts of the town. Every nation in Europe, nay, every nation on the globe, appears to have its representatives there. English and French, Americans and Germans, Italians and Greeks, Spaniards and Moors, Turks and Persians, Indians and Tartars, Bokharians and Laplanders, Kamtshadales and Mongolians, nay, even Chinese and Arabs, may all be seen mingled in gay confusion, each clad in his native garb. Some of the Eastern strangers are drawn by the hope of commercial gain, but many are wealthy magnates among their own tribes, and are detained in the Russian capital as hostages for the tranquillity of their districts, and the submission of their countrymen.

"The Nievkoi Prospekt is decidedly the best place to study the street population of St. Petersburg. This magnificent street leads from the convent of Alexander Nevsky to the Admiralty, and is four versts in length. Towards the extremity it makes a bend. It cuts through all the "rings" of the town; through the quarter of the poor inhabitants of the suburbs, as well as through the centre of wealth and luxury, and a journey from one end to the other is decidedly the most interesting that can be made within the limits of the capital. At one extremity we have a convent and a cemetery to remind us of death and solitude. Leaving these, we pass between low wooden houses, by cattle markets and before brandy shops, with Russian peasants swarming around them, offering in the suburb a tolerable picture of the life of a Russian village. As we advance we come to houses of stone that boast of two floors, to a better description of public houses, and to shops rather better than would be looked for in a remote provincial town. Next we arrive at magazines of ancient household wares, and of decayed garments, things that have

worn away their gloss in the service of the wealthy, and are banished in the days of their decrepitude to the homes of the poor. As yet we see the houses painted red and yellow, according to the time-hallowed practice of the antique Russian, and all the men we meet are decorated with long beards and longer caftans. A little farther and we already see a few *Isvoshtshiks*,* whom chance has thrown into regions so remote from the centre of the great world. A few shaven chins and swallow-tailed coats begin to be seen, and here and there a mansion of some pretension. On arriving at the turn we obtain a view of the more important portion of the street, with the golden giant needle that surmounts the Admiralty tower, floating over the mists that rise from the street. We cross a bridge or two and feel that we are approaching the centre of the capital. Palaces arise on either side to the height of three or four stories, and the inscriptions on the shop fronts increase in number and size, till we arrive at that of Bonton, the tailor, whose name adorns the front of his house in letters of several yards in length. Carriages and four now become more frequent, and occasionally an officer dashes by in an elegant uniform and with feathers streaming in the wind. At length we reach the Fontanka, cross the Anitshkoff-bridge, and are reminded by the palace of Count B. that we are entering the fashionable part of the town.† Here the bustle of the scene becomes fairly bewildering. Carriages and four at every step, generals and princes elbowing among the crowd, splendid shops, imperial palaces, cathedrals and churches of every confession.

"This part of the Prospekt, in the middle of the day, may challenge a comparison with all the most celebrated streets in the world, and the promenade loses none of its attraction by the splendour of its decoration. The whole of this part of the street [upwards of an English mile in length] is formed of only fifty "houses," but each is of colossal dimensions. The ground belongs mostly to the different churches, (the Dutch, the Catholic, the Armenian, &c.) having been given to them by Peter the Great, at a time when the land was of little value, but it now produces revenues of enormous amount.

"On a fine clear day the promenade might be compared to a festive saloon, with the canopy of heaven for a ceiling. The houses are so new, so brilliant, and so rich in columns, that they look like the decorations of a theatre or ball room. Along the centre of the broad street magnificent equipages roll noiselessly over the wooden pavement. The trottoir on each side is spacious and convenient. Vulgar mob-like sounds are nowhere heard, for the public of St. Petersburg are remarkable for their civility, and are rarely guilty of brawling and quarrelling. People do

* The drivers of the different kinds of public carriages.

† Along the Fontanka, an arm of the Neva, but made to assume the form and appearance of a canal, the wealthiest among the Russian nobles have erected their palaces. That part of the *Prospekt*, therefore, which lies between the Fontanka and the Admiralty, becomes naturally the most fashionable and bustling part of the street.

not attempt to run one another down. This is partly owing to the respect which the humbler classes from their birth are taught to show towards those above them, and partly to the innate flexibility of the Sclavonian races, in whom there is but little of that sharpness and angularity which never allows us Saxons to pass one another without the hazard of a collision."

There is, however, one great drawback to a St. Petersburg promenade, which Mr. Kohl appears to have overlooked, namely, the immense preponderance of the ungentler sex. The Russian capital contains nearly twice as many men as women, and travellers do say,—for we should not presume to hazard so uncourtly a remark ourselves,—that the climate of St. Petersburg does not contribute to the development or the conservation of female beauty. The few pretty faces one sees are mostly owned by foreigners, and are seldom worn by residents. The great scarcity of ladies exposes them also to many inconveniences. A respectable woman can seldom venture abroad without the protection of an escort.

The Nievkoi Prospekt continues to be the favourite promenade till about two o'clock, when the beau monde transfer their favours to the English quay. The confluence in the Prospekt is not merely occasioned by the pursuit of pleasure, for all the principal shops being there, the ladies have the excuse of business for their morning lounge; but the afternoon promenade on the English quay pretends to be nothing else but a promenade, and is altogether uncontaminated by trade. The imperial family often join the patrician throng; indeed the present emperor first brought the walk on the English quay into fashion.

One more public walk remains to be noticed, namely, the Summer Garden, the usual resort of all the nurses and nursery-maids of St. Petersburg. Here the juvenile aristocracy of the great empire may on every fine day be seen at their gambols, in their elegant castans and high Tartar caps; for the Russians of all ranks clothe their little boys in the old national costume till the seventh or eighth year. Their little girls, on the other hand, are tricked out in the Parisian fashion as soon as they can walk, and never show themselves in the habits of their ancestors, except at court. The Summer Garden is a piece of ground situated in the very heart of the city, and contains somewhat more than thirty English acres, laid out in the formal manner so much in vogue about a century and a half ago. In one corner of this garden stands the small palace that sufficed for the residence of Peter the Great. It is a modest unpretending mansion, and, ashamed apparently to be seen by the side of the sumptuous

edifices reared by the successors of the great monarch, it hides itself timidly among the lofty linden-trees that have grown up to a respectable size around it.

It is curious to listen, sometimes, in this garden, to the Babylonian jargon in which the children of the Russian nobility are taught to lisp their infantine discourse. The fashionable language among the upper classes is French, and it is thought a great point in most Russian families, that children should learn French as soon as they can learn anything. English is nearly as much in favour, and English and French nursery-maids are, accordingly, an article of luxury, in which those who can afford it rarely fail to indulge. The private teachers are for the most part Germans, and the children acquire, by this means, a smattering of all the four languages, long before they have made any tolerable proficiency in any one of them. It is nothing uncommon to hear a little rogue of six years old address his father in such a speech as the following:—*"Papa, I have been in the Lesnoi Sud; Feodor s'namu buil; est ce que vous n'irez pas?"** Young or old, however, rarely make use of any language but their own for terms of endearment, and perhaps no language is richer in coaxing and caressing diminutives.†

The greatest holiday in the year, in the Summer Garden, is Whit-Monday, on which day the celebrated exhibition of brides takes place.

"This spectacle," says Mr. Kohl, "is so peculiar in its way, that it would be worth an Englishman's while to travel to St. Petersburg, for the mere purpose of witnessing it. In compliance with an ancient Russian custom, all the young men and women of the mercantile class assemble on this day, the former to stare, and the latter to be stared at. The young girls, dressed as richly as their means will allow, are arrayed in long rows by the side of the flower beds, with their mammas standing behind them. The wardrobes of their mothers and grandmothers are laid under contribution, and every thing bright and gaudy is carefully brought forward to enrich the drapery, the head-dress, or the girdle. Some of the young ladies are so covered with gold and jewellery on these occasions, that their natural charms are altogether concealed; indeed, the ludicrous excess to which this sort of decoration is sometimes carried, goes beyond what has ever been attempted elsewhere. They tell even of a mother, who, at a loss what farther adornment she

* I have been in the Summer Garden. Feodor was with us. Won't you go there?

† Among others we may mention, *milinkoi*, my little love; *dædushka*, my dear little grandpapa; *matiuska*, my little mother; *drushka*, my little friend; *dushinka*, my little soul; *golubtschik*, my little dove, &c., which are not only current among the Russians themselves, but soon come into familiar use also among those who have resided for a time in Russia.

should add to her daughter's person, actually tied six dozen of gilt tea-spoons together, and fastened them as a necklace round the poor girl's throat; then fixed three dozen of table-spoons into her girdle, and decorated her back with two large punch-ladles, formed into a cross. Thus bedizened, the blushing damsels are drawn up in mute rows, while the papas, in flowing caftans and curling beards, parade their sons up and down. Cupid, who acts as master of the ceremonies on the occasion, carefully examines the gold and jewellery to satisfy himself that all is genuine. Here and there the papas and mammas try to lead the young folks into conversation with each other, in the course of which certain little looks and emotions may arise pregnant with future consequences. Eight days, or so, after this bridal exhibition, private family meetings take place, at which those whose hearts were captivated at the grand show, are more formally affianced to one another by their parents and relatives. A similar custom prevails among all the Slavonian races; but it is strange that it should still be retained in St. Petersburg, where there are always numbers who omit no opportunity of casting ridicule on the whole solemnity."

Of late years, however, this custom has decidedly been wearing itself out. The young people still crowd to the *Lestnoi Sad* on Whit-Monday, and a great deal of very serious flirtation goes on there; but there is very little left of the formal, stiff, and old-fashioned solemnity, which some ten or twelve years ago afforded so much amusement to foreigners, and for which the Russian dandies and petites maîtresses were wont to express so sovereign a contempt.

The Grand Parade, in the Admiralty Square, forms a daily exhibition for the idlers of St. Petersburg. The emperor is generally there in person. Accompanied by his sons, and followed by a numerous train of princes and generals, he comes dashing through clouds of dust. The spectators uncover themselves at his approach, and the soldiers present arms. "Good morning, my children," is the emperor's usual salutation, and, "We thank your majesty," is the reply that thunders forth from some thousands of throats at the same moment. It is not, however, necessary for those who wish to see the emperor to attend the parade; for of all the inhabitants of St. Petersburg, there is scarcely one who may be seen more frequently in all parts of the town. There is no other monarch in the world whose avocations require him to spend so large a portion of his life in the streets. Either there are reviews to be held, troops to be inspected, or public buildings to be visited, almost every day. Then at almost all public rejoicings, it has ever been customary for the Russian sovereigns to share in the diversions of their subjects; and they frequently visit the houses of those of their grantees to whom they wish to show especial favour.

Nicholas, who, of all the successors of Peter, has shown himself most desirous to preserve national customs, omits no opportunity of mingling with his people, is a frequent guest at the entertainments of his nobles, and often an unexpected visitor at the bedside of a sick favourite. When seen in the streets, it is generally in a plain sledge or droshky drawn by a single horse, and in this he but imitates the constant habit of Peter, Paul, and Alexander.

The isvoshtshik or hackney coachman in Russia is a being that varies very materially from his colleagues in other large European cities. In St. Petersburg the number of these convenient charioteers is said to exceed 8000, and they appear all to find employment, partly on account of the great extent of the town, and partly owing to the annoyances to which a pedestrian is frequently exposed. In winter, every one that can is glad to creep into a sledge, and place every part of his person but his eyes under the shelter of his furred cloak. In spring, all St. Petersburg is one swamp, and in summer, the dust is intolerable.

"The most determined walker is seldom able to keep long upon his feet, nor will he often have occasion to summon one of these ministering spirits to his aid; he need only cast a look of indecision on the snow or mud that hides the pavement from his view, and half a dozen sledges or droshkys will dart up to him in a moment. The bag of oats is immediately cast off, the harness braced up, and each driver seats himself upon his box, as though he had not the slightest doubt of being preferred to all his competitors. 'Where shall I drive to?' 'To the Admiralty?' 'I'll go for two rubles?' 'I for one and a half?' and they go on under-bidding each other, till the fare is reduced, perhaps, to half a ruble. You take the cheapest, of course, but take care you do not at the same time get the worst, or you expose yourself to the merciless bantering of those whose services you have declined. 'Oh, Papa, how stingy you are to day. For the sake of a few copeks you have taken up with that old vagabond for your coachman. His three-legged jade will leave you sticking in the first hole. Why the ragged rascal is so drunk he can hardly sit. He'll take you to the Shambles, and tell you that's the Admiralty.' No one, meanwhile, seems to enjoy all these pleasures more than the chosen charioteer, who laughs in his sleeve, and grumbles out his 'Nitsheross! never fear, Sir; it will go well enough.'"

The isvoshtshik is a thoroughly nomadic being. If he thinks the market overstocked in the capital, he bundles his little moveables together, and in a few days afterwards reappears on the pavé of Moscow or Novogorod, and some of them travel from town to town, till they have made the round of the empire. Their only vehicles are the sledge in winter, and the jolting droshky in summer. Both are always uncovered, and the passenger's mantle must be his shield against rain, snow, or the shower of mud with which he will occasionally be saluted. Many

an isvoshtshik has no regular home but his sledge, which serves him for a dining-room by day, and for bed by night. He and his horse are alike seasoned against every weather, and patient under every privation. They eat and sleep when they can, and seem always in good humour, the steed ever ready to start off at a smart trot, the driver always prepared for a jest, a song, or a repartee. About the suburbs the droshkys are often wretched enough, but in the fashionable quarters there are isvoshtshiks whose equipages rival those of princes in splendor. Indeed, scandal says, that many a Russian prince, when he has no occasion himself for his horses, will send them to earn their oats in the public streets.

We have seen that the isvoshtshik is not subjected to any fixed fare. It is, therefore, always advisable, before engaging his services, to make a bargain. In the morning or on ordinary days they are to be had for a mere trifle, but on holidays or during the bustle of noon, their demands are comparatively high. Once hired, however, and the man is your serf till you discharge him. Scold him, and he receives your rebuke with a cheerful smile; speak to him, and he replies only cap in hand; beat him, and he becomes more solicitous to do your bidding. The spirit of slavery is so instilled from the birth into the lower classes of Russians, that they seem always to look upon their employer for the time as a master whom they are bound to obey, and they do so cheerfully, provided he hold a tight rein, but woe betide him if he show himself unfit for command.

The great plague of the isvoshtshiks is the pedestrian, who in other countries is expected to get out of a coachman's way, whereas in Russia a coachman is bound to be always on his guard against a pedestrian. To drive up against a foot passenger in the street, even without hurting him, entitles the driver to a flogging and a fine; and in case of a more serious accident the equipage is confiscated, whoever the owner may be, and the coachman is liable to be flogged and sent to Siberia. Without some severe regulation of this kind it would be impossible to keep the Russian nobles in any order in the streets. As it is, they are continually urging their coachmen to drive faster, and wide as the streets are, and formidable as the penalty is that awaits an unfortunate charioteer, accidents frequently occur, and one often hears in St. Petersburg that the coach and four of this prince has been seized by the police, or that the coachman of another is under sentence for Siberia.

The word Siberia, though it sounds less terribly to an English than to a Russian ear, has the effect of making most of us creep closer to the fire, and of reminding us of those terrible stories

which we have all read in our times, of water congealed in its descent to the ground, and of travellers frozen to death in despite of all the appliances of furs and schnaps. What then shall we say of the climate of St. Petersburg, which even the Siberian makes matter of complaint? In central Russia, when Winter makes his appearance, he puts his house in order, and freezes away for dear life till he begins to make preparations for his departure. Not so at St. Petersburg, where even in January you are not secure against rain, but may have to wade through whole oceans of mud. The marshy soil on which the city is built, and the mitigating influence of the west wind blowing from the Baltic, are assigned as causes of the frequent variations to which the temperature of the Russian capital is liable. Few cities are subject to so great a range of the thermometer, which in summer often rises above 100° and in winter as often falls to 45 or 50° below zero. It is nothing extraordinary for the thermometer to vary 40° in one day, making people shiver with cold in the evening, after having languished under the heat of a sultry morning. To suit one's habiliments to all the fantastic changes of so unstable a climate would be impossible. The Russian, therefore, ensconces himself in his furs in October, as a matter of course, and never allows a few warm days during the winter months to seduce him from the shelter to which he has once consigned himself. A self-willed "*I-say-kee*,"* sometimes ventures to vary his garments according to the vagaries of the climate, but generally rues his imprudent disregard of the warnings of the more experienced resident.

Whether it be warm or cold, as soon as the winter has officially set in, the St. Petersburger clothes himself every day in furs, and warms his house to the same degree. The public rooms for the poorer classes are heated every day, and the fires blaze away every night for the *isvoshtshiks*, on the public places and in the vicinity of the theatres. It is only when the cold attains a more severe degree than ordinary, that particular measures are resorted to. When the thermometer falls to about 20° below zero, people prick up their ears, and begin to speculate about the cold. The police increase their vigilance, and the officers go their rounds more frequently, to see that no sentinel or *butshnik* be surprised by sleep, and to inflict summary punishment on those guilty of such an offence, for sleep at such a time is certain death. At -25° according to Réaumur's thermometer, the theatres are closed, it being then thought impossible to warm

* The nickname given to all Englishmen in Russia, from the frequent use which they are said to make of the words '*I say*.'

the house, or to provide the requisite security for the coachmen. In Germany we have known the theatres to remain open even at a lower temperature, but a cold of 20° at St. Petersburg, whatever the reason may be, is more piercing, and puts the constitution to a ruder trial, than a much severer frost in other parts of Europe. The native Russian, moreover, is more susceptible of cold than the inhabitants of southern regions. During the winter, at Arkhangel, it is nothing uncommon to see English sailors walking about in their jackets and trowsers, as they would do on a summer's day in England, and that without appearing to suffer much from a frost, from the effects of which the native and the resident are in hourly dread of losing their noses and ears. It has been noticed, however, that if Jack happen to be frozen up at Arkhangel two winters running, he never exposes himself the second year as he did the first; let him become a resident, and he will grow as fond as any Russian of creeping into a bearskin, or of assuming the habiliments that once decorated a wolf.

Curious scenes take place in the streets of St. Petersburg on a cold day. When the nose freezes, the sufferer is wholly unconscious of a fact, which to all who see him, is made apparent by the chalky whiteness of that important appendage to the human face divine. Nature for such occasions has always provided, in profuse abundance, the most efficacious remedy. All that is necessary is to rub the patient's nose well with snow, and the circulation usually returns in a few minutes. If this is not done in time, the nose is lost. It has, therefore, come to be considered an act of common civility, in the streets of St. Petersburg, for everybody to look to the noses of his neighbours, trusting that his neighbours will keep an eye upon his in return. If you meet a man and see that his nose is turning white, courtesy requires that you should immediately take up a handful of snow, and rub his face as briskly as you can, till the rosy blush return. Sometimes you may see two Russians, on meeting, stoop simultaneously, and fall to rubbing each others faces for dear life. A newly-imported I-say-kee has occasionally been known to resent rather roughly so unceremonious an act of kindness, of the importance of which he has not been aware, but the usage is one with which a stranger seldom remains long unacquainted. The eyes also are liable to be inconvenienced by the severe cold. Icicles form about the eyelashes and gradually become large enough to prevent the sufferer from seeing with any comfort to himself. In such cases, it is considered allowable to enter the first house at hand, and demand permission to thaw oneself, leaving a tear of gratitude on the hospitable floor, in acknowledgment of the favour received.¹

No Russian ventures into the open air during the intense cold, unless duty or business force him. In proportion as the thermometer falls, the company in the streets becomes more and more select, till at last nothing is to be seen there but officers, foreigners and Tshornoi Narod, or black people, a denomination under which a Russian includes all the humbler classes of his countrymen. The officers, at such a time, in their light and airy uniforms, afford a singular contrast to the befurred and bemantled figures that elsewhere present themselves. The emperor appears on parade without a mantle, however intense the cold may be, and of course no officer would seem to require shelter against a temperature to which his monarch never hesitates to expose himself.

Winter is a period of suffering for the poor in most countries, and it would be strange if they were not liable in Russia, as elsewhere, to many privations during the severe season. Much has been done in St. Petersburg to alleviate their condition, by the establishment of public rooms that are kept warm throughout the day, in all parts of the city. Nevertheless, many are frozen to death every winter, owing chiefly to the customs of the people themselves. The Russians are not naturally active, and rarely seek to secure themselves against the cold by violent exercise. When the ice cracks again with the frost, the sentinel creeps into his box, the *butshnik* into his hut, and the isvoshtshik under his mat. In these positions many of them are constantly drawn forth in a lifeless condition. It is the immoderate use of brandy, however, that yearly yields the greatest number of victims to the deadly breath of the Russian Boreas. No frost sets in in St. Petersburg without surprising many drunkards sleeping off the fumes of their carouse in the public streets, and sleep, on such occasions, is the usual forerunner of immediate death. The inconsiderate, not to say hard hearted, conduct of the wealthy, is likewise the cause of much suffering, and often of death, to their poor dependents. The Russian nobles will leave their carriages for hours together in the street, even during the severest weather. At the theatre or at an evening party, it is no uncommon thing for the carriage to be kept in attendance the whole evening, that it may be ready at a moment's notice for its owner's use. The coachman is apt to fall asleep, and the little twelve-year-old postillions find it difficult to resist the temptation to lie down and sleep on the frozen snow. Many pay for this imprudence by the loss of hands, feet, noses, or ears; and often the poor coachman has already slept away his life, while his lord and lady are still indulging in the enjoyment of a luxurious table, or abandoning themselves to the delights of artificial sorrow awakened by

fictitious grief. Fortunately for the Russian serf no kind of death is accompanied by less bodily suffering than the gradual extinction of life under the effects of intense frost. The extremities are the first to be benumbed, and this, as we have already seen, happens without the least consciousness in the sufferer. An irresistible inclination to sleep follows, and during this sleep life passes away. Those who by timely appliances have been rescued describe their sensations to have had more of pleasure in them than of pain, and have often manifested great vexation at being roused from so agreeable a slumber.

There are few places where the native Russian may be more conveniently studied than in the markets and bazaars which abound in St. Petersburg, and of which one or more may be found in almost every city in the empire. Of these the chief is generally called the *Gostinnoi Dvor*, within the walls of which an incredible variety of goods are constantly kept on sale. At St. Petersburg the *Gostinnoi Dvor* is a place of great extent, built of stone and roofed with iron, affording accommodation for no less than 10,000 merchants to expose their goods to public gaze. Every pedlar in Russia is a merchant, and when we talk of a *Gostinnoi Dvor* merchant, we must not be supposed to mean a Baring or a Hope. The foreign trade of Russia is almost exclusively in the hands of foreigners, and the bearded dealer of the bazaar is often but a vender of cotton nightcaps or ready-made shoes. The *Gostinnoi Dvor* of St. Petersburg, however, is still too modernized for our present purpose. If we would become acquainted with the *Tshornoi Narod*, or black people, we must move farther from the centre, till we come to the *Tshukin Dvor* and *Apraxin Ruinok*, where sellers, buyers and wares will all be found thoroughly Russian and uncontaminated by the slightest mixture of any foreign element. The scenes which here daily present themselves differ probably very little from those, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or perhaps even at an earlier period, characterised the fairs of Novogorod, and something very nearly of the same kind may still be seen in many of the provincial fairs of Russia. Rags and remnants of every description form the staple article of commerce in these markets, together with oily viands, such as would be vainly looked for in any other European capital.

In no other great city is so small a part of the population stationary as in St. Petersburg. The nobility are constantly ebbing and flowing; the foreign residents are mostly merchants, who go there to make money, and when they have made it, are always anxious to return home; the military are of course frequently liable to be displaced; the civil functionaries are constantly sent

off to distant posts, and the lower classes are mostly serfs, who have obtained only a temporary leave of absence from their owners, by whom they may at any time be ordered back to their villages. Even the isvoshtshiks, as we have seen, are a nomadic tribe, and fresh faces are continually showing themselves on the droshky box, to return perhaps after a few months to the Volga, the Don, or the Dnieper, or to start on a more adventurous expedition to explore the remotest provinces of the great empire. In winter, more particularly, thousands daily enter the gates without having any distinct notion of what is to become of them on the morrow. They are ready to turn cooks or carpenters, painters or masons, and have not made up their minds whether their peasant garb is to be metamorphosed into the livery of a lackey, the short coat of a clerk, the costume of a musician, or the caftan of a merchant. For such as these the Tshukin Dvor and the Apraxia Ruinok offer the ready means of providing for all their wants. The Samoyede from Siberia or the Tartar from the Steppe need not be an hour in St. Petersburg before he has provided himself with all the paraphernalia of a metropolitan costume, with all the little household conveniences which Russian habits make indispensable to comfort, and with all the daintiest varieties of the *cuisine bourgeoise* of the country. The whole domestic establishment of some poor trader whom his lord had recalled to the estate may have wandered in the morning to these two great rag-fairs, and may on the same evening be purchased piecemeal by some adventurous serf who has obtained a brief respite from slavery, and has come to avail himself of the interval to scrape together a little stock of rubles wherewith, after a few years, he may establish himself in his native village with comparative comfort.

"The two markets just mentioned form together a piece of ground of about 1500 feet square, closely covered with booths and stalls, leaving only narrow passages between. Allowing an average space of 500 square feet for each booth, we should have nearly 5000 booths and stalls. They form a city in themselves. The booths project in front, and meet at the top, so that the narrow lanes are as dark as in the Jews' quarters of many of our German towns, or like the streets of many oriental cities. Through a narrow gate we pass from the lively, cheerful Bolchaia Sadovaia (Garden Street) into these gloomy passages, where a well dressed man is not to be seen, and the whole population consists of 'black people,' all bearded, furred and caftaned. Large lamps and gaudy saints hang under the gateways and at every corner along the lanes of this city of rags; and wherever an open space occurs, a little chapel is sure to show itself so loaded with gay colours and ornaments, that a Chinese pagoda would appear to have served the architect for a model; but these do not suffice for the pious Russians, and frequently

in the lanes themselves beams are placed across, and suspended from these are seen high in the air pictures of saints all glittering with gilding and all radiant with lamp-light. That the proverb, *les extrêmes se touchent*, may be realized, close to each chapel stands the building, in a Russian's eye of importance second only to the church, the *kabak* or brandy shop. Many of these are very neatly fitted up according to the Russian taste with coloured paper, gaudy hangings, &c.

“ ‘Stick your arms into your furred sleeves, and button your beaver collar close round your ears,’ said my companion to me the first time I ventured into this market, for I had allowed these articles of my wardrobe to hang loosely behind me. ‘We are here,’ he continued, ‘in the thieves’ quarter of St. Petersburg, and whatever is not fast will be deemed a fair prize. Put your rings into your pockets, for there are those here who would cut off your finger for the sake of the jewel; and were it known that you had your pocket-book about you, a hole would be cut in your cloak in an instant, and you relieved of your load.’ Strange tales are indeed told of the clippers and whippers of the rag market, and of the way in which they have occasionally lightened the wardrobes of their visitors. Coat tails and furred collars are said to have been cut off, and removed in an artist-like manner from the keeping of their owners; but I am bound to say, that though I was a frequent and not a very careful wanderer through the gloomy labyrinths, nothing of the kind ever happened to myself, nor was I ever a witness of similar operations performed on others.

“ This maze is not without some degree of order in its distribution. The *pares* always go with the *paribus* in Russia, and so here. In one corner, for instance, may be found all the dealers in sacred images. Of these the Russians consume an incredible quantity, for they imagine themselves abandoned by God and all his angels if his presence be not at every moment made visible and palpable to them, or if the hand of the priest have not taken formal possession of the locality. Not only their churches, but their persons, their rooms, their doors, and their gateways are loaded with the mystic ornaments. In the market the little brass virgins, crucifixes, St. Johns and St. Georges, may be seen piled up in front of each booth like so many gingerbread cakes at one of our fairs. They are bought by the gross in case a new house is about to be fitted up, no room being left without them, and each room frequently receiving several. Large ones, three or four ells in length, are bought by merchants of the old faith, and yet larger for village churches, &c. Some are framed in mahogany, but others retain the more ancient fashion, and are flanked with columns or enshrined in miniature temples, neatly ornamented with silver wire. Many of the pictures are new, being from the pencils of the pupils of the new Academy of Arts at St. Petersburg; but the greater part are old, and apparently encrusted and darkened by the dust of centuries. The latter are great favourites with the common Russian, just as our German peasants attach far greater value to a tattered old hymn-book than to one that comes clean and new from the binder's hands. An image known to have held a place for some years in a church will often bring a very high price.”

Our author proceeds to tell us of whole rows of fruit-stalls, followed by a succession of booths for artificial flowers, and succeeded in their turn by a long line of dealers in incense, &c. The money changers occupy a prominent position in this market, where they may be seen with piles of rubles and ducats on their little tables in front of them, an exhibition that certainly seems in contradiction to the bad fame so generally assigned to the dealers of the *ruinok*; but perhaps there may exist a code of honour for the internal government of their own community, and the ducats of one initiated into their mysteries may be exposed to less risk than the superfluous drapery of a stranger. These money-changers, often mere boys of thirteen or fourteen, and their tables with thousands of rubles upon them have often been overturned by the accidental pressure of the crowd; yet the juvenile banker on such occasions has seldom lost a single coin; neighbours that would not have hesitated at any roguery in the way of trade, and hands that would gladly have abstracted a purse from the pocket of an unwary passenger, have zealously collected the scattered treasure, and not a ruble has been found wanting when the capital has been subjected to the test of tale.

The pastry cooks have established a little colony of their own, where they seek to provoke the appetite of their customers by the display of their dainty fish patties reeking with green oil.

A large jar of the verdant condiment, flanked by a salt-box of equally colossal dimensions, occupies a prominent position at each stall, and when a stranger is seen approaching, the merchant loses no time in snatching one of his little pies from under the greasy canvass, by which they are usually covered. "With one hand he plunges the tempting delicacy into the jar, with the other he scatters a few grains of salt upon the surface, and then presents you with the savoury morsel all dripping with glossy oil. If you are a bearded Russian, your philosophy will not often be proof against so seductive an appeal. You will seat yourself upon the tempter's bench, and you will eat one *piroga* after another, till your long anointed beard shine like well-polished ebony. For my own part the wit and *politesse* of these oily merchants always amused me even more than their viands disgusted me." The Russian presents the dirtiest and coarsest objects with all imaginable elegance; not even an oily *piroga* will be handed you without a well-turned compliment or some humorous jest, and every copeck is received with the greatest apparent gratitude.

"Every thing in the *ruinok* is low-priced and of bad quality, and yet what long perspective lines of still inferior wares open themselves as you pierce into the remoter corners, where old garments and invalided furniture are exposed for sale. Things are seen there with which it is difficult for the imagination to connect the notion of a merchantable

value. Rags of all kinds, fragments of paper, broken glass, clothes that the least fastidious of *isvoshtshiks* has discharged from his service, and petticoats that the dirtiest kitchen-maid would scorn to wear; yet all these are arranged with as much neatness as their nature will allow, and their ragged owner is sure to lay his eloquence and politeness under contribution while offering his wares to the beggar women, gypsies and Jewesses, who timidly haunt the vicinity of these hoarded treasures, at which they cast many a longing glance without being able to muster resolution enough to sever themselves from the copper copecks which they hold tightly clenched, and which after all would not perhaps satisfy the merchant's demands. The crumbs swept from the tables of the rich are here weighed in the trader's balance, and though his whole stock be not worth the blue bank note staked in many a salon on a single card, yet the whole is measured and weighed out for single pence, and not an article is sold for half a copeck less than its supposed value."

Mr. Kohl has much more to tell us of this great metropolitan rag fair of Russia, but we must hurry away to the *Sinnaia Plosht-shod* (hay-market), a large square, to which some historical interest is attached, from its having been the only spot in St. Petersburg where popular insurrection ever ventured to erect a barricade. This was in 1832, the great cholera year, when the notion that prevailed among the rabble of so many other cities, obtained currency here likewise, namely, that the doctors were the real authors of the pestilence. This absurd belief, brooded over for awhile, broke out at last in open insurrection, and the bearded fanatics rushed through the streets in all directions, seizing the cholera carts, liberating the patients on their way to the hospitals, taking out the horses, breaking up the vehicles for firewood. The mob mustered in great force in the spacious square of the hay-market, all the entrances to which were strongly barricaded with hay-waggons. Thus fortified against the police, the rioters bivouacked in the square during the first night. The next morning the attack on the cholera carts was renewed, and the great cholera hospital was taken by storm. The most active of the physicians, a German, was thrown out of the window, and torn to pieces, and all the sick were removed to their homes, in order to free them from their supposed tormentors. The Emperor was at Zarskoje Zelo when the riot broke out. He drove at once in an open carriage, without attendants, to the hay-market, and the barriers vanished at his approach. He entered the church that occupies one corner of the square, prayed and crossed himself, and then addressed a few words to the multitude, calling upon them to pray to God for forgiveness for their great offence, and to entreat him to remove the pestilence from their city. *Na kalenniye! Na kalenniye!* (On your knees! On your knees!) exclaimed the Emperor standing in his carriage, and immediately the whole assemblage, a few moments before so riotous, knelt and prayed, and unresistingly

allowed the police to mingle among them, and carry away their ringleaders to prison.

The daily transactions of the hay-market are enormous, for, independently of the large body of cavalry constantly in garrison at St. Petersburg, the number of horses kept by private individuals is out of all proportion greater than the population would seem to warrant. The private stables are supposed to contain from 30,000 to 40,000, and those of the military are seldom less than 20,000. Whole fleets of hay barges come floating down the Neva in summer, and in winter long caravans of hay sledges may daily be seen defiling through the streets that lead to the market, where it is sold wholesale and retail, a considerable portion being disposed of by single bundles to the *isvoshtshiks*. The peasants that bring their hay for sale have generally a multitude of other wares, the produce of their farms, such as vegetables, poultry, butter, &c., in search of which the most elegant equipages daily make their appearance among the noisy assemblage. Firewood is always sold in the same market, but its most characteristic decoration is composed in winter of a multitude of frozen oxen, calves, goats, &c. Long rows of ghastly cattle stare like so many bloody spectres, with their lack-lustre eyes, and whole armies of goats are drawn up with horns presented and fronts opposed, as though they were just on the point of rushing to battle. They are all as hard as stone, and can be cut up only by means of a hatchet or saw. Little skill is attempted in dissecting the icy carcasses. The saw forces its way through meat, sinew and bone, all equally hard; a block of meat is sold to one, and a large slice to another, while the animal sawdust that falls upon the snow, is eagerly picked up by the poor children that constantly haunt the place. Fish as well as meat are brought to market in this frozen condition. The little *snitki*, as they are shovelled about, rattle like hazel nuts, and pikes, salmon and sturgeon are as hard and unbending as if they had been cut out of marble.

We would gladly favour our readers with a few extracts from Mr. Kohl's chapter on the *Tshornoi Narod* or Black People. Their civility to strangers, their self-confessed rogueries, their jests, and their habitual drunkenness are described in a masterly style; but we have already occupied nearly as much space as we can devote to the present article, and have still three fourths of the work itself unnoticed. We must therefore pass over the chapters on the churches, the monuments, the palaces, the museums and the hospitals of St. Petersburg, and we do this with the less hesitation, as these matters have been repeatedly enlarged on by English travellers, and among others, not many years ago, by Dr. Granville, to whom we are indebted for the most recent English

account of the Russian capital.* We must, however, say a word or two about the Foundling Hospital, the more so as Dr. Granville, though he visited the institution, makes no mention of the frightful mortality that takes place among the poor infants abandoned by their parents to the care of the state.

The Wospitatelnoi Dom was instituted by the Empress Catherine in 1770, and continued for some time comparatively insignificant, containing even in 1790 only 300 children. Since then, however, the number has gone on rapidly increasing, till in 1837 it exceeded 25,000. In the years from 1835 to 1837, the children annually brought to the establishment averaged from 5000 to 7000. The institution is fully able to meet the expenditure entailed upon it by so numerous and rapidly growing a family. All the Russian sovereigns from Catherine to Nicolas, have taken a delight in adding to the wealth of the Wospitatelnoi Dom; several private individuals have imitated the munificence of the emperors, till the Foundling Hospital has come to be the largest land-holder in all Russia, having from its estates and its commercial monopolies, an annual income of from 600 to 700 millions of rubles to dispose of; about twice the public revenue of the kingdom of Prussia, or very nearly enough to pay the interest on the national debt of England. Such wealth appears scarcely credible, but we must rely on our author for the accuracy of his figures.

It will readily be supposed that so wealthy an institution is able to indulge in a little parade. The hospital is not a palace, but rather a group of palaces, with a church of its own, built a few years ago at an expense of about £15,000. The children are educated in a manner to enable them to enter a higher grade of society than they could have done had they been brought up by their parents. The girls, for instance, are taught French, German, music, drawing, &c., and the native governesses in Russian families are mostly orphans, who have spent their early years in the great asylum for foundlings. The teachers and wet nurses are numerous and well paid, and including the boys' school at Gatchina, about half a million of rubles are paid for instruction alone.

Attached to the Foundling Hospital is a large lying-in hospital, where everything is arranged upon so liberal a footing, that many women far from belonging to the poorer classes, avail themselves of the convenience thus gratuitously afforded them. Women may remain there for several weeks in anticipation of their confinement, and the strictest secrecy is maintained respecting the names and quality of the temporary inmates. Even the Emperor, when he visited the institution, was not permitted to enter this part of it, and the autocrat respected the mysteries of the place.

* "The Letters from the Baltic," just published by Mr. Murray, had not made their appearance when the above was written.

"Every child is received at the porter's lodge, and the only question asked, is, whether the infant has been baptised and has received a name. The lodge, a warm room, remains open day and night, and women are constantly in attendance to receive the helpless beings towards whom the state undertakes to perform duties which the parents renounce. If the child has already a name, that name is entered on a register, if not, the newly arrived inmate is entered and numbered like a piece of merchandise. From fifteen to twenty children are brought in daily, mostly towards dusk in the evening. On fine days the number is greater than in bad weather, and in summer greater than in winter. It happens not unfrequently, that when the mother unwinds the cloth, her little one is found to be already dead. In such cases the child is not received, but notice of the fact is given to the police.

"Every child, whatever the religion of its parents may have been, is baptised by a priest of the orthodox Russian church, and at the end of six weeks is sent into the country, where it grows up during its first six years among Finnish peasants. The pious ceremonies with which the newly adopted son or daughter of the great institution is received into the bosom of the church last a great portion of the day, and many of the poor infants die while in the hands of the priests. Many die in the lodge where they were received, and many on the staircase leading to the chapel. Of such the only record that remains is contained in two entries on the registry, the one is couched thus: 'No. 4512, three weeks old, a girl, received 6th April, 8 A.M.' The corresponding entry is even more brief: 'No. 4512, died 6th April, 9 A.M.'

"Those that survive the rites of baptism are examined by the medical attendant, and, if sound and healthy, immediately transferred to the directress of the wet nurses, who gives the priest the following receipt: 'No. 3333, a boy, baptised Ivan Petrovitch, received 10th May, 10 A.M., found healthy, and registered on the same day among the children at the breast.'

"The rooms for the little sucklings are large saloons, well warmed and lighted, and elegantly furnished. Warm baths are constantly ready in the anti-rooms. The nurses are neatly clad in the Russian costume, each division having different colours to distinguish it. The mothers at times offer to enter the institution as nurses to their only children, and this is rarely refused. To prevent the nurses from changing the children, the cradle of a boy is always placed by the cradle of a girl, and then two beds for the two nurses. In each ward there are about forty or fifty beds, and at the time of my visit there were 650 children at the breast, and the same number of wet nurses.

"The daily* mortality at the Wospitatelnoi Dom averages about four or five, or from 1500 to 1800 annually. This includes only those within the walls of the institution at St. Petersburg. If those at nurse in the

* The mortality in the Hospice des Enfants Trouves, and in our Foundling Hospital when it was of similar character, will be found in F. Q. R. No. L. Art. 5. The details furnished in these articles, together with the Swedish in the present number, exhibit the fatal effects of habits of ill conduct, more destructive than even the ungenial climate of St. Petersburg.

country are added, the annual number of deaths is from 2400 to 3000. In the great cemetery of Okhta, a large piece of ground has been set aside for the foundlings, of whom 30,000 are said to lie buried there.

"We were next introduced into that part of the building reserved for the girls returned from the country. I forget how many hundreds of them there were from six to eighteen years old, but the neatness of their dress and appearance, and indeed the order and cleanliness that pervaded every part of the establishment were admirable. So also the excellent beds, the roomy dormitories, the well-ordered school-rooms, &c. Compared to similar establishments in other countries, everything is sumptuous and magnificent. My visit happened just at dinner time. Long tables were covered in three large halls on the ground floor, and from the surrounding rooms they entered in long processions, two and two, marshalled by their governesses and inspectresses. Hundreds came skipping from the gardens, and hundreds came tripping down the stairs. All seemed fresh, cheerful, and healthy, and there was something quite bewitching in the aspect of so many fine girls. They passed before the director, who stood by my side, saluting him in three languages:—*Sdrastviuye, Papinka; bon jour, papa; Guten Tag, Väterchen.* For my own part, I thought the father of so rich and numerous a family was not a little to be envied.

"Gradually all these little heads with their curls and plaited tails had grouped themselves along the tables, and a moment of perfect stillness followed, after which there arose a general hymn of praise to the Creator who provides for the doves and the motherless. To hear a thousand female voices join in a hymn accompanied by a Russian sacred melody, had something in it so moving, so overpowering, that the most apathetic heart must have yielded to the influence. I doubt whether anything of the kind is to be heard throughout the world, except within the walls of the Foundling Hospital of St. Petersburg."

Mr. Kohl goes on to praise the dinner of the interesting juvenile party. It happened to be a fast day, and the fasting viands of a Russian *cuisine* are not calculated to draw forth any very warm praise either from a German or an Englishman; "but all," he says, "was as good and as pleasant as fish, oil, turnips, and capusta could be made." It was cheerful, no doubt, to see a thousand girls in the enjoyment of so much comfort, but it was melancholy to reflect on the ordeal through which their infancy had passed, it was harrowing to know that for each child that had been brought thus far on its way to womanhood, three of its many sisters had breathed forth their frail existence. Only one out of every four children brought into the institution survives the first years of childhood.

We are rejoiced to find so favourable an account as the following of the progress of native literature in Russia.

"Among the Russian booksellers," observes our author, "Smirden may decidedly be named as the first. It is surprising how rich an assortment

Russian literature has already provided for him, nor is the elegant execution of his printing establishment less deserving of admiration. At no time, perhaps, did the Russians print upon such wretched paper, with such detestable type, and with so unbounded a contempt for taste and accuracy, as not long ago were general in Germany; but since the commencement of the present century the Russian typography has improved so wonderfully, that specimens may now be seen here, fit to rival those of any country. Russian books are for the most part printed on good solid paper, and in a remarkably large type, though many of the duodecimos and 16mos. are as neat and diminutive as those of Paris and London. The time is gone when a Russian nobleman filled his library almost exclusively with French books, and carefully concealed his few native authors on a corner shelf. Russian books now occupy a prominent position in every Russian library, and the high price paid to native writers proves the extensive sale that there must be for their writings. There are Russian authors who have bought estates of several square leagues in extent with the produce of their pens; there are others who receive from five to seven thousand rubles for merely giving their names to periodicals; and there are periodicals that are said to circulate more than 20,000 copies. The largest modern undertaking is the great National Encyclopedia, on which several hundred literary men are engaged, at the rate of from one to two hundred rubles a sheet. Of course, a very large sale must have been counted on, to cover such an expenditure. Even in the highest circles, native Russian literature is able, not only to rival, but even to surpass that of France in public favour."

From literature to cookery is an easy transition, and that man has made but little progress in his ethnographical studies, who scorns to trouble himself about the point to which the culinary art may have arrived among the people whose character and institutions he makes the object of his inquiries. In nothing does the Russian display his nationality more completely than in the composition of his dishes. From Odessa to Arkhangel, from St. Petersburg to Okhotsk, the same dishes appear on their appropriate days on every native table, and if you have made yourself acquainted with the practices of one Russian kitchen, you may generally take it for granted that you have obtained a tolerable insight into the culinary habits of the entire nation. Mr. Kohl has devoted an entire chapter to the *cuisine bourgeoise* of the Russians, nor is this chapter, by any means, the least interesting in his book; indeed it cannot be a matter of indifference to know how sixty millions of human beings provide for the first of their daily wants.

Even from the tables of the wealthiest and most luxurious of the Russian nobles, the artistical skill of the Parisian chef has never been able to banish the daily returning *shtshi* and *borshtsh*, those indispensable accompaniments to a Russian dinner. *Shtshi* is the staff of life with all, and one of the commonest topics of lamentation among Russians when they meet in the barbarous regions of

London and Paris, is the loss of their beloved *Shtshi*. The majority of the Russians are little else but animated masses of *shtshi*; their whole army feeds upon *shtshi*, and the daily prayer of the whole nation ought to be, not for their daily bread, but their daily *shtshi*. And what is *shtshi*? we shall be asked. Our author shall himself reply to the question.

"*Shtshi* is nothing else but cabbage soup. The ways of preparing it are various, and there are perhaps as many species of *shtshi* as there are varieties of the cabbage. Six or eight heads of white cabbage cut small, half a pound of grits, a quarter of a pound of butter, a handful of salt, and two pounds of mutton in small pieces, with two or three cans of *quass*,* make an excellent *shtshi*, and, except on fast days, the above may be taken as the daily bill of fare of almost every Russian peasant."

By the aid of the above recipe, our fair readers may essay their skill in the manufacture of *shtshi*, should they be desirous of surprising some Russian visitor by the extent of their culinary lore. They must be prepared, however, for failure on the first attempt, for the manufacture of *shtshi* has its mysteries and difficulties, which are not to be conquered by the novice on her first essay. Should they desire to make yet farther progress in Russian cookery, they will find a multitude of dainty dishes very elaborately described by Mr. Kohl, who will inform them how they may learn to make *botwinya*, *kutya*, *kolibaks*, *rassol*, *ukha*, *kalatshi*, *pirogas*, and an endless variety of soups, cakes, stews, &c., some of which our author describes with such a gusto, that he would seem to think it worth a man's while to travel to St. Petersburg, for the mere purpose of enjoying them in their native perfection.

Mr. Kohl's chapter on the state of public education in Russia is full of sensible remarks. In this department, as in so many others, the Russians have begun at the wrong end. There are universities and public academies, enshrined in sumptuous palaces and supported by a formidable array of teachers and professors; but where are the parochial schools, on which the superior establishments of education ought to lean for support? In the same way, Russia has a formidable navy, but no mercantile marine to furnish her navy with seamen, and to receive protection in return.

There are many instructive portions of our author's work, and more merely of an amusing character, which we must leave unno-

* *Quass* is the chief beverage of all ranks in Russia, and in the houses of the wealthy there is generally a servant whose exclusive duty it is to attend to the manufacture of this most indispensable article to their domestic economy. No Russian ever drinks water if he can help it. It is with *quass* alone that he stills his thirst, and with *quass* he makes all his soups and broths. It is a light, acid, unintoxicating beverage; is made of barley meal and honey, and foreigners are said, in a short time, to take to it almost as kindly as the natives. As to a Russian, life without *quass* he would scarcely think worth retaining.

ticed. The chapter on St. Petersburg servants contains many excellent remarks, and places the question of domestic servitude in a new light. The Russian nobles, it appears, have discovered that a freeman who receives wages, and may quit his master when he pleases, is, after all, a more valuable servant than the serf whom his lord may pay as little as he pleases, making up the difference to him in blows.

We have several most amusing chapters on the national festivals of the Russians, on their feasts and their fasts, their fairs and their carnivals, their gardens and their villas, the public gardens on the islands, the shipping at Cronstadt, and the degree of skill to which the Russians have carried the art of forcing the growth even of tropical fruits in their splendid hot-houses. For these matters, however, we must again refer our readers to the book itself, and there are few in the same department of literature, that will better repay a perusal.

- ART. VII.—1. *Statistik öfver Sverige, grundad på offentlig Handlingar. 3dje Upplagan, betydligt tillökt och förbättrad, &c.* (The Statistics of Sweden, grounded on Public Documents. 3d edition, considerably enlarged and improved. By Colonel C. Af. Forsell, Chief of the Landsurveying Department, Knight of many Orders, &c.) Stockholm. 8vo. 1836.
2. *Reise durch Schweden im Sommer 1836, &c.* (Tour through Sweden in the Summer of 1836. By Baron F. von Gall.) 2 vols. 18mo. Bremen, 1838.
3. *A Tour through Sweden in 1838, comprising Observations on the Moral, Political, and Economical State of the Swedish Nation.* By S. Laing, Esq. 8vo. London, 1839.
4. *Darstellungen aus einer Reise durch Schweden und Dänemark im Sommer des Jahres 1839, &c.* (Notes on a Journey through Sweden and Norway in the Summer of 1839. By Baron F. von Strombeck.) 8vo. Brunswick, 1840.
5. *Recueil des Exposés de l'Administration du Royaume de Suède, présentés aux Etats Généraux depuis 1809 jusqu'à 1840. Traduit du Suédois.* Par J. F. de Lundblad. 8vo. Paris. 1840.
6. *On the Moral and Political Union of Sweden and Norway, in Answer to Mr. S. Laing's Statement.* [By General Count Björnstjerna, Swedish Ambassador at the Court of St. James's.] 8vo. London, 1840.

IN our last number we directed the attention of our readers to *Sweden as it is*. The present paper will be simply a resumé of

our labours in that article, and we shall now proceed to offer some additional corroboration of the *progression of poverty and crime* despite of an increasing *production and commerce*, which we simply then stated to be most startling in that country, and which we shall now statistically confirm by a reference to tables. For instance we find that amid an *acknowledged* increasing misery and demoralization on all sides, the condition of Swedish commerce and manufactures is as follows :*—(The value in pounds sterling may be obtained by dividing by 12.)

PROGRESS OF MANUFACTURES SINCE 1830.

	Year.	Number.	Looms.	Value manufactured.	
				Workmen.	Rix-dol. Banco.
Cotton and Linen					
Manufactures	1830 ..	38 ..	445 ..	677 ..	247,160
" "	1838 ..	42 ..	636 ..	805 ..	426,581
" "	1839 ..	44 ..	761 ..	949 ..	465,580
Cloth Manufactures	1830 ..	99 ..	447 ..	2,698 ..	2,514,205
" "	1838 ..	108 ..	558 ..	3,455 ..	3,863,439
" "	1839 ..	114 ..	605 ..	3,642 ..	4,045,989
Sail-cloth "	1830 ..	10 ..	172 ..	390 ..	98,762
" "	1838 ..	10 ..	233 ..	426 ..	248,659
" "	1839 ..	10 ..	239 ..	595 ..	250,912
Paper-mills	1830 ..	91 ..	— ..	1,331 ..	515,269
"	1838 ..	89 ..	— ..	1,333 ..	756,878
"	1839 ..	87 ..	— ..	1,241 ..	803,494
Sugar-refineries	1830 ..	24 ..	— ..	293 ..	1,669,212
"	1838 ..	28 ..	— ..	397 ..	2,489,256
"	1839 ..	25 ..	— ..	458 ..	2,625,763
Tobacco-mills	1830 ..	77 ..	— ..	695 ..	832,281
"	1838 ..	87 ..	— ..	790 ..	1,018,528
"	1839 ..	81 ..	— ..	765 ..	1,003,036
Total amount of the above and of all other Swedish Ma- nufactures, &c.	1830 ..	1,857 ..	1,698 ..	11,887 ..	8,783,137
" "	1838 ..	2,104 ..	1,987 ..	14,211 ..	13,090,089
" "	1839 ..	2,097 ..	2,177 ..	14,861 ..	13,597,809

A part of the above increase is undoubtedly owing to the increased facilities for obtaining capital, owing to the establishment during the last few years of some half-dozen joint stock provincial banks. Many of these give large dividends, and are very well conducted on the Scotch system.

* See the several official Reports of the College of Commerce.

But after having manufactured we must proceed to sell, and accordingly we pass over to the encouraging prospects afforded by the

SWEDISH IMPORT AND EXPORT LIST.

Year.	Value of Goods Imported.	Value of Goods Exported.
	Rix-dollars Banco.	Rix-dollars Banco.
1831	12,302,682	13,564,618
1832	13,757,333	14,647,094
1833	13,885,641	16,902,979
1834	14,526,542	15,882,264
1835	15,561,794	18,584,664
1836	15,536,896	18,833,877
1837	16,456,080	17,453,129
1838	19,498,922	22,159,918
1839	19,363,190	21,018,430

The custom-house returns, in reference to the above, show a corresponding increase of duty :—

CUSTOMS' DUES AND EXPENSES.

	Grand Total of Export and Import Customs' and Light-house Duties.	Total Expense of Collecting the Same.	Being a Pay- ment on Col- lecting of about
	Rix-dollars Banco.	Rix-dollars Banco.	Per cent.
In 1831	2,650,055	592,668	23
1836	3,507,854	560,945	16
1837	3,977,659	552,985	13 $\frac{10}{11}$
1838 *	4,403,986	556,547	12 $\frac{7}{11}$
1839	3,530,256 ..	{ Not yet published, but } probably about .. }	
			15

It may be interesting to compare the above, as regards expense of collection, with the latest results we have seen obtained by the new German Custom-house League. They are as follows :—

	The Total Customs' Revenue amounted to	Ditto Expenses.	Equivalent to
	Thalers.	Thalers.	Per cent.
In 1834	14,917,729	2,336,964	16
1835	16,980,180	2,391,024	14
1836	18,192,000	2,281,000	12 $\frac{1}{2}$

But by far too considerable a part of the above exchanges has been carried on in *foreign bottoms*. Nay, numbers of Swedish ships have been bought out of Swedish harbours, and employed

* This year a considerable extra duty was paid for the over quantity of grain imported.

under foreign flags and better systems in transporting her own productions to their destined markets. The *commercial fleet*, however, after a long period of rapid decline, has of late shown symptoms of reviving prosperity, and we hope that its present increase will continue and become still more consolidated. At present it numbers in its

STEAM FLEET.*

Gauthiod	of 120 horse-power	120
Svithiod	„ 100 „	100
Samuel Owen† ..	„ 90 „	90
8	from 80 to 60 „	560
8	„ 50 „ 40 „	325
12	„ 36 „ 30 „	387
13	„ 28 „ 5 „	228
<hr/>		<hr/>
44	Total Steamers.	Total horse-power 1830
42	„ In 1838	„ 1580½

That this increase of steam navigation has not acted unfavourably on the internal development of the country, was to be expected. Temporary inconveniences have followed to some individuals; but on the whole new markets have been opened, and new conveyances demanded to carry the increased products to the increased consumers. Accordingly

THE INLAND AND COASTING FLEET.

	Vessels.	Tons.		Tons.
In 1838 amounted to	1,227	of 10	and upwards, carrying	45,210
„ 1839 „	1,355	„	„ „	61,454

But the most curious results are those offered in the history of the foreign shipping of the kingdom. A valuable table lately published enables us, in a small space, to concentrate details which would otherwise be of great length, and we shall therefore at once proceed to add a view † of

* Besides several large government and post-office steamers.

† This is the *first* and only Swedish *iron* steamer yet built, and has been made and is partly owned by our talented and enterprising countryman (Mr. Owen is an Englishman), whose name it bears. Thus, the same gentleman erected the *first steam-engine*, and built the first steamer (of *wood*), and now the first *iron* steam-boat in Sweden!

‡ Abridged and adapted from the Foreign Report of the College of Commerce for 1839, Appendix, No. 9.

THE SWEDISH FOREIGN FLEET.

In	STOCKHOLM.		GOTHENBURG.		GEFLE.		OTHER STAPLE TOWNS.		TOTAL.			
	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Ships.	Tonnage.	Masters.	Seamen.
1795	212	39,022	150	18,740	49	7,046	310	27,202	721	92,010	796	5,475
1800	234	40,070	168	21,938	54	8,316	344	27,322	800	97,746	919	6,948
1805	235	38,278	152	18,852	68	12,102	409	37,010	864	106,242	931	7,377
1810	218	36,598	197	26,012	58	11,668	379	29,518	852	102,796	928	6,614
1815	238	39,326	222	32,902	83	17,236	451	39,494	994	128,958	1,016	7,667
1820	223	36,558	107	16,820	70	13,336	419	36,916	819	103,630	845	6,017
1825	195	32,660	87	15,054	64	13,486	354	35,090	700	96,290	880	6,388
1830	168	26,452	82	13,998	80	15,116	579	48,290	909	103,856	866	6,713
1835	121	19,032	70	12,296	81	15,136	553	45,230	825	91,694	900	5,938
1837	115	18,604	69	12,076	83	16,032	553	44,672	820	91,384	876	5,948
1838	122	19,652	80	14,144	82	16,642	569	47,808	853	98,246	902	6,240
1839	136	22,470	95	17,174	93	20,070	588	50,298	912	109,912	934	6,689

REMARK.—In the above lists no difference has been made whether the vessels have been employed or have lain idle in the harbours. During those years when Finland was a part of Sweden, its vessels have been excluded.

The following is the result of the various commercial treaties entered into by Sweden up to January, 1840.

Russia enjoys the greatest advantages of any foreign power. Its vessels have not only the same privileges of exportation and importation as home ships, but these rights are even extended to the Swedish *lakes* and *canals*. Russian ships may even, in certain cases, exercise a carrying trade along the coasts, and possess a very extensive bonding right in Swedish harbours, while Sweden has only very limited bonding liberties in some few Russian ports. It is only in *certain particular* Russian harbours that Swedish vessels are allowed any diminution of dues, and they cannot exercise any carrying trade along the Russian shores.

Denmark, Prussia, Hanover, the Netherlands, Portugal, Turkey and the *United States*, have the same rights of importation and exportation as Swedish vessels, which enjoy the same reciprocity in their harbours.

Greece enjoys all the privileges of vessels belonging to the powers last mentioned, with the additional one of unloading a part of a cargo in one harbour and other parts in others, without paying more dues and charges than for what is actually discharged.

Oldenburg, Wismar, Belgium and *Spain* are privileged with the same dues as Swedish vessels, but can only export and import their own and Swedish productions.

England is allowed the same scale of dues as Swedish ships, but its right of importation into Sweden is limited to articles of European origin, and even in this respect there are such considerable exceptions, that we may regard ourselves as *one of the least favoured nations*.

France, however, stands undoubtedly lowest on the list. The only reciprocity between these two "civilized powers" is a tolerable uniformity in prohibitions and protecting tyrannies, and equally high and ruinous dues.

That Sweden—the land of mariners and of metals, of woods and of waters, of hemp and of hatchets—does not to a greater extent commercially employ its immense resources, and thus at once give bread to its people, and additional strength to its navy, excites the astonishment of every foreigner. But the government remains dully immovable. Through the most absurd and suicidal laws the *national* manufactures (those which demand no home tax) remain undeveloped. Commerce languishes,* and the former

* "Of the average number of 1,000 ships which arrive, annually, in the British ports from the Scandinavian peninsula, and of which 700 were formerly Swedes and

energy of the national character, which led to bold enterprise and continuous efforts for the public weal, is found no longer. There is something stunted in almost every modern undertaking. If public buildings are erected, they are either ugly barrack-like but still expensive stucco walls, or else portentous piles that fall down before they are well finished. And if the rulers attempt any reform, great or small, it is found to be illegal or absurd almost before the ink is dry with which it was countersigned. In short, a corrupt and pettifogging spirit pervades almost every department of the state, and the government seems as if it could do nothing *en grande* except—squander money.

On the other hand, Charles John, as if gifted with some fated blindness, can scarcely take up his pen or open his mouth *on any occasion*, public or private, in season or out of season, without indulging *usque ad nauseam* in the most ungrounded, and, to the nation, most humiliating boastings that *he* is the saviour of Sweden, that *he* found it nothing and made it what it is, that without *his* arm, *his* genius and *his* dynasty, it would probably have been erased from the list of nations, and that now his reward is ingratitude and discontent.

All this, as might be expected, has excited great bitterness among almost every class. The people do not like to be perpetually reminded of what, supposing it *in any shape* to be true, they have paid for by a throne, a splendid and oppressive appanage,* and—the loss of Finland.

“We have never complained”—says a Swedish writer † in a series of articles on “doing justice to the king”—“of the Swedish arms having been so little used during the last war; on the contrary, we consider this very praiseworthy. What is it, then, that we do blame? It is, statements that have no truth; we blame, in general, the system of vindicating Charles John’s honour by attributing to him merits to which he has no right; we blame this system because he does not need such additions, for his glory is great enough in truth, and in fact without re-

300 Norwegians, the proportion is now 700 Norwegians to 300 Swedes.”—*Björnstjerna’s* “Reply,” p. 15. This is surely not the *fault* of Norway or the *gift* of Sweden, as Count Björnstjerna would intimate. Why does not Sweden obtain the same results by equally simplifying its laws, equally untying commercial burdens, and by an equal exercise of commercial and social industry and enterprise?

* The civil list of Charles XIII., his predecessor, was 467,823 rix-dollars banco per annum. That of the present king has been rising almost ever since, and is now fixed by the diet just dissolved at 719,700 rix-dollars banco per annum. Charles John has received since 1818, when he ascended the throne, up to 1840, a sum, *over and above the civil list of 1810*, of 20,300,000 rix-dollars banco, about 1,691,666*l*. See *Lindeberg, Bidrag till Sveriges Historia*, tom. 1, p. 369. In addition to this it should be remembered that it was as Crown Prince of Sweden, and with Swedish men, money and matériel, that Charles John gained his Norwegian sceptre.

† In “Allvar och Skämt,” a Sundsvall paper.

quiring help from idle fables, but especially for reasons which we shall now state and which we regard as so important, that we wish every friend of his country to consider them deeply. Nay, we even wish people to be very careful what they advance in relation to his real merits to Sweden, so soon as such statements lay claim to a recompense. We will tell a little story:—A peasant came once to his priest and presented to him some pounds of butter, herewith exclaiming, 'Sure, your worship, no one can come up to me!' and, indeed, for some time, all the parish through, he passed for the best of countrymen, just as he would have it be. But, at last, the priest became so tired of his continual boastings, that he paid him the full value of the butter to get rid of being plagued with it longer.—*Fabula docet.* Benefits of which we are perpetually reminded, with interminable claims to unbounded gratitude, become more hateful to us than disservices themselves. So is human nature constituted, in Mesopotamia as well as in Sweden. But as regards Sweden separately: During the reign of Charles XI. we were involved, as is well-known, in a harassing war of which no one could perceive the end, and which, with the exception of the king's personal exploits in Skoné, was carried on quite as unfortunately as the last Finnish war, a result caused by similar reasons—an equally miserable military administration. Louis XIV., however, helped us to a happy termination of this contest, and it was undoubtedly him that Sweden had to thank for the recovery of its tributary provinces. His conduct on this occasion was entirely calculated to gain him the gratitude and unchanging attachment of the Swedish people. But the contrary followed: and what was the cause of this? His destroying the weight of the obligation by his vain boastings. His flatterers made him the guardian angel of Sweden, and among the rest struck a medal with the inscription, 'GALLUS PROTECTOR. SUB UMBRIS ALARUM TUTA SUECIA.' (The Cock [the Frenchman] Protector; under the shadow of his wings is Sweden secure), and with a device in accordance hereto. Even Christina herself, who was otherwise so enthusiastic in her admiration of France, took offence at this insult, and struck a counter-medal* in reply. She was almost a banished wanderer, and imagined she had many grounds of complaint against her old subjects. But she was still a Swede. 'She was yet the great Gustaf Adolph's daughter.' It was natural that this gasconade should make a most painful impression on every Swedish heart, for it deeply wounded the feelings of national self-respect. The people were reminded, that if they had Louis XIV. to thank for a fortunate termination of the war, it was also he who had

* This rare medal has on the obverse the Queen's bust, with the simple inscription, CHRISTINA REGINA, and on the reverse an exhausted Amazon (Svea) assisted from the ground by an arm which is stretched from the sky, while the cock (Gallus) flies cackling away. Below are the words, A SOCIO DERELICTA, A DEO RES-TITUTA SVETIA. See Brenner, Thesaurus Nummorum Sveogothicorum, p. 192, plate 9; and Berch, Beskrifning om Svenska Mynt och Skådepenningar, p. 138. Especially from the time of Charles IX. down to the death of Gustavus III. a vast number of beautiful medals have been struck in Sweden on account of the Swedish sovereigns.

caused their having been engaged in it. He, at all events, had been benefited by the diversion, and Sweden had her own sword to thank for her delivery.

"The application is easy enough. Flattery dimmed the glory of Louis XIV., and deprived his conduct towards Sweden of all its merit. We must never forget, that the Swedish race is a proud people: *Insolens Suecorum natio*, is the old phrase. It had, indeed, been unfortunate. It had lost some lands, but the remembrance of its great deeds was still left. So still thought the Swedish people in 1810, and so it thinks to this day. And, indeed, that in the year just mentioned, it elected—not the King of Denmark, as Napoleon wished, but—Marshal Bernadotte—is surely proof plain enough that it preserved its confidence in its own strength. And, let us add, that this confidence was by no means unfounded. But how does flattery represent this fact? Precisely as on the medal of Louis XIV. It makes Sweden a helpless creature, protected only by Carl XIV. Johan; it describes her as a being poor and despicable, without birth or property, and only ennobled and raised to wealth and rank by her union with him whom she has to thank for all, even for life itself!"

As might be expected, the natural uneasy and discontented feeling on the part of the people, on the one hand, at the delay of every improvement, and the incessant demands made upon them for obedience, homage and money, and the haughty bearing and malignant though weak threatenings of the court on the other, have led to very unpleasant scenes during the diet just closed. The opposition has, on the whole, showed itself not only the stronger of the two parties, (for it *could* have refused the whole budget,)* but also the most moderate and intelligent. But still,—owing to court tactics and the four-chambered system of representation, which the king always *promises* and *wishes* and *longs* to assist in removing, although he as constantly *opposes* every practical effort made for that purpose,—it has, on the whole, accomplished almost nothing. The principal triumph of the parliamentary ministry, as the majority might be called, was its carrying the day against the government in reference to the "*Cabinetts-Cussans-Skuld*" question. This was an *illegal* attempt of the court to persuade the houses *illegally* to pay large

* The five years' budget of 1835 (see Foreign Quarterly Review, No. 50, p. 311), amounted to 9,698,190 rix dollars banco per annum; or, *with the extra grants*, to 10,898,190 rix-dollars banco.

By an *omnipotent opposition*, which has nevertheless been incessantly accused of avarice, meanness and narrowness of view, the five years' budget of 1840-1 has been fixed, by reductions of the sums demanded, at 10,742,880, or *with the extra grants*, at 11,672,880 rix-dollars banco, nearly 1,000,000*l.* per annum.

These annual budgets are, as our readers are aware, quite independent of an immense, but *invisible* taxation in the shape of crown-land-endowed standing army (The army *Indeldta*), local burdens, &c. &c.

debts, (of which 775,000 rix-dollars banco, or nearly £65,000, were still left,) a few years back *illegally* contracted abroad on the bond of the king and prince who still live, and of ministers now dead, and *illegally* applied to purposes not recognised by the constitution. After long debates and a contest excessively severe, the opposition carried the negative, and the illegal loans must be paid by those who have guaranteed or consumed them. This result proves that the reign of *phrases* and *fallacies* is fast drawing to a conclusion in Sweden, a state of things which can never too soon be taken *ad notam*; and accordingly it is to be hoped, that both prince and people will be the wiser for their experience in the chamber of 1840-1.

The diet succeeded, however, notwithstanding its chaotic organization, in passing some scores of bills, many of them of great importance and eagerly longed for by the whole population; but it reckoned without its host. The king, using that full veto of which he is deprived in Norway, gave his royal consent to a few verbal alterations and trifling changes, and then refused his sanction to the rest *en masse*. The following is a list of a few of the bills—almost the only fruit of a diet unexampled for length,* exhausting expense,† and patriotic effort—thus cavalierly rejected:

A Bill for the bank paper money only being *coin of the realm*, as long as it is payable in silver at the bank, according to the tenor of the law and of its own establishment.

A Bill for extending the right of *representation* in the House of Peasants to a superior class of the peasantry, hitherto, by a verbal quibble, debarred from enjoying the benefit of the franchise in their own chamber.

A Bill for the abolition of the law exposing the *witness* of an author's signature to the same pains and penalties as the author himself, in case the latter should absent himself at his trial.

A Bill for various mitigations, in certain cases, of the *corporal punishments*, &c. now in use.

A Bill for an enlarged right of *willing property* (as opposed to entails, &c.)

A Bill for *publicity in police courts*, whenever they act with judicial authority. (Rejected by the king for the fourth time.)

A Bill for the publication of a *riot act*, (preventing the *present* use or abuse of the power to employ the military against the people *at pleasure*, without the control of the civil magistrate.)

* It sat about eighteen months instead of three.

† The members of all the three lower chambers are very properly paid by their constituents, whose fewness renders the burden individually heavy.

A Bill for prosecutions for libel and *treason against the king*, (many of them commenced by designing men, as hooks for royal favour,) not being allowed to proceed,—and for the *suspension* of arrest and imprisonment in like cases, (often the cause of much suffering to innocent persons,) till the king has given his consent.

Among the few measures fortunate enough to be honoured with his majesty's approbation, it may be interesting to note a new law on authorship, by which full copyright is ensured to an author and his assigns for his whole life, and until twenty years after his death; but within every twentieth year any publication so protected must be at least *once* re-printed.

At least *one* great result, however, has been gained by the now ended diet. All parties have agreed, that the present system of *representation* must be altered. The expense, the confusion, the eternal delays, the practical weakness, the very imperfect reflection of the national mind exhibited by the Swedish four-chamber system, can be tolerated no longer. The diet has decided on a plan something like that of Norway;—a chamber elected by popular choice, and this house selecting a certain proportion of its members to form a second and higher chamber. The census qualifying for voting has been placed very low, so that the peasants, who have now a fourth part of the representation to themselves, and who are of course justly jealous of their rights, could not possibly lose by the change. This plan, according to the Swedish fundamental law, must be again passed by the next chambers before it can come before the king to obtain *or to be refused* his sanction. But its adoption by the ensuing diet is not very likely; it is more probable that a two-chamber system will be carried. *Professor Geijer*, who was a member of the constitution-committee which drew up the plan,* has in his protest to the same demanded *universal suffrage* instead of a census, for every Swedish citizen who has reached his twenty-first year, is of unexceptionable character, and possesses the common principles of education. In his last speech on this question in the House of Priests, April 17th, 1841, the professor wound up with the following brilliant consolidated outline of his views :—

* This state-paper, entitled "Constitutions-Utskottets vid 1840 års Riksdag förslag till Representations-förändring," is really a valuable document. It consists of not less than 150 closely printed 4to pages, including the "Reservations." It is said to have been principally composed by the talented jurist, Professor Bergfalk, who was the committee's secretary. Commencing with an examination of all the plans delivered in, it proceeds to give a luminous *exposé* of all the principal systems at present existing in the most civilized countries, and concludes with a statement and defence of the plan upon which the committee finally agreed.

"The privilege of voting I have ventured to restore to each individual as his *personal right* ; and this I have not been able to avoid, for it is in fact the whole ground of representation. Modifications, indeed, may be admitted in its practical application, and these may be allowed with safety when we are guided by the principle once acknowledged. But if we *set out* from modifications instead of from a principle, the only result must be—to grope about in a perpetual mist. Notwithstanding all the Radicalism of which this principle has been accused, I firmly believe in a monarchical futurity. My belief thereupon is grounded on experience, which teaches me that republics commonly authorize, or permit, or conceal, more glaring distinctions between man and man, than a monarchy limited by law. I believe it, further, because the more society develops its inherent multiplicity, the more strongly must its unity necessarily be exhibited if the whole is to be kept together ; and I perceive in that first and most simple social element—the *family and its necessarily increasing weight*—that purifying, and restoring, and atoning instrument in the political confession of our age, which within its legal limits shall make itself heard in the depths as in the heights of society, and throughout its whole circuit up to the very summit of all. I believe in a royalty grounded on the rights of the people, and standing in no need of support in the interests of any class or caste, or privilege whatsoever. In the history of my own country, I have seen all these interests much more injurious than useful, both to king and to people. In this same history it is that I have learned to doubt the excellence of our class-legislation and representation, especially such as it has developed since 1719. Attempts have been made to represent this system as a symbol of everything solid in the Swedish nation. But how many violent changes has not this representation witnessed, suffered, and produced during the last 100 years alone ? How long did the form of government of 1719 and 1720 last ?—Until 1772. How long lived the government acts of 1772 ?—Until 1789. How long did the Act of Security and all its despotism continue ?—Till 1809. Shall I ask still further ? Questions go free ; but, instead of answering, I will only point to our condition at this very moment. During the sittings of the diet, the chambers govern ; when the diet is dissolved, the king rules : and both the state-powers only meet to battle and dispute. If a condition so terrible should threaten us with a social crisis, then the choice between preserving and reforming it,—especially as our fundamental laws, by one of their noblest peculiarities, permit a change,—cannot surely be very difficult. Nor is the object and the path that leads thereto so very dim and dubious as that they can by no means be discovered. The greatest political fact in the history of the Scandinavian nations of late years, is the union of Norway and Sweden under one sceptre. This single event would be sufficient to hand the name of its author to a far posterity—that same posterity which shall once judge the position of the diet of Sweden in connection with this same king. To this outward and political fact, another, and an inward, must be added. The two brother-kingdoms must constitutionally draw nigher to each other, with such modifications as may be necessary for Sweden, and with no other amal-

gamations between these two states than a foster-brother union between the Swede and the Norwegian to preserve the ancient freedom of the North!"

A very interesting article might be written on the criminal jurisprudence of Sweden. But the length to which our remarks have already reached, forbids our more than just hinting at its importance. Two observations, however, we cannot help shooting flying: the first is, the frequency of the crime of poisoning among the Swedish peasantry, and the apparently careless and business-like unfeeling manner with which they use the drugs of death. In some cases the poison-cup has been employed in Sweden, where we should scarcely think the crime worth a hearty cuff or an old fashioned boxing-challenge. The other, and not less important point is, the commonness of child murder, notwithstanding the very low tone of public morals in Sweden, and the corrupting and enormous foundling system* in operation in the capital and the principal towns, a system supported by state revenues, and by excessively high endowments. But still more extraordinary is the "humane policy" of the present king. In the vast majority of instances, child murder in Sweden, even in cases the most revolting and cold blooded, is *not* punished capitally. Imprisonment for life, commonly still further commuted, is the usual punishment for this most unnatural and most dreadful crime, while many a case of what we should consider "justifiable homicide" is punished with death or with perpetual

* Besides its hospitals, properly so called, and many of them really excellent, Sweden also boasts its minor and provincial foundling and lying-in hospitals, &c. But it principally congratulates itself on its *great* foundling hospital ("Stora Barnhuset") in Stockholm. This institution was founded by the illustrious Gustavus Adolphus, with the intention of its being an alms-house for *poor children of honest but unfortunate parents*, especially such as had lost their lives in fighting for their country. It has gradually, however, been transformed into an institution for the encouragement of bastardy and the support and countenance of vice. Comparatively few poor children are now received as pensioners; most of them are infants—so-called *foundlings*. On depositing the trifling sum of 100 banco (about £8: 6s.) *any* body and *every* body can at *any* time get rid within its walls of *any* child, without *any* questions being asked or *any* examination of either facts or face. Accordingly, most of the amours of the capital and its neighbourhood terminate here, and the whole is regarded as *une affaire de rien*. The effect of such a fashionable and splendid establishment (for it has nearly £10,000 *per annum*,† including its state grants and its rich endowments) on the public morals and the private manners, may easily be conceived. We have witnessed it for years with disgust.

We think it our duty to note here, among other scandalous facts, that Sweden also boasts *venereal hospitals* in all the principal towns, supported by public money, and figuring on every tax-paper which enters every Swedish family! Can anything be more monstrous? And yet we have never heard this even remarked upon in Sweden. Thus legislation undeniably and deplorably *sanctions* vice, instead of in every way discountenancing and repressing it.

† And yet its expenditure exceeds its income.

imprisonment. But we cannot see how this can, or ought to, be otherwise.

As long as public opinion and public grants support extensive city bastard receptacles, into which, on paying a trifling blood fee, the demoralized higher and middle classes in the pet towns may fling their secret offspring, to sink or to swim in the great ocean of life, and usually certain and early victims to a system of hirelings and of neglect, we cannot see how the poor seduced country girl can, with any shadow of law or gospel, be old-fashionedly beheaded* for more directly and less inhumanly committing the crime daily boasted of by her more cunning and more fortunate "gentle folk" neighbours—*abandonment of offspring* is surely the crime in both instances. In the eyes of God and of equity it makes but little difference whether the child is "put out" to strangers in a field or to strangers in a "foundling" factory. The *addition* of violence *heightens* the crime, but does not *constitute* it.

This leads us to a few statements connected with this subject—

A decennium ago one child was born in Sweden to every thirty-two persons, now it is one to every thirty-three; for during the last two or three years the number of deaths has considerably increased, while the proportion of births has diminished. At the same period, out of the children born alive in the whole kingdom every fifteenth or sixteenth was illegitimate, of those born in the capital every two and a half, and of those in the other towns rather more than every sixth. But of late the scale of morals† has sunk still lower, and now stands thus:—

PROPORTION OF ILLEGITIMATES TO ALL OTHER LIVE-BORN CHILDREN. ‡

Medium. 1831—1835.		Proportion.	
		In 1838.	In 1839.
As 1 to 2,44 ..	In Stockholm	As 1 to 2,47 ..	As 1 to 2,38
„ 1 to 6,18 ..	„ all other towns...	„ 1 to 6,18 ..	„ 1 to 6,40
„ 1 to 20,41 ..	„ the country	„ 1 to 20,01 ..	„ 1 to 20,01
„ 1 to 15,20 ..	„ the whole kingdom	„ 1 to 14,69 ..	„ 1 to 14,94

The effect of this state of things is in all respects lamentable; but especially ought we to observe the fate in Stockholm of the unfortunate babes thus brought forth by sin, and still more sin-

* In Sweden capital offences are punished by decapitation, not by hanging.

† In Prussia every fourteenth, and in France about every thirteenth child is illegitimate; twelve and three-quarters against fourteen and three-quarters. The Lutheran "Frenchmen of the North" are thus not very far behind. A little more "liberality," and they are surpassed no longer. As for Stockholm, of all the capitals in Europe it is perhaps only surpassed by Munich, where of thirteen children not less than six are base-born!

‡ See "Tabell-Commissionens berättelse angående Nativitetens och Mortalitetens örhållande i Sverige, under åren 1838—1839," 4to.

fully abandoned by the unfeeling cowardice of their degraded parents. The proportion of deaths among them is enormous, and the physical and moral condition of the survivors is wretched indeed. Large numbers end a miserable existence by suicide, starvation and the gallows. The same thing, more or less, holds good in our capitals. Alas for our "civilization," alas for the fruit of "pleasure." But let us examine one statement more—

SUMMARY LIST OF CHILDREN IN STOCKHOLM. *

Born.				Deceased (under 3 years of age.)			
		Legitimate.	Illegitimate.			Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
In 1838	....	1577	.... 1137	In 1838	....	654	.... 481
„ 1839	....	1492	.... 1074	„ 1839	....	629	.... 551
Total ..		3069	2211	Total ..		1283	1032

Still-born.			
		Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
In 1838	....	70	.... 94
„ 1839	....	74	.... 90
Total ..		144	184

The same work from which we have taken these details contains a specification of the causes, and numbers of the "violent deaths" which occur in each year. This list, which is so curious that we cannot omit it, opens with the *small-pox*, thus :—

TABLE OF ACCIDENTS, &c., IN SWEDEN. *

Medium of 5 Years.		Specified Deaths.	Years.	
From 1831—1835.			1838—1839.	
775	....	Of the small-pox	1805	.. 1934
548	....	In child-bed	423	.. 464
10	....	Through child-murder	15	.. 9
40	....	Murdered older persons.....	39	.. 33
164	....	Suicides.....	221	.. 244
17	....	Executed	10	.. 11
47	....	Killed by drinking	41	.. 46
58	....	Frozen to death	184	.. 83
24	....	Killed by charcoal-fumes.....	35	.. 27
12	....	„ „ lightning	11	.. 22
1050	....	Drowned	866	.. 985
283	...	{ Suffocated by imprudence of mothers } or nurses†	277	.. 239
327	....	Killed by falls, &c.....	288	.. 316
9	....	Accidentally poisoned	12	.. 11
135	....	By other causes, mostly unknown.....	144	.. 144

* Arranged from the same official source.

† The number of children annually suffocated (by being lain upon) in Sweden, by mothers and nurses, is deserving our particular attention. Of the 415 children thus

From the latest work of Col. Forsell (his "Anteckningar") we would willingly extract largely. A few of his interesting statements we must find room for:—

"Over the whole kingdom about every 44th person dies annually, but with these differences, that in the capital every 21st dies, in the other towns every 33rd, and in the country 1 out of 47 $\frac{2}{3}$. Of the 67,866 persons who have died annually during the quinquennium between 1830 and 1835, nearly every 4th was a child less than 1 year old, every 6th a youth under 15, every 8th consisted of unmarried people above 15 years years old, every 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ of a married man or woman, every 17th of a widower, every 8th of a widow, and nearly every 20th of accidents, &c. [See Table above.]

"There is annually 1 marriage contracted for every 137 persons; * of 113 marriages 88 are between two unmarried persons, 13 between a widower and an unmarried female, 8 between an unmarried man and a widow, and 4 between a widower and a widow.

"Of 100 childbed women, not quite 2 per cent. have children before their 20th year, 14 between 20 and 25, 25 between 25 and 30, 26 between 30 and 35, 21 between 35 and 40, 10 between 40 and 45, and not quite 2 between 45 and 50. Every 67th lying-in woman has twins, every 5333rd has trillings, and only every 150,000th has fourlings. Every 35th mother bears a still-born child, and every 8th pair has no children. . . .

"To every household there are nearly 5 $\frac{2}{3}$ souls. . . . Every 280th individual is sheltered in a poor-house; every 82nd is supported by his children or by other persons; every 84th has out-door relief; every 168th is a foster-child or a foundling-hospital child; and, in general, every 25th person is a pauper."†

In reference to the probable length of life we have collected the following statements. The first four columns are extracted from "Milne's Treatise on the Law of Mortality," published in Edinburgh in 1837. The last column has been kindly communicated by the professor of astronomy Herr Selander. A child which at its birth can calculate on living 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ years, when one year old may reckon upon 47 $\frac{2}{3}$ ths, and at three years of age may expect to live just fifty years. For the other periods see the table—

suffocated in 1825, fifty-five belonged to Vexjö district; forty-five to that of Carlstad, and forty to that of Kalmar, while in Stockholm district only one was killed in this melancholy manner. It is supposed that in some provinces the women are obliged to share in very heavy and exhausting labour, by which they are so wearied out and sleep so hard, that such accidents are possible."—*Forsell's Statistik*, p. 110.

* In France one marriage is contracted for every 122 persons.

† *Forsell's "Anteckningar,"* pp. 60, 61.

TABLE OF THE PROBABLE LENGTH OF LIFE.

Yrs.	According to Carlisle.	In Sweden and Finland.			In Sweden alone.	
	Years.	1755—76	1775—95	1801—5	1830—35	
0	may reckon upon	38,72	34,42	36,12	39,39	33,35
5	51,25	46,79	47,92	50,01	49,65
10	48,82	45,07	46,16	47,63	46,55
15	45,00	41,64	42,63	43,81	42,75
20	41,46	38,02	38,96	39,98	38,45
25	37,86	34,58	35,47	36,33	35,15
30	34,34	31,21	32,12	32,68	31,60
35	31,00	28,03	28,82	29,06	28,25
40	27,60	24,66	25,45	25,50	25,05
45	24,46	21,61	22,26	22,07	21,80
50	21,11	18,46	19,03	18,65	18,35
55	17,58	15,53	15,90	15,55	15,25
60	14,34	12,63	12,85	12,60	12,00
65	11,79	10,10	10,19	9,93	9,20
70	9,18	7,72	8,01	7,50	6,85
75	7,01	5,95	6,27	5,67	5,00
80	5,51	4,28	4,85	4,17	3,90
85	4,12	3,23	3,84	3,23	3,00
90	3,28	2,05	3,03	2,36	2,50
95	"	"	"	1,70	"

In Stockholm life is shorter than in any other part of Sweden. Not less than 3884 persons die annually, while only 2658 are born, thus showing an annual *excess* of deaths over births of 1226 souls. This is doubtless partly to be attributed to the excessive corn-brandy drinking among the lower classes and the prevalent immorality, as well as to the damp situation of many parts of the town. The gradual increase of its population is entirely owing to immigration, about 1632 persons, principally of the serving and working classes, removing hither every year. For the rest the following are the skeleton statistics of

STOCKHOLM AND ITS SUBURBS.*

Area in Acres.	Population.				Household Property therein. Taxed in 1836 at
	1805	1825	1830	1839	Rix-dols. Banco.
2,765 ..	72,652 ..	79,473 ..	80,621 ..	83,885 ..	31,519,628

* Abridged from *Forsell*, p. 71.

But we must not quite forget the book of M. Lundblad. This production is in one sense remarkable. Although consisting simply of translations of the flowery and *ex-parte* "Royal Statements" presented by the king to every diet, the author, formerly known as a severe anti-Bernadottist, has now turned round, and by his head and tail pieces, that is, by a short introduction and a short postscriptum, endeavours to persuade Europe that Sweden is a happy Canaan, "flowing with milk and honey," as well as with iron and brandy; the king a wondrous creator and preserver and restorer, "and all that;" the opposition an ignorant, traitorous and revolutionary band; and a reform of the representation both dangerous and uncalled for. In this last assertion he has evidently gone beyond his errand. The most respectable adherents of the court party openly acknowledge the necessity of remodelling the representation, although they have not been able to agree as to the *quomodo*. Count Björnstjerna himself published some years ago a very ingenious plan for organizing the representation on the two-chamber system, and during the sitting of the last diet published another pamphlet in defence of his views. It is also worthy of remark, that these same flaming *exposés* to the diet, which have so little comparative historical or statistical value, have also appeared in a German translation.

But we shall extract a few paragraphs from this writer*—

"I† had often felt great astonishment at the questions which were addressed to me regarding my country (Sweden), its institutions, and the progress of its government, and have seen numberless erroneous statements as to the events of which it has been the theatre since the commencement of the present century. Endeavouring to discover to what these questions and these mistakes ought to be attributed, I have perceived that if one soon knows from the one end of Europe to the other what passes at Paris, at London, and at Berlin, while people are quite ignorant of what takes place at Stockholm and at Christiania, the principal cause must be sought for in the fact that French, English, and German are every where read, while Swedish is not understood across the Sound. From this it results that we have so few and incomplete and such incorrect documents relative to these two united kingdoms.

"And yet a people is in question which the history of different nations shows us to have taken a part always remarkable and sometimes decisive in the events of every period. We see it every where invested with its heroism and its antique virtues, and with that burning love of independence which has always been its great characteristic. It never can be

* Lundblad, Recueil, &c., pp. v, vi.

† This gentleman, a Swedish ex-employé, now for good reasons residing in Paris, possesses considerable talents both as a Swedish and as a French *littérateur*. He has lately translated "Geijer's Swedish History into French," and has composed many valuable minor historical *aperçus* in the French magazines and literary journals.

without importance to know, what such a people *can* do or *has* accomplished. But since its union with Norway under the same sceptre, it ought to fix still more the attention of our historians and public writers, who study more than ever the advance of nations in amelioration and civilization.

"Every nation has thus its distinctive character, determined without doubt by the influence of the countries it inhabits, and by the sources of existence opened out to it by its climate and its soil. A country whose frontiers are the seas, and where one beholds only vast forests, broad lakes, and barren mountains whose surface none can cultivate but whose dense masses must be penetrated, and whose deep bowels must be torn in sunder in order that severe toil may draw thence some advantage,—such a land can only be inhabited by a people which has always an instinctive love for freedom, but a freedom and independence of that adventurous and half-savage sort which eagerly looks for excitement, longs for difficulties to overcome, and grows impatient in repose. Such is Sweden, and such the people which inhabits it. Every page of its history describes it as capable of enduring the greatest perils and of supporting evils the most terrible. But the question whether it can also bear peace and prosperity, is still to be answered; for its chronicles have hitherto offered us periods of calm too short to prove that it can endure any periods much longer.* In this respect we may regard the present epoch as an era of experiment; it is already twenty-five years old."†

M. Lundblad then gives a table to prove, that of the seventeen reigns which have elapsed in Sweden since the time of Gustavus I. (319 years), that of Charles XIV. John is the only one in which the kingdom has enjoyed an uninterrupted peace. But "peace," it is asserted, the "*discontented*" Swedish nation cannot bear, and as the reign of Charles XIV. John has been one of "uninterrupted repose," the unpopularity of the present king and his system is the fault of the people and not of the hero.—*Quod erat demonstrandum*. Bravo, M. Lundblad!

This "table" we should willingly have given, but there are so many *apparently wilful* inaccuracies in its manufacture, the number of war-years being swelled and that of many reigns diminished, that it is perfectly useless for any purpose but that *for which it was composed*.

But we must now take our leave of this subject. We had marked many closing subjects for discussion relative to Mr. Laing's book, but our space forbids. Suffice it to say, that we

* This absurd jargon is a part of the modern court cant, which answers the universal demand of the Swedish people for better laws, lighter taxation, and improved representation, by declaring them to be "a nation ungrateful, insolent, changeable, and unripe for self-government." The old proverb says,—“When we will beat a dog, we can always find a stick.”

† Lundblad, *Recueil*, &c., p. 365.

have found much to praise in his pages, and much to blame which we have not hitherto remarked upon. His absurd talk about Russia and the North and the dissolution of the Union, we cannot sufficiently reprobate. But Count Björnstjerna has already chastised him severely enough on this point.* He is equally unfortunate in his dynastic speculations. He may be assured that the dethroned royal family has no party—no, not even the shadow of a party, in its favour. A *restoration* is impossible, unless it be by the help of Russian bayonets. For the rest, every reader of Mr. Laing's work ought in justice to peruse the Count's reply, although highly bitter and personal and party-spirited, and rather the reply of the Swedish *aristocrat*,† than the Swedish *gentleman*, it refutes many of his statements with great happiness of style and effect.

The whole contest, as might have been expected, has produced an advantageous spirit of self-inquiry throughout Sweden itself. Many of her best writers are more and more devoting themselves to *domestic* subjects. May God raise up at least one spirit with courage great enough, and views extensive enough, and a life and heart pure enough, to urge him on to a public avowal and defence of those great, simple, solid, everlasting principles of private and national morals, of truth and justice and mercy, of law and of liberty, which shall turn the stream of public opinion in that country into a more healthy channel, and restore to this ancient and brave and distinguished people that home right and those home manners, that sound hearty northern gladness, and

* "Thus, to procure sugar and coffee cheaper in Russia, Mr. Laing, this great friend of Norway, would incorporate Norway as well as Sweden with Russia. It is this enlightened and patriotic Scotchman, who wants to establish Russia opposite to the very coasts of Scotland, and would make Russia 'a first-rate naval power' on purpose to procure cheaper sugar and coffee for her serfs! indeed, a very well applied philanthropy, utilitarianism, or philosophical radicalism, as you may please to call it! And this is the work so highly praised by the Edinburgh Review!

"But it remains for Mr. Laing to show how and by what means the conquest of Sweden and Norway might possibly tend to procure sugar and coffee cheaper to the Russians. Is it by means of a *land-conveyance* over the Norwegian Alps, and across the extensive provinces of Sweden, that these goods would arrive cheaper in Russia than they do at present, transported by sea into her numerous ports in the Baltic, the White Sea, and the Black Sea."—pp. 13, 14.

"In considering the plan of Mr. Laing, to restore the ancient dynasty to one of the thrones of Scandinavia, and to retain the new for the other, which of course must repeal the union between them, we were unable at first to imagine what could have dictated such a political view to Mr. Laing, when we suddenly recollected his other plan, to give all Sweden and Norway to Russia, in order to procure her *cheap sugar and coffee*! And as the proposed repeal of the union between the two countries would undoubtedly tend to accelerate the accomplishment of this Mr. Laing's political wish, we begin now to understand the whole wisdom of his former plan."—p. 64.

† Mr. Laing has made some very startling though exaggerated statements respecting the merits and influence of the Swedish nobility in general.

that unaffected purity which foreign corruptions and unfortunate government politics have shaken, till the very foundations thereof do tremble. All who know the bold and honest and ingenuous Swedish yeomanry, must love and esteem them. As yet, in spite of the floods of demoralization flowing from the towns, they are *sound at the core*. All our childhood pictures of the lonely forests and rocky wildernesses of their land, and of the cottage of its peasant offering its hospitable haven to the weary traveller, of the fireside ingle and the happy group and the wondrous legend and the haunting elf and the merry goblin and the sweetly-sad viol-playing water-king, of the local garb and the provincial custom and the smiling cheek and blue eye and open brow of its fearless freeman—all these may still be found among the hills and dales of the lake-rich Swede. Yet ring his native woods with half-heathen or romantic Christian ballads, soothing sounds driven by steam and suffering far from many another land; yet remembers he the exploits of his fathers and the tales of the men of the olden time. Not yet is his spirit quite quelled and subdued and broken down. Let this yeoman host, then, quickly arise, and shake off every filthy scale cast upon them by the so called “civilization” of corrupt burghers, and stand up in their might, patterns of unflinching honour and simplicity and integrity, and, armed with virtuous manliness, look “forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.” Then at last may we hope that the black polluted stream now desolating their land may be turned aside from its course, and a *re-action* commence of the national country against the frivolous population of the “philanthropized” towns!

We shall conclude by extracting a few observations highly to the purpose, from the pages of a Swedish gentleman, who has proved himself in all things the friend of his country and the enemy of all its enemies and oppressors:—

“To inquire into the condition and resources of the Scandinavian peninsula, and the education, the peculiarities and the general sympathies and disposition of its inhabitants, ought in my opinion highly to interest every foreigner. Of this we shall be convinced by simply glancing at the geographical position of this double state, whose influence and alliance must inevitably in future political convulsions be of incalculable importance. Beholding at one view the past annals of Sweden and the progressive improvement of our species, we may be pardoned the wish that they to whom the guidance of its coming fates is entrusted may seek to advance the happiness of its people by a fruitful and healing peaceful policy, but also may never spare its forces or the blood of its children whenever it becomes our imperative duty to battle for truth and for knowledge, for freedom and for right. Should we go down in such

a contest, we shall at all events die with glory. So thought also the Swedes of the days of old :—

“ Riches perish,
Kinsmen perish,
Thy own life soon is done ;
But fame shall ne’er
Die out, whene’er
A good one thou hast won.”*

ART. VIII.—*Histoire de l’Art moderne en Allemagne*, par le Comte A. Raczynski. Tom. III. 4to. pp. 582. Paris.

THE present volume completes the splendid work, the preceding volume of which we have already noticed, embracing a complete history of the development and rapid progress of the fine arts in Germany since the continental peace. It is, above all, in the capital of the Prussian monarchy that this development and this progress are striking and manifest as compared with the former state of the arts in that country.

Munich and Dusseldorf were renowned for their galleries and academies of art, established under the patronage of the electors long before the wars of the French revolution, and the new schools which have since been founded in those capitals are more or less indebted to the traditions of their former masters for their present fame. Not so with Berlin. The academy founded there by Frederick I. so early as 1699, continued to languish until new life was breathed into it by the artists formed at Rome after the peace of 1815. Nor does there exist, even now, what can properly be called a Berlin school of painting. That denomination, according to our author, cannot be given merely to any number of artists living at the same period in the same country, and formed under the same master, unless they are distinguished by certain common characteristics from other groups of artists formed in other times and other places. In this latter sense the only proper schools of painting during the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century are those founded by David at Paris, by Schadow at Dusseldorf, and by Cornelius at Munich. But this neither does nor ought to detract from the separate merits of individual artists, who though neither the founders of a distinct school nor belonging to a distinct school, have given proofs of original inventive genius, and

* *Forsell’s Anteckningar*, p. 20. This stanza is from Havamal (in *Sæmund’s Edda*), verse 77, and is given above as translated by Rev. Mr. Strong, in his notes to his version of *Frithiof’s Saga*, p. 32.

have formed pupils worthy to tread in their steps. Such are Begas, Wach, Hensel, &c.

Begas is the first living portrait-painter in Germany, and is also the author of several historical compositions of the highest merit. He is distinguished among all the German artists by his delightful colouring, resembling that of the old Venetian masters. Born in 1794 in the Rhine province, he commenced his studies at Paris under Gros in 1812, the left bank of the Rhine then belonging to France, and remained in that capital until 1818, when he returned to his father-land, which had again become German, and exhibited his *Christ in the Garden of Olives* at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. This earliest production of his pencil, Begas himself says, was criticised by his own countrymen as

"bearing too much the stamp of French influence; the French on the contrary, accused me of leaning to the German style: I was thus taken between two fires. Both were certainly right, but only to a certain extent. Under such critical auspices, it was difficult for me to take a determinate direction. My eyes and my hands were spell-bound to the influence of France; my heart and my intellect attracted me towards Germany.

"In the month of March," continues Begas, "I carried to Berlin my picture of the *Descent of the Holy Spirit*. I journeyed by Strasbourg, Carlsruhe, Stuttgart and Nuremberg. I cannot define the emotions I felt in once more revisiting Germany. The noble enthusiasm, which had raised my country as it were from the dead, acted on my whole being like a divine inspiration, and invigorated me with a strength before unknown. The secret tendency, which even during my residence at Paris, drew me away from the French style, became a potent sentiment when I saw at Stuttgart the pictures of the old German masters in the collection of the MM. Boisserée. Soon after arriving at Berlin I painted a portrait which bore the stamp of this impression of mind. I also sketched a composition representing the baptism of Christ, which was subsequently painted *en grand* from another sketch which I made at Rome.

"It was at this period that I became affianced, but before celebrating my marriage, I resolved to visit the classic land. Having obtained a pension from the king, I set off for Italy. Nothing less than the gratitude I felt for the royal bounty, and the hope of perfecting myself in my art, could have given me strength to separate myself from her who was to be my future companion on the journey of life. I travelled by Cologne to take leave of my parents, and was detained there some time in painting the portraits of the whole of my family. This picture, composed of nine figures, was painted under the influence of the sentiments and taste I had imbibed from the old German masters. I consider it the best which I had painted up to that time.

"In February, 1822, I at last set off for Italy, and visited Munich on the way. Cornelius had just finished the two frescoes of the Glyp-

totheck. On the road to Rome I saw the principal cities of Italy. The paintings in the chapel of Giotto at Padua acted in a powerful manner on my imagination on account of my then disposition; ten years later they would doubtless have given me pleasure, but in a manner less absolute. In these works I recognized the artist, who, with the simplest lines and little colouring, could impart a matchless force and vigour to the expressions of the figure and pose. The view of those frescoes completed that revolution in my taste which the collection Boisserée had begun, and determined a contrary tendency to that which I had imbibed from French models. Still I might, in the studies I pursued in Italy, have derived much advantage from the practical skill and *savoir-faire* I had brought with me from France. But my judgment was badly directed; instead of retaining what might have been useful, I made *tabula rasa* both of my style of painting, and my French notions of art, and undertook a radical reform. I now think I should have done better to have postponed my visits to Italy six years longer.

"The portrait of *Thorwaldsen* and the *Baptism of Christ* are the two principal pictures I painted in Italy. I also essayed painting in fresco. The subject of the picture I executed in this manner was Tobias restoring his father's sight. Besides several landscape studies, I brought back from Italy a great number of other compositions, of which I subsequently made an *auto-da-fé*.

"On my return to Berlin, in 1824, I married. Domestic happiness, the arts, and six children living, fine robust boys, lighten my present existence."

After enumerating the list of his works, the artist concludes this naïf auto-biographical sketch in the following characteristic manner:—

"Every one will judge for himself, according to his own taste and his own good pleasure, concerning the merits of those various productions; but every one must also acknowledge that the judgment of contemporaries cannot be placed in the scale against that of posterity; and it must not be forgotten that I claim to be considered as a scholar of the great masters of the age of the Medicis. This sentiment preserves the freshness of youth in an artist, and is favourable to improvement.

"I may be permitted to mention one other circumstance, which I believe may have had a favourable influence upon my career as an artist, and upon my productions. It is that for five years past I have lived out of the town with my wife and children, in a house which I myself built, where I enjoy a happy solitude, without anything to disturb my cherished pursuits."

Wach is an accomplished painter, formed by the assiduous study of the kindred sciences of perspective, anatomy, mythology, history and poetry. His mind is highly cultivated, and his sentiments delicate and noble. His sensibility contributes to aid his talent, and the application and care he bestows on his paintings have sometimes the character of tenacity, the traces of which are

discernible in his works. This desire of seizing and fixing an evanescent expression on its passage, of communicating a movement of physiognomy, a smile, a tender emotion, causes him sometimes to exaggerate the natural model in his living figures. In this respect he might seem to have taken a lesson from Leonardo da Vinci; but justice requires us to say that he is stimulated to this extreme application by the natural bent of his genius rather than by the imitation of any particular master.

After the continental peace Wach, who had previously studied in the academy of Berlin, proceeded to Paris, where he was admitted first into the atelier of David, and subsequently into that of Gros. After having passed two years at the French capital he went, under the patronage of the king of Prussia, to Italy; and, after visiting Lombardy and Naples, proceeded to Rome, there to pursue his studies. In this capital of the Christian world and of the arts he found a cluster of artists, his countrymen, Cornelius, Overbeck, Veit, Schadow, Schnorr, Koch, the chiefs of the modern school of German art, united as a band of brothers. The tendency of their studies and labours had already been fully explained in the previous volumes, and is again dwelt upon in the present volume of Count Raczyński's work. The names of Wach and of Begas can never be separated from those of these distinguished painters. Kaulbach and Lessing are found at the head of a new generation of artists.

Wach executed a great number of studies and cartons in Italy, and a suite of drawings after the ancient school of Florence, tracing the history of the progress of painting previous to Raphael. On his return to Berlin in 1819 he painted, by order of the king, two great compositions for the church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Moscow, representing the Crucifixion and the Last Supper. In 1820 he painted the ceiling of the *Schauspielhaus* at Berlin with the figures of the nine muses. He had previously obtained permission to establish his atelier in a public building called the *Lagerhaus*, where the sculptor Rauch has also his studio. Wach now opened his atelier to pupils desirous of receiving instruction in the theories and practice of the art of painting.

Of this institution he says—

"I had learnt at Paris to estimate the advantages which young artists may derive from a well-directed course of instruction under a single master. I therefore determined so to arrange my atelier as to accommodate a certain number of pupils, and I had the pleasure to see thus formed the first school established in Prussia on the plan of those I had seen and frequented in France. The rooms were soon found too small to accommodate the whole number of pupils who sought admission, and I obtained from government the grant of an additional apartment."

Wach had thus the satisfaction of forming a vast number of young artists, who have since become distinguished by the public approbation, and have reflected the highest honour on their master.

This artist has painted a great number of fine portraits, historical pictures and religious subjects. His master-piece is the picture of the three theological virtues, to be seen in the *Werdersche-Kirche* at Berlin. It is twenty feet long and eight broad, and is remarkable for its elevated style and pure and correct drawing.

In 1825 the corporation of the city of Berlin ordered from him a picture, to be presented to the Princess Frederica of the Netherlands. It is now at Brussels, and represents the Virgin seated on a throne of marble, adorned with garlands of flowers, the infant Jesus sitting on her knees, and two angels standing on each side; the back-ground representing the sea, the fore-ground filled with cypresses and orange-trees. This is one of the best works of Wach, of which a copy by him, *en petit*, may be seen in the fine collection of Consul Wagner at Berlin.

"The peculiar genius of Wach," says Count Raczynski, "is best displayed in his symbolic compositions, his arabesques, and frontispieces consisting of allegories. I believe, indeed, that in this line no artist of the present day is superior to him in this sort of composition; they manifest taste, majesty, a great richness of invention, and a genius full of nerve and originality. It is in this sphere that I could wish to see his talent exercised, and most certainly he would produce in it works which would transmit to posterity a reputation honourable to the artist and to his country. Except, perhaps, in the *Werdersche-Kirche* it seems to me that his capacities have not been put in requisition in a manner suitable to the peculiar nature of his talents. I could wish to see him give free reins to his imagination in one of the vast apartments of the old palace, and combine allegorical subjects and arabesques with the architectural forms which might serve as a frame-work to these productions of his pencil. One might, I think, designate by the epithet *ornamental*, that style which is most appropriate to his artistic genius."

We have not room to complete the catalogue of the most distinguished Berlin artists, historical, landscape and genre. But we must not omit to mention Hensel, who also studied at Rome, where he copied the Transfiguration of Raphael, a fine picture in the size of the original, which may be seen in the chapel of Charlottenburg palace. He also painted there the *Woman of Samaria*, which would appear to better advantage in a church than in the gallery of the royal palace at Berlin, where it is confounded with a multitude of other picture, in various styles, not harmonizing with the subject of this scripture-piece.

After his return to Berlin he married in 1829 Fräulein Mendelssohn, grand daughter of the celebrated philosopher and sister of the great composer of that name. Madam Hensel is likewise distinguished for her musical talents, in the enjoyment of which the society of Berlin participates in the well-known *matinées musicales* at her house, where the most eminent vocal performers execute, under her direction and with her accompaniment, select morceaux from the compositions of her brother Mendelssohn, of Bach, Beethoven, Haydn, Gluck, &c. The most interesting of Hensel's works, *Christ before Pilate*, is an immense composition, embracing numerous figures of the size of life. It is placed in a very favourable light in the *Garnison Kirche* at Berlin. The colouring is vigorous, the ordonnance merits approbation; but some of the figures injure the general effect of the composition, such as those of Pilate and St. John, which produce a disagreeable impression. Still this picture has great merit in respect to drawing, colouring and the expression of the figures, excepting those above mentioned. Hensel's albums are worthy the attention of connoisseurs, containing a suite of more than 400 portraits, full of life and expression, and drawn with much grace and facility. He also opens his atelier to pupils who wish to profit by his lessons, his paternal counsels and his warm friendly protection.

Schinkel was justly regarded as being at the head of the Prussian architects. Indeed he may be considered as the founder of a school of architecture, distinguished by its pure taste and adaptation to the purposes of modern life. The public buildings which have been erected under his direction, or under that of the pupils formed by him, in Berlin and the provinces, during the last five-and-twenty years, all bear the impress of his peculiar genius. The new theatre at Berlin (*Schauspielhaus*) is generally considered as the finest of his constructions. This edifice contains several other apartments besides that devoted to the stage, so that it has been said to "contain many things, and among others a theatre." The concert-hall is one of the most beautiful of these rooms, the arabesques and other rich ornaments of which were designed by Schinkel. The proportions, the external lines, and above all, the principal façade of the *Schauspielhaus*, constitute in the judgment of the author one of the most perfect architectural works ever erected in any age or country; and however some may differ on this head, all true connoisseurs must agree that the proportions and interior decorations, both of the theatre and concert-hall, are most admirable. The ornaments and external decorations of the new school of architecture (*Bau-Schule*), executed in terra-cotta, are also designed in the most perfect taste.

Whilst we are penning these lines, the funeral procession of this illustrious artist is passing by the streets and squares adorned with the monuments of his genius, followed by a long train of his friends and pupils, and accompanied with every token of reverential sorrow by an enlightened public capable of appreciating his worth. All those who have had the good fortune to know him must have been forcibly impressed with the simplicity and true native dignity of his character. Disinterestedness lay at its foundation. He was ever ready to render his advice and assistance to his brother-artists, and especially to young men, to whom he gave up a large portion of his precious time, cheerfully suspending his own labours and studies, in order to give them the benefit of his counsels. The spectator who takes his stand on the bridge over the Spree, at the end of the Linden towards the old palace, will include in one view the most remarkable works of Schinkel:—the bridge itself,—the museum,—the custom-house, and other buildings between the museum and the arsenal, the school of architecture, and the Werdersche-Kirche.* By advancing a few steps on the Linden, he will catch a glimpse of the new corps de garde (*Hauptwache*) also by Schinkel, with the two fine statues of Scharnhorst and Bulow, by Rauch. The genius of Schinkel was ripened by a diligent study of the classic models of Grecian architecture, and at the same time was strongly marked with the stamp of originality and practical adaptation to the purposes of common life. The compositions drawn by him to ornament, with four great paintings in fresco, the façade of the museum, are now being executed under the direction of Cornelius. The manner in which the artist has treated his subject in these drawings revives the classic recollections of Herculaneum and Pompeii. They are designed to represent, in a mythological and allegorical form, the progress of human civilization and the arts of life, both useful and ornamental. The great objection to such compositions is, that they require tedious explanations, which break in upon the impression the detached parts would else produce upon the spectator, who is often puzzling himself to make out the meaning when he should be enjoying the unmingled pleasure of contemplating the artistic beauties of the work. But this style suits the bent of the German mind, which delights to analyze and dissect, and is naturally prone to abstraction.

Charles Christian Rauch has, by his fine works in sculpture, rendered illustrious an obscure name and origin. Born in 1777, at Arolsen, in the principality of Waldeck, he was, when quite young, bound as an apprentice to a carver in wood and stone

* The separate cahier, accompanying the present volume, contains an engraved view of these buildings as seen from this point.

in that town. From Arolsen he removed to Cassel, where he entered the studio of Ruhl, a sculptor, and received his earliest lessons in the art of modelling. Family affairs having called him to Berlin in 1797, he had there the good fortune to attract the notice and protection of the late king, Frederick William III., who had just ascended the throne, and of other powerful patrons. By the assistance of one of these patrons, Count Charles Sondrezky, a Silesian nobleman, he was enabled to visit Italy in 1804, travelling, in company with his noble friend, through the south of France, by Genoa to Rome, where he made the acquaintance of the most distinguished artists of that capital, and among others of Canova and Thorwaldsen. His warm attachment to the art, combined with zeal in the pursuit of knowledge, and the most honourable personal qualities, secured him the esteem and friendship of these illustrious sculptors, as well as of the French painter Ingres, and of the German artists then residing at Rome. He was also honoured with the notice of that eminent statesmen and savant, the late Wilhelm von Humboldt, then residing at Rome as Prussian minister. There his genius was guided by the inspiration of the great living sculptors, and by the study of the antique. He also executed several basso-relievos, busts, and statues, and prepared the models of others, which were afterwards executed in marble. When the French armies occupied Rome in 1808, the new government established an exhibition of works of art in the capital, to consist of productions of all the artists there residing, from whatever country they might come. This great association of artists appointed a committee to decide on the respective merits of these productions. Rauch was selected by his brother artists as a member of this committee. His name appearing in the *Moniteur* in this capacity struck the attention of the King of Prussia, who had retired to Memel after the disastrous campaign of Jena and the peace of Tilsit. On the recommendation of M. W. von Humboldt, the king conferred upon Rauch an annual pension of four hundred thalers, which relieved him from pecuniary embarrassments, and enabled him to continue his studies at Rome. In 1810 he was directed by the king to inquire of Canova if he would undertake to execute a funeral monument, which his majesty intended to erect to the memory of his beloved queen, Louisa of Mecklenburg, then just deceased. Canova replied, that he considered Rauch himself quite capable of fulfilling the king's intentions; he was therefore ordered to return to Berlin, where the composition of the proposed monument was made the subject of a prize competition, and the plan of Rauch being preferred to that of all the other artists who proposed for the work, he was commissioned to execute it. Having commenced the model at Charlottenburg,

he was unfortunately taken ill with a nervous fever, the effects of which, according to the opinion of his medical advisers, could only be removed by the milder climate of Italy. He consequently obtained permission to return to Rome, in order there to execute the statue of the deceased queen in marble. Having visited Carrara to select a block of marble for this purpose, he had occasion to study the model of a fine live eagle, and he has repeated with great force and beauty the traces of the majestic bird on several basso-relievos. Those on the pedestal of the funeral monument at Charlottenburg are remarkably fine. The statue itself was finished at Rome in 1813, and Rauch proceeded to Carrara to complete some other works, whilst Tieck executed the candelabras for the monument. Rauch returned to Berlin in 1814 to place the statue, which was hailed with enthusiasm by the public both as a work of art and as embalming the beautiful lineaments of a queen, whose memory was justly endeared to the nation by her misfortunes, identified as they were with the public calamities of those disastrous times. Still it may be doubted whether such monuments—which ought to be eternal—are best preserved in a summer-house situated in a public garden. They ought rather to be erected in churches and cathedrals, where they may be protected from neglect and wanton destruction by religious associations, and where the ashes of monarchs may peacefully repose in the midst of the mortal remains of the warriors and statesmen by whom their tottering thrones were upheld. The statue of Queen Louisa was subsequently reproduced, with several variations, and may now be seen at the new palace at Potsdam. In this last, she is represented, not in the sleep of death, but in a natural slumber.

Rauch received in 1815 from the king orders for the two statues which are now placed in front of the new guard-house at Berlin, of Scharnhorst, who reorganized the Prussian army, and enabled it to take the field against the French in 1813, and of Bulow von Dennewitz, whose coming up decided the battle of Waterloo in favour of the allies. For this purpose he made a second journey to Carrara to select the marble on the spot for these two statues, and again visited Rome, where he was charged with some commissions for the Museum of Antiquities, then about to be established in the Prussian capital. After his return to Berlin, he completed these statues, and also composed a colossal statue in bronze of Prince Blucher for the province of Silesia, which was cast under the artist's direction at Berlin, and erected on its pedestal of granite in 1827. It is the great glory of Rauch to have happily surmounted on this, as on other occasions, the difficulties of modern costume. He has selected the moment when Blucher is supposed to advance with naked sword

in his right hand, his left raised to heaven, and addressing the people with the exclamation, "With God for king and country!" calls upon the inhabitants of Silesia to rise up for the deliverance of that province. Another statue of Blucher was ordered by the king from Rauch, after the old warrior's decease, and erected at Berlin, directly opposite to the new guard-house. It is also of bronze, of the same height (eleven feet), standing on a pedestal of sixteen feet high, adorned with appropriate basso-relievos. The hero is represented looking behind, and as if pointing out the blessings of peace achieved by the toils and dangers of war. Rauch also shared with Tieck and Wichmann in the composition of the statues which decorate the Gothic monument of cast iron, sixty feet in height, erected on the *Kreutzberg*, just out of the town, to celebrate the victories of the Prussian armies in what is called in Germany "the War of Deliverance." *

We may be allowed to observe, *en passant*, that though in a military state, whose greatness has been mainly acquired and must be maintained by arms, the glories achieved in war may justly claim to be commemorated by public monuments—yet the stranger who visits the Prussian capital is disappointed not to see a single trophy to civil merit. The heroes of the seven-years' war, and of the late war of independence, live again in marble and bronze; but where are those of the statesmen whose labours regenerated the monarchy after it was trodden down in the field of Jena? Where are the monuments of the men who contributed their quota of *mind* to the great work of national deliverance and regeneration? To say nothing of the exclusively intellectual fame of Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Niebuhr, the absence of any memorial of such national illustrations as Hardenberg and Von Stein call to mind the funeral procession of that noble Roman from which the statues of Brutus and Cassius were excluded: "*Viginti clarissimorum familiarum imagines ante latæ sunt Manlii, Quintii, aliaque ejusdem nobilitatis nomina: sed præfulgebant Cassius et Brutus, quod effigies eorum non visebantur.*"†

Among other works of Rauch are the statues of Albrecht Durer at Nuremberg, of Dr. Frank at Halle, and of the late King of Bavaria, Maximilian, at Munich—all in bronze; six allegorical figures of Victory in marble, destined to adorn the interior of the Walhalla; and the group of Duke Mieczyslaus and his son King Boleslaus of Poland, for the cathedral of Posen. The expense of this group of statues was solely borne by Count Edward Raczynski, brother of the author of the present work, a

* See Dr. Waagen's valuable book on the Artistic Works of Rauch:—"Abbildungen der vorzüglichsten Werke Karls Rauch, mit Erläuterungen von Dr. G. F. Waagen (Berlin, 1827. fol.)

† Tac. *Annal.* lib. iii. cap. 75.

Polish nobleman distinguished for his patriotism and munificent patronage of learning and the arts. The expense of the chapel in which this national monument is to be placed, was defrayed by a public subscription in the province. Rauch is now engaged upon the model of an equestrian colossal statue of the great Frederick, which is to be erected in the centre of the Linden, opposite the university buildings.

In summing up the character of Rauch as an artist, our author says :

"His works have an historical character, but differ much from those of antiquity. If, according to the ideas generally prevailing among artists and amateurs, we hold, that in sculpture the classic style is that which distinguishes Grecian statues, the works of Rauch can hardly be said to belong to that class. But in the arts we ought not to generalize, in this absolute manner, our judgment and principles. As to Rauch, the antique style is certainly not that with which his artistic nature has the closest affinity. He has created for himself a new, and at the same time elevated, style. His imagination is not naturally inclined to seek for ideal beauty in the works of antiquity alone, nor is he inspired by epic poetry ; but his artistic nature is powerful : in his productions, the author and the subject are both strongly characterized ; his sentiments are true and profound ; his drawing pure ; in treating historical subjects of our time and of the middle age, his judgment and his taste are always correct.

"Rauch, as I have already said, is the creator of a new style, which I should call *the modern and the middle-age historic*. The finest works of this class are the two Bluchers, Bulow, Scharnhorst, Frank Durer, and, above all, the group of Mieczyslaus and Boleslaus. The sarcophagus of Queen Louisa has another character ; it breathes the artist's sensibility of soul ; it appeals, at the same time, to the deep-seated grief of the royal family and of the nation. It is beautiful and touching ; but, according to my ideas, the artist has since taken a bolder flight. In none of his works is he more romantic, and at the same time more tender and amiable, than in his *Young Girl mounted on a Stag*, the subject of which is drawn from a legend of Tangermünde. This little group has been a thousand times repeated in bronze, iron, and plaster.

"His basso-relievos are admirable. Those drawn from modern subjects have no tinge of antique affectation ; they are pictures drawn from the life, taken with all the elevation of sentiment which distinguishes Rauch as an artist. His *Danaide* is not that one of his works which gives me the most pleasure : is it because the subject is antique ? The composition, the pose, and, above all, the expression of the head, do not correspond with the admiration inspired by his general talent : there seems to me a want of harmony between the ideas of the author and the nature of the subject. I give only my own impression, and am perhaps doubly wrong in thinking and speaking thus. I am also aware that this opinion is contrary to that of other connoisseurs of judgment and taste.* In

* "One of Rauch's friends, a celebrated artist, has observed to me, that what

treating another subject related to the antique, but more properly belonging to the region of allegory, I find him worthy of the highest praise : in his six *Victories*, intended for the Walhalla, of which four are represented standing, and two sitting, the attitude of those who are sitting is not, perhaps, strictly appropriate to the subject ; but they are all so graceful ! The same favourable judgment ought, in my opinion, to be pronounced on the two basso-relievos on the pedestal of Bulow's statue. The manner in which they present the crowns of glory lends such a charm to their soul-elevating gifts.

"These two basso-relievos partake of the antique style, but they rather belong to the region of allegory.

"The three living sculptors who stand highest in the opinion of the Germans are Rauch, Schwanthaler, and Thorwaldsen. These artistic natures are very different from each other.

"Schwanthaler possesses the greatest, the richest, and the most facile talent for composition ; his judgment and his taste have been formed on the classic models of antiquity ; he has imbibed the turn of thought and expression of the Grecian artists, and produced numberless transcripts of their style. His manner of conceiving the subject is rapid, but deficient in precision ; and he does not always develop his thoughts with sufficient depth and detail. There is, morally speaking, a void in his productions which wants to be filled up by more characteristic and full details.

"Thorwaldsen's is a powerful talent. His works, though partaking of the antique, do not distinctly mark any particular epoch, but all bear the stamp of genius. Thorwaldsen has brought back the art of sculpture to that severe style to which Canova had already begun to reclaim it. That delicate taste and exquisite grace which distinguish the talent of Canova are not to be found in all the works of Thorwaldsen, and are especially wanting in his *Venus*, his three *Graces*, and other naked figures of the fair sex ; but he has communicated an indescribable charm to some other of his feminine figures, such, for example, as *Day and Night*. His basso-relievo of the *Triumph of Alexander* is unquestionably the greatest composition of modern sculpture.

"Rauch is an historian, noble and true. Nothing need be added to what has been already said of him, except that, according to my judgment, of all living sculptors he is the one who most completely satisfies my taste, and excites in me the most vivid emotions.

"Rauch has a cultivated mind ; his conversation announces strong passions ; his fine, interesting countenance betrays them at every instant. He is irritable. His physiognomy is full of fire and attraction.

"How often has the pride of artists been the cause of destruction to their talents ! Rauch must be free from this defect, since his talent is in full maturity : or if he has pride, it must be of a particular nature, and such as excludes neither greatness of soul nor amiability.

"Rauch works himself the marble with great diligence, neatness, and taste ; whilst Thorwaldsen leaves it almost entirely to his pupils and

seemed to him to characterize Rauch, is the talent of applying the grave and earnest character, the beauty and truth of antique art, to modern subjects, which are almost the only subjects he has been called upon to treat."

workmen. In respect to modelling, Schwanthaler has so little precision, that his basso-relievos are often mere outline-sketches, and his statues effaced and illegible characters."

Gottfried Schadow was born at Berlin in 1764, and studied at Rome. On his return to his native country in 1788, he was appointed sculptor to the Prussian court, and is now director of the academy. He is father of two celebrated artists, Rudolph,* a sculptor of great merit, and Wilhelm, a distinguished painter, now director of the Academy at Dusseldorf. The venerable head of this distinguished family of artists is the author of a great number of statues, busts, and basso-relievos. Among these are the marble statues of two of the heroes of the seven-years war, in the *Wilhelm-Platz* at Berlin—General Zieten and Prince Leopold of Dessau; sixteen busts of celebrated Germans for the Walhalla, and the fine bronze statue of Luther, erected on a pedestal of granite in the great square at Wittemberg, where the great reformer burnt the pope's bull of excommunication and the decretals, on the memorable 10th of December, 1520, and thus kindled a fire which is not yet extinguished. Schadow has also published several instructive works on the science of design, and others connected with the theory of the fine arts.

Frederick Tieck, brother of the celebrated poet of that name, was born at Berlin in 1776; and after working for some time in the studio of Schadow, went, in 1797, to Paris, where he passed upwards of three years, and afterwards three years more at Rome, and seven years at Carrara. He has ever preserved the highest veneration for the memory of David, under whom he studied, with his friend Schick, the art of design. After his return to Berlin in 1819, Tieck made a fine drawing of the *Madonna della Seddia*, of the same size with the original, and which may be seen at the villa of the late Wilhelm von Humboldt at Tegel, near Berlin, now inhabited by his son-in-law, Baron Bulow, late Prussian minister in London. From 1802 to 1805, Tieck worked on the statues and basso-relievos which ornament the grand-ducal palace at Weimar. He afterwards executed a fine statue and sepulchral monument of Necker, ordered by Madame de Staël, and which has been since erected at Coppet. He has also composed five-and-twenty colossal busts for the Walhalla, which Rauch considers as not being surpassed by the works of any other living artist, and as being destined to form the principal ornament of that great monumental edifice. At Berlin, in the entrance-room to the concert-hall of the *Schauspielhaus*, may be seen his marble statue of the great actor Iffland. The sculptures

* Deceased.

which decorate the façade of the Schauspielhaus, which crown its roof, and ornament the concert-hall, are also by Tieck. The basso-relievo in bronze, for the tomb of Professor Buttman, and the monument in marble of General Scharnhorst in the cemetery of the Invalids at Berlin, form some of the most admired of his productions. His reputation as an artist is wide-spread, and rests on a solid foundation. He is also well known as a writer on art.

Ludwig Wichmann, born at Potsdam in 1788, is a pupil of the venerable Schadow, President of the Berlin Academy, who found him an orphan at the early age of twelve years,—brought him up with paternal care, and introduced him to the Academy with his own sons. In 1807 Wichmann went to Paris, where were already accumulated the richest treasures of art—the *opima spolia* of Italy, the Low Countries and Germany. He improved his taste by the study of these master-pieces, and also worked in the atelier of David the painter and the sculptor Bosio, attended the Academy, and took part in the great works then being executed by order of Napoleon. He received an order for one of the grand frontispieces of the Louvre. Having returned to his native country in 1813, he aided his master Schadow in preparing the models for the bronze statues of Blucher and Luther which we have already mentioned. In 1819 he went to Italy. He there found the friends and companions of his youth, Rudolph and Wilhelm Schadow, and formed the most intimate friendly relations with Thorwaldsen. After a residence of two years at Rome, he returned to the Prussian capital, where he prepared the models for the greater part of the statues for the Kreutzberg monument. Among his principal works are a marble group of Cupid and Psyche belonging to the king; St. Michael and the two angels, for the portico of the *Werdersche-Kirche*; the colossal figures surmounting the Museum; and the six angels of colossal size, two kneeling and four in relief, in the new church at Potsdam. Among a profusion of marble, bronze and plaster busts of living persons by this artist, we may mention those of Prince Anthony Radzivil and Hegel the philosopher, with the fine bust of the Countess Wanda Raczyński, the lovely daughter of the noble author of the work before us. Indeed the talent of Wichmann is most conspicuous in these portraits. His elder brother Karl Wichmann, who died in 1836, was also a pupil of Schadow and a sculptor of distinguished talent. * * * * *

Here for the present we close our notice of the artists of Berlin: we shall ere long resume our labours through Saxony, and also furnish a notice of German students at Rome, under which we shall include Carstens, Thorwaldsen and Overbeck.

ART. IX.—*Considérations sur l'Angleterre.* Paris. 1841.

THIS is rather an unpretending pamphlet, but the author, like most foreigners who have written upon England, has a very imperfect knowledge of the state of parties and the real situation of things here. In common with all French writers on the same subject, he is exceedingly angry with the members of the late cabinet, and Lord Palmerston especially, for the course adopted by them on the Eastern question, and congratulates the French nation on the overthrow of the Whigs, which he ascribes solely to their conduct on that question, although he does not suppose that the policy which guided the Whigs in the treaty of July 15, will be materially departed from by their Conservative successors. There cannot, we think, be a greater mistake than that of attributing the overthrow of the Whig cabinet to the embarrassment, pecuniary and otherwise, which arose from their policy in the dispute between the Sultan and the Pacha of Egypt. Long before that dispute had assumed such a character, as to render foreign intervention necessary, the feelings of dissatisfaction of the people of England had been so unequivocally expressed towards their rulers that the cabinet held together merely from sufferance. The financial embarrassment created by the Eastern question was abstractedly a matter of no importance, and if there had been no other deficit than what was occasioned by the armament employed on that occasion, and no real and deep causes of excitement against the government as to its domestic policy, the Whigs would have been in office now.

The author of *Considérations sur l'Angleterre* does not however confine himself to the Eastern question, although he makes it the leading subject of his essay, and brings forward all the arguments which have been used by M. Duvergier de Hauranne and others to show that the policy of England is already a failure. He enters upon the general question of foreign policy, and talks of the difficulties which beset the Conservative ministry in their relations with the United States of America and France (as regards Spain), and then proceeds to notice the great questions of domestic policy in England—the corn laws, the poor laws, the population question, and the state of Ireland, all of which he says are beyond the strength of any ministry to regulate and control. He does not pretend that either of these questions is of so difficult a character that a satisfactory solution is not to be hoped for if parties in England would lay aside their personal disputes in a patriotic consideration for the public good; but judging of parties and patriotism in England by what he sees in France, he

seems to think it impossible that there should ever be such a fusion amongst us as would furnish a government with the elements of strength necessary to enable them to grapple successfully with the great and indeed absorbing questions of domestic policy which occupy the minds of all persons in England, and excite attention generally in Europe.

It is not at all wonderful that foreigners, and above all Frenchmen, should hold the opinions which they express as to the state of parties in England, and imagine that out of their bickerings there must necessarily arise complete disorganization of the state. In the despotic countries of Europe where party struggles such as are seen here are unknown, they must naturally appear to be much more important and dangerous than they really are, and in France, where there are not less than five parties in the Chamber of Deputies, each struggling for supremacy and each successful in embarrassing the machinery of government, and in preparing the way for the anarchy on which each hopes eventually to erect its throne, it must be a prevailing opinion that the conflict of parties in England is something like that of the French. The comparison however will not lie. In France each party has a principle to contend for, and these different principles are so widely different that any thing like compromise or fusion, except for the purpose of temporary embarrassment to the government, is impossible. The old Royalists aim at the overthrow of the existing dynasty; the Buonapartists would get rid of the present king and of the institutions by virtue of which he reigns, in order to restore the empire of military despotism; the Republicans would destroy all semblance of monarchy of any kind, and what is called the Constitutional opposition would have parliamentary reform and a reform also of the institutions which were set up by the revolution of July. Here there are five parties, including the partisans of the existing dynasty who call themselves Conservatives, but who are composed in a large degree of old Royalists having very little sympathy with the new Royalists with whom they vote, —all having defined and important objects in view. In England we have strictly speaking only three parties, the Conservatives, the Whigs, and the Radicals (including Republicans), and the two great parties profess the same veneration for the existing institutions, whilst the third must be without power or influence from the moment that there shall be a determination on the part of the two great parties, the Whigs and the Conservatives, to put them down. There is not then any danger of England falling to pieces, as the writer of the work supposes, although party feeling may render the duties of the Conservative ministry more arduous than they would otherwise be. There is however this good in

the view taken of our domestic squabbles by foreigners, it must excite the sound thinking of the two great parties in England to inquire whether, in the presence of great domestic questions, party dissension may not be laid aside.

It is perfectly saddening to view the height to which this is carried in England, so that the fitness of a man for office is not so much the consideration as the party to which he belongs. The Whigs were certainly fortunate in the placing the seals in the hands of Lord Cottenham; but could any thing be more deplorable than the necessity that drove them to such appointments on the Episcopal Bench as Maltby and Stanley, men who by their peculiar views, right or wrong, superinduce the opinion that their orthodoxy is more than questionable? The same principle carried out would have led to equally unhappy appointments at the bar. Then again from the pressure from without, the Whigs brought forward the postage question, which as a matter of course must be remodelled, a measure totally uncalled for and of ruinous loss to the revenue; and this too was a sacrifice not to the nation but to party, with a snug job for Mr. Rowland Hill. Again, the corn laws were not brought forward as such a question merited in the Queen's speech, but to work against the Conservatives, which proved a most unlucky manœuvre, being a lever which became ultimately applied to eject the Whigs from office. This also was made a party question. Taking the great aggregate of Conservative measures, it will be found that this section of the state has alone possessed the power to legislate permanently. All the acts of the Whig administration, the Reform Bill excepted, will possibly soon be a blank sheet on our statute book. All that the noble vessel of the state fairly required, the Conservatives set themselves to effect, missing stays only on the representative question, when a little concession might have spared much subsequent toil and anarchy. Their position with the continent is the strongest conceivable; Louis Philip can scarce conceal the joy with which he hails their accession to office as the firmest stay of the House of Orleans in France. In the recognition of that house the Conservatives showed much political wisdom, and a bending to the occasion that well became the friends of the best interests of both countries. With all the great northern powers their hand is strong, and their talents for rule dreaded; and a strong government, which they must prove, is well calculated to strike terror into all secret foes of England in that direction. It is to be hoped that they will depend for their stay in office on measures such as cannot be opposed, and if the Whigs are conscientious,

they must tender the Conservatives in turn that reciprocity of support by which their own party was maintained in the ministry for so considerable a period. The evil spirit of concession, of concession to the claims of the factious Irish leaders, will now be stopped, and while justice, rigid justice, is done to Ireland, the repeal question will be at once crushed and destroyed. No clamour against the due influence of wealth will lead the Conservatives to be unjust in their enactments, and the institutions by which property is protected will now be in the hands of guardians better able to maintain them than those men could have been, who, with the best intentions—and we are very far from attributing to them any preconcerted design against property—were to a great degree under the control of a faction opposed to all existing rights, and anxious for changes which might disclose to them those avenues to power and enjoyment, which, according to the constitution, can only be opened by slow and legitimate means. It may here also be well to remark on the absurdity of the cry which has been raised against the Conservatives, that they are essentially and exclusively the friends of those whose property is in land, and that they are opposed to any measures which would give to the mercantile interest a fair portion of influence in the affairs of the state, and enable them to develop more and more the elements by which that influence might be secured. One would imagine that it would be sufficient, in refutation of this charge, to point to the chief of the Conservative cabinet, who, in the first generation, is a striking instance of the greatness to which industry and commercial pursuits may lead. Every body knows that Sir Robert Peel owes his fortune and his political position to trade, for, without the fortune realized by the late Sir Robert Peel, the talents of the son would not have been developed by a liberal education, and he might have struggled in vain with even twice the amount of talent which he possessed, if it were possible to be so highly gifted, to make the progress which has marked his political career. There is a disposition in too many persons not to forget who and what Sir Robert Peel is; but to believe that he has forgotten or attempts to forget it himself. In vain however do we look for anything in the conduct of this minister to indicate that he has forgotten his origin, or looks back to it with regret. Retired tradesmen, who are neither from education or habit fitted to adorn or enjoy the society to which, when in trade they could not aspire, are frequently seen to ape the manners which they cannot naturally put on, and to resort to every trick for concealing their origin, in the hope that those with whom they would wish to associate, being ignorant that they were formerly in trade, will naturally conclude they were what the

world stupidly calls well born. Now and then, also, we meet with men who would blush at having it known that their fathers were in trade, and who endeavour, by their ridicule of trade and manufacture, to have it supposed that they descend from a long line of ancestors whose hands were never ungloved. But who are these men? They are men who never by the cultivation of their minds threw around them the dignity which belongs to talent, who never attempted to exercise their faculties in any truly honourable and useful pursuit. Sir Robert Peel is not one of these men. Whilst his father in the prosecution of his mercantile labours was creating for his son a position of wealth by which he might be able to maintain the dignity of his character, and become one of the leaders of mankind, the son was already distinguishing himself by the useful and noble development of the faculties with which nature had endowed him. Such a man as Sir Robert Peel has no motive for attempting to conceal his origin, but every motive for glorying in it, for he is an instance of what industry and probity in the father and the successful exercise of intellect in the son can achieve in a country like England, where power and influence are to be obtained by persons of every class, who possess the qualities which are essential for its government. If Sir Robert Peel has become a landed proprietor, it is because all men of wealth, who are not mere money dealers, invest their fortune in such possessions; it does not follow, however, that mercantile men, or those immediately descended from them, who avail themselves of the natural and legitimate means of placing their fortune beyond the reach of mercantile speculation, become indifferent to the welfare of the interests of the class to which they no longer belong. It must not be forgotten, that, although Sir Robert Peel, from the extent of his fortune, was not compelled to follow the pursuits of his father, and from the nature of his own political pursuits was both unable and unfitted to remain in the same career; other and nearly connected members of his family remained in trade. Sir Robert Peel therefore cannot but retain for mercantile men the same consideration as he feels for the landed aristocracy. He cannot have ceased to desire the prosperity of merchants and manufacturers to the same degree at least as he desires to secure the prosperity of those whose fortunes are invested in land. It may answer the purpose of faction to represent the premier and his colleagues as being exclusively attached to the landed aristocracy, and resolved on raising it both in influence and wealth above the mercantile interests at the cost, nay, even the ruin of the latter; but how many impartial and reflecting men are there who are deluded by this cry. In a country depending for its

very existence on commerce, even the most prejudiced members of the aristocracy must feel that it is to commerce that he owes the wealth and consideration which he enjoys, and that, if the commerce of England were to be ruined, all the security, at least all the value, of his own landed possessions would cease. The splendid palaces, the fine parks, the fruitful fields of the aristocracy are not alone the bulwarks of England's greatness. Without commerce where would be the possessions which have created for England that preponderance in Europe which is at once a source of national wealth and national security? Without commerce where would be the navy, which sets the envy and hatred of the French at defiance; and without the navy what security would there be for the possessions of the aristocracy? If the commercial greatness of England were to be diminished, the landed aristocracy would suffer to even a greater extent than the mercantile interest, and their suffering would be the greater from its being an unexpected transition. Merchants and manufacturers, and the persons who are dependent upon them, are but too much accustomed to transitions from prosperity to comparative adversity; and total ruin, dreadful as it would be to them, would be less dreadful than the change which would come over the aristocracy. The ruin of commerce would, we repeat, be the ruin of England, and in that ruin property of every kind, landed as well as other, would be involved. It is silly to imagine that land would retain its value; there are some indeed absurd enough to suppose that its value would increase as compared with all other investments. This would not be the case in England, for with the ruin of commerce would come anarchy at home, in which every man would help himself, or the country would fall a prey to the ambition of France. The landed aristocracy have therefore a deep interest in the commercial greatness of England; and a ministry, which may be supposed to represent that aristocracy, presents guarantees to every class of society; for all classes are interested alike in seeing the national greatness upheld.

The attempt to represent the landed aristocracy as having distinct interests from those of the landowners, and the Conservative ministry as the exclusive protectors of the landed aristocracy, is that of a faction equally opposed to the prosperity of the mercantile and manufacturing interest, and the security of landed property. If this faction finds support and belief among the people, it is because all the arts of popular delusion have been brought into play. Remove this delusion, and the people will acknowledge that ruin to trade in England would be ruin to the aristocracy; and the plainest intelligence will perceive that the

landowners, who are supposed to represent the majority amongst the influential Conservatives, can have no desire to impede the progress of trade, although it is perfectly natural that they should be opposed to any undue preponderance of the mercantile interests, which would unnecessarily destroy the interests which they hold. If they had not the same confidence in the Whig ministry as they have in a Conservative cabinet, it was not because the men who composed it were called Whigs, or because they could be justly suspected of a deliberate design to ruin the landed aristocracy, but because they were at the mercy of a faction which aimed at a power and an ascendancy to which property of every kind must have fallen a prey.

That the present cabinet is composed of practical men is admitted even by its political adversaries; and practical men in the present situation of the country are of great value, as compared with young statesmen and theorists. At no time during the last twenty years has England been more in want of rulers who, setting apart the difficulty of treating the abstract but important questions which are now the subject of discussion, thoroughly understand the machinery of government. Lord Melbourne, who, with all his good qualities, certainly did not shine as a working minister, and in whom age was beginning to add to natural indolence, is replaced by a man who has gone through all the routine of office, and who is now in the vigour of manhood, without the impetuosity of youth to lead him into rashness, or the fretfulness of age to harass his colleagues, and prevent the generous inspirations which are at times requisite even in office. In the important department of Foreign Affairs, Lord Palmerston, who must be admitted, even by those most opposed to him in politics, to have been a hard-working minister, and a shrewd man in the execution of his diplomatic duties, is succeeded by the Earl of Aberdeen, a man of deep reflection, guarded deportment, and great experience in the business of the post to which he has been called. The selection by Sir Robert Peel of Lord Aberdeen as the successor of Lord Palmerston, was really one of necessity, for few other persons could with the same guarantees to the nation have filled that office; but if it had been permitted to Sir Robert to choose, he could not under all the circumstances have chosen better. Lord Aberdeen has been represented as an unbending politician,—a politician of the old school, with principles of Conservatism which admit of no modification. The idea of compromise with such a person is said to be out of the question; and therefore if compromise should ever be necessary as to domestic dissensions, Lord Aberdeen would not be the man for home minister; but in the foreign department the sternness of his politics is a precious qua-

lity. It can do no harm in any case, but it is a guarantee to those states of Europe which have been justly alive to the necessity of opposing a barrier to republican propagandism, that England, whilst Lord Aberdeen shall be in office as foreign minister, will never form any alliance with French republicans, if they should gain the upper hand in their own country. When the Whigs came into office, Russia, Prussia, and Austria began to fear that the cry of France and England against all the world would be raised, and for a long time there was great indisposition on the part of those powers to draw close the bonds of alliance which existed between them and England. The Whig cabinet, it is but just to say, alarmed perhaps at the friendly advances of the democratic party in France, succeeded in convincing the other powers of Europe that, although England had been the first to recognize the sovereignty of Louis Philip, she would be the last to adopt the republican principles which were the origin of his elevation to supreme authority. The Treaty of July 15, and all subsequent negotiations on the eastern question, must have convinced Russia, Austria, and Prussia, that for the present they had nothing to fear from England; but those powers could not be insensible to the growing weakness of the English cabinet. If their original distrust as to the principles of the Whigs on foreign policy was removed, circumstances had arisen to convince them that the Whigs having lost all Conservative support at home, could only retain power by strengthening themselves from the ranks of the Radicals and Republicans. The result of the elections has shown that the Republicans or ultra-movement men could not save the Whig ministry; but we are supposing that such a junction might have had a different result, where then would have been the security for Russia, Austria, and Prussia? If Lord Melbourne's cabinet could have held its ground in connection with the ultra-movement party at home, there must sooner or later have been a junction between them and the French republicans, and then England must either have been compelled to make common cause with France in a war of spoliation and propagandism, or the utmost that she could have stipulated for would have been an expensive and disgraceful neutrality, which must have ended in her own destruction; for although the French would willingly have the co-operation of the English against the other states of Europe, their first act would be, after having, with the assistance or connivance of England, overrun those states, to attempt the subjugation of England, and richly in such a case would England deserve it. We are aware that there are many persons in England who really think that the cry of England and France against all the world is a wise one. Such persons, looking at the physical capabilities of these countries to injure each

other, imagine that the possibility of their doing so would be prevented by their agreeing to act in concert against all the rest of the world, or at least to place themselves in such a position as to set all the rest of the world at defiance. To take this view of the policy to be observed in our relations with France is to be entirely ignorant of the state of feeling and parties in that country. We are not amongst those who think that England and France are natural enemies; but our knowledge of France enables us to assert, that no treaty could be made with it by which England would be benefited; whereas, on the contrary, any treaty which would add to the greatness and influence of France would eventually, and that too at no very distant period, be ruinous to us, for the French would not hesitate to turn against us the power and influence which they should have acquired through our co-operation. If the French nation were under the control of a powerful monarch, or a respectable representative government, it might be prudent to enter into such a treaty as would render it impossible for Russia, Austria, and Prussia, allied or separately, to annoy England. In such case guarantees could be obtained from France, not merely that she would at no time avail herself of the improvement in her position against England, but also that no intervention should take place with the affairs of other states, the treaty between England and France being defensive of themselves, and not offensive against others; but with whom in France could England treat? With Louis Philip, who is an advocate of peace? What power could Louis Philip have to restrain the French people, if the dread of coercion from England were removed from their eyes? Louis Philip has just been able, and only just able, to keep the nation from brigandage and spoliation, by the double exercise of intrigue with parties, and the menace that England and every continental state would unite against them. If England were ever to be so unwise as to enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with France, she would set the seal upon her own destruction. There is no danger of such a treaty ever being entered into by England whilst Lord Aberdeen shall be at the head of the foreign office, or indeed whilst the Conservatives shall hold the reins of power; and consequently, one great, and perhaps the only great cause of distrust on the part of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, is at an end. The removal of this distrust, and the cultivation of a close and intimate alliance with those powers, does not necessarily imply hostility to France; on the contrary, France and England may be on friendly terms; all we wish to recommend is, that they should not be too friendly. France cannot, without danger to herself, quarrel with England whilst we are in alliance with the other powers of the continent, and therefore she will be careful not to offend us; but

there is no reason why we should endeavour to lower the dignity or power of France from their present condition, or why we should manifest ill will towards her because the republican leaven is evident in her conduct. There is nothing of this kind to be apprehended from the Conservative ministry. It must not be forgotten that the constitutional regime in France was first recognized by the Conservative government in England; it is not probable that the Conservatives will go out of their way to quarrel with what they have acknowledged; but we may be assured that they will never expose England to the republican propagandism of the French nation.

If the Conservatives who compose the present cabinet were untried men; if the voice of the nation, as expressed by the elections, which rendered their return to power a measure of necessity, arising out of the situation of the country, whether they aspired to office or not, had not been so decidedly in their favour, they would still have a right to demand a fair judgment from the public as to their measures. They have a large majority at present on their side, evidently because they are Conservatives, and it is certain that if they should abandon the principles which brought them into office, that majority would disappear; but are we asking too much if we say, that persons who do not profess those principles, but who nevertheless are not advocates for any of the sweeping changes which would endanger the security of property, and place in jeopardy the institutions by which the rights of all classes are protected, may be expected on great questions to forget that the men in power bear any party name, and to wait patiently for the evidence of their principles in their acts. The party, not very numerous indeed, though noisy, who in England demand extensive changes, to which they give the name of reform, will now, as they have always done, attach to Conservatism the odious distinction of the support of abuses, and a determination to use the sinews of the national strength for the aggrandizement of a privileged few. From such men nothing like candour or honesty is to be expected, and it would be equally absurd to appeal to their right feelings, for right feelings they have none. But the impartial and the independent, by whatever name they may be called, may be asked, and successfully we are sure, to judge of their rulers by their acts, and sink all party distinctions with a view to the general good.

There are certain great questions of foreign and domestic policy upon which all right-minded men are agreed. There are others upon which they differ, and are not likely to agree, until time and experience shall have developed the truth. Let us enquire whe-

ther on those questions respecting which there is no serious difference, we are likely to find the present ministers disposed to meet the view of enlightened and reasonable men; and next, ask ourselves whether, as regards questions on which public opinion is divided, we may fairly expect to find ministers disposed to weigh maturely all that can be said on either side, and to devote their talents and their energies towards the satisfactory solution of these difficult points.

The first great question is, our foreign policy. We believe it will be admitted that nineteen men of twenty in England desire that the country should remain at peace with foreign states. That there is as great and indeed a greater chance of this under the present cabinet than there was under the last, we have already shown. The Whigs were not, perhaps, less desirous of maintaining peace than the Conservatives are; but they were not more desirous, and in their hands the work of peace was certainly more difficult than it is now. The Conservatives have not merely restored confidence to the rulers of what are called the absolute states of Europe, but even in France they have found able and energetic coadjutors. Louis Philip, who dreaded the triumph of radicalism in England, lest it should revive the drooping spirits of the republicans in France, we repeat, saw with a delight which he did not even attempt to conceal, the restoration to office of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. The safety of his dynasty depends on the maintenance of peace, and it requires but little knowledge of the state of things in France not to see that a triumphant republicanism and war are synonymous. This is the belief of Louis Philip, who also knows that the republicans have sworn to him and his race a hatred which nothing can extinguish. In vain would he place himself, if ever so disposed, at the head of the republican movement. In vain would his successor seek to create a new channel for popular feeling by promoting the cry of the republicans for war. Let the republicans once get the upper hand in France, and the whole Orleans race down to the babies who are in their nurse's arms, will be swept from the face of the earth. With a Conservative ministry therefore, the guarantees for peace are much greater than they were.

It will be said that there are elements of discord which it will be difficult to subdue. We do not deny that this is the fact; but are these difficulties greater in the hands of the Conservatives than they were in those of the Whigs? A great question, it is said, remains unsettled with the United States of America, and the situation of Spain may lead to a collision between England and France. The American question is certainly an embarrassing one, and it is the more so, we say it without intending any offence,

because the Americans, as a nation, are not reasonable, wherever their pride is involved. Not content with an extent of territory which it will require centuries to cultivate and people, Jonathan is furious about a few leagues of boundary to which England lays claim, and if Jonathan were quite prepared to assert his claim by the use of violence, nothing could prevent a war. There are, however, two things decidedly in favour of peace with the United States. If the popular feeling in America be, as we are assured it is, so excited as to this point of disputed territory, that it would not be difficult for a war ministry to plunge the country into a contest, it is equally true that those Americans who are now in office, and the majority of all who are likely to be called to office, have better notions of the resources which the United States possess for a war with England, than to rush into a contest whilst any hope of conciliation remains. On our side, nothing intemperate is to be dreaded; the boundary question is one which will either wear itself out or end in a most simple manner, if there be no mixing up of national pride with the question by the British cabinet. Is there more danger that the question will be envenomed by the Conservatives than it would have been by the Whigs? Let those who are acquainted with the character of each party, as regards diplomatic intercourse, reply to this question. We say that the danger is much less.

Another guarantee against war with the United States is, the growing importance of the monarchical party, and the consequently natural leaning to what was the Parent State. Many of the English tourists in the Union, who have written on the state of political feeling, have been charged with exaggeration, or even falsehood, for asserting that the monarchical principle was gaining ground. It would seem, however, that what they said was perfectly true, and the recent affair of M'Leod must have increased this feeling, by showing the absurdity of separate and independent government in the different states. The Americans perceive more and more the practical inconvenience of this state of things; and although the jealousy and pride which each state feels must render the struggle for centralization a severe one, the conflict must end in the triumph of the Centralists, for events greater than human obstinacy will occur to show that they are right. Centralization will be the first decided step towards monarchy. Let the people of the United States once feel the benefits of centralization, and they will also feel that centralization without monarchy has inconveniences which it would be desirable to remove. We have heard well-informed Americans, and amongst them more than one diplomatist at foreign courts, declare, that the evils of the present system are so strongly felt that monarchy is practicable

even without the intermediate step of centralization. They say that all that is necessary is, for an energetic and popular man to declare himself king. General Jackson, they say, could have transformed the republic into a monarchy, and placed himself at the head of it, if he had been so disposed, and what Jackson might have done, some other man may be able to do. We are not able to form an opinion as to the correctness of this assertion, but we do not think that so sudden a transformation is practicable, or that when the United States shall become a monarchy, it will be, as it has been in other republics, the work of a military leader grasping at a crown. Monarchy will, probably, be the result of necessity and the work of patriotism; and perhaps the first attempt will be to create what is called a monarchy with republican institutions, which was the day-dream of Lafayette and Lafitte in France. Such a monarchy could no more stand in America than it has stood in France, where republican institutions are disappearing every day; but it is the actual transition from republicanism in any country where there is too much independent feeling for any military leader to carve out a despotic crown with his sword. We think better of the Americans than that they will become slaves to the ambition of any man. Our opinion is, that fifty years, perhaps twenty, will not pass over without a monarchy, but that it will, in the first instance, be rather the semblance than the reality of monarchy; that by degrees, however, America will settle down into a sober monarchical, and, at the same time, constitutional state. We mention the opinion of the Americans with whom we have conversed on this subject without concurring with it to the same extent; but we do not forget that it is entitled to attention as being the opinion of enlightened Americans, who know more of the state of public feeling in America than we can possibly know.

The prospect of a rupture of the peace between England and the United States is also rendered a distant one by the nature of the relations between the two countries. Neither has anything to gain by war, and each has much to lose. The *Journal des Debats*, in a well written, and as to spirit, admirable article on the boundary question, has stated that a declaration of war either by the United States against England, or by England against the United States, would, unless it should be inevitably forced upon one of the two by such a conduct on the part of the other as should leave no other solution open than an appeal to the last and generally the worst argument of nations, be an act of madness. The United States being, says the *Debats*, wholly unprepared, not merely for the offensive but even for defensive war, and having all her ports and harbours and coast towns in a totally un-

protected state, would in a few months see some of her most flourishing cities and towns destroyed, and the total cessation of her export trade would involve the whole country in ruin. The *Debats* indeed supposes what we are not quite disposed to admit, viz., that the courage of the Americans would survive this calamity, and that they would, after the first shock, be able to strengthen their navy so as to put it on a footing to contend successfully with that of England, and increase their army to such an extent as to be able to wrest the Canadian possessions from England. It is, in our opinion, more likely that in a war which should, as the *Debats* observes, inflict at once so severe a calamity upon the United States as the destruction of some of their best towns, and the ruin of their foreign trade by putting an end to the exports of cotton and other natural productions, the peace party would gain ground and insist upon concessions to Great Britain. But whether this would be the case or not, it is perfectly evident that the crisis through which the Union would have to pass would be a dreadful one and leave behind it great national debility. Vain, intemperate, and headstrong as the Americans may be, speaking of them *en masse*, there is quite intelligence enough amongst them to enable them to calculate beforehand the probable profit-and-loss results of a war with England; and it is fortunate for the peace of Europe, the whole of which perhaps would eventually be compelled to take at least an indirect part in a war between England and the United States, that the chances of loss on the side of the latter are so great and so easy of appreciation that the Americans must be mad indeed if they do not perceive them.

The *Debats* says, England would be mad to go to war with the United States, because the means of obtaining raw material for her manufactures would be stopped, and the Americans might revolutionize and eventually take possession of Canada. The *Debats* also supposes that the privateers of the United States would play great havoc with English traders. We do not think the manufacturers of England would suffer to the extent imagined by the *Debats*, for America is not the only country in the world from which they could obtain the raw material which it supplies; neither do we think that it would be very easy for the people of the United States to deprive us of Canada. The *Debats*, which receives some of its inspirations on this point perhaps from Mr. Papineau, who is in Paris, knows that there is what is called a French party in Canada, some of whose leaders are too successful in fomenting jealousies and in exciting discontent against the English government and party; but has Mr. Papineau informed the *Debats* that if the French and English parties in Canada differ on all other points, they agree in one—dislike of the people of

the Union? It is evident that the *Debats* is not aware of this fact, and conceiving that the United States would meet with support from the French party in Canada, it concludes that the successful invasion of Canada is possible. The injury to be inflicted upon English traders by American privateers, in the event of a war between the two countries, might be great, and this would be a kind of warfare in which the Americans would have the advantage. It would be a war without reciprocity. They would capture our trading vessels, and they would not be able to send any of their own to sea for us to capture. On the whole England would not be quite so mad as the United States would be to go to war. Nor would her madness have the proximate causes assigned by the *Debats*; but as there would really be nothing for England to gain in a war with the United States, and as a war must necessarily affect her finances, which are rather attenuated than plethoric, we will confess that unless the British government should be compelled, by a regard for the national honour and by gross and unpardonable provocation, to come to an open rupture with the United States, there would be something very much like madness in a declaration of war on the boundary or any other question. We think we have said enough to show, that whatever may be the bickerings between England and the United States, there is not much danger of a war, provided common prudence be shown by the British ministry. As we do not suppose that the Conservative cabinet will in the relations with America be guilty of any imprudence, we will at once assume that the American question is not one of the greatest difficulties with which the cabinet has to contend in its foreign policy.

But Spain. What do you do with Spain? says the political croaker. We reply that Spain is just where it was and what it was at the time when the Whigs went out of office; and that, as it did not create any very great uneasiness in their minds, it is not a very formidable difficulty in the policy of the Conservative cabinet. The French journals, and some of the English newspapers, have put it into peoples' heads that a very bad understanding exists between the British and French cabinets as to the Peninsula, and it has been even said that the French government had threatened to march troops into Spain if the English cabinet did not withdraw its pretensions. Now, so far from marching troops into Spain, which would have rendered it necessary to maintain the French army in its full complement, it has been reduced by royal ordonnance to nearly one-fourth, therefore one of two things must be positive. Either the English Government never raised any pretensions about Spain which occasioned dissatisfaction to the French cabinet, or having raised them it has consented to abandon them.

Briefly then, and as the French say, *avec connoissance de cause*, we assert that since M. Guizot returned to office in France, there never has been any misunderstanding on the Spanish question which was of a nature to excite permanent, we might even say temporary dissatisfaction. It was a source of regret to Louis Philip, both as a monarch having probably some hope of seeing one of his sons become King of Spain, and as a man tenderly attached to the members of his wife's family, with whom she keeps up the relations of consanguinity, that Queen Christina should be driven out of Spain by a soldier of fortune, and that the regency should be taken from the descendant of a race of kings to be conferred upon the son of a peasant, and Louis Philip may have been, and probably was, engaged in the intrigue by which he hoped to restore Christina and check the republican feeling which was gaining ground in Spain. All this was very natural, and there was nothing in it to alarm or offend the British government. There can be little sympathy for Espartero in the minds of honourable and enlightened men in England, whether Whigs or Conservatives; but he is the *de facto* regent of Spain, and if he is to be deprived of that post, it will not be by British intervention. On the other hand, however, any change in Spain, by which Christina should be restored, if merely effected by French intrigue backed by the popular voice, would not be of a nature to excite remonstrance from the English cabinet. The idea of armed intervention on the part of France was indeed entertained at one moment; but no sooner was it known that Sir Robert Peel was resolved to maintain the non-intervention principle in all cases where the peace of Europe would not be endangered by its maintenance, than the idea was abandoned. The pretensions of France, therefore, have not occasioned any uneasiness to the British government, and there have been no pretensions set up on the part of England. On the contrary, Mr. Bulwer has repeatedly assured M. Guizot that England desired only the pacification of Spain, and was anxious for that object to act cordially with the French government; and M. Guizot in three despatches to the French ambassador in London, has ordered him to give similar assurances. We have seen several blustering articles in the French papers about a commercial treaty between England and Spain, and calling upon the government to protest against any arrangement of this kind, as an infringement of the quadruple treaty, by which, as in the treaty for the pacification of the East, the parties are bound, it is said, not to demand for themselves exclusive privileges. There is no stipulation of this kind, at least none which would have the slightest bearing upon the question alluded to, in the treaty, which, by the

by, has been more than once rendered a dead letter by the refusal of France to execute its conditions. And really there is so much cool impudence in the call of the French journals for a protest against England on the reported intention of effecting a treaty of commerce with Spain, that we know not whether we ought not to be more amused by it than angry. To tell us that we are not to make the best terms we can for getting prohibitory duties in Spain on English manufactures abolished, at the very moment when the French are clamouring for a Customs Union with Belgium, by which the two nations would become one politically as well as commercially, is the height of insolence. With all this, however, the French government has nothing to do. It has never protested against the idea of a commercial treaty between England and Spain, and it has no intention of protesting. It is endeavouring to negotiate one on its own account, and we hope it will be successful, for Spain must be benefited by competition.

There is nothing then in the relations between the governments of Great Britain and France on the subject of Spain to cause uneasiness to the Conservative cabinet. The non-intervention principle will be upheld as long as it may be possible to do so, and if from necessity, and for the peace of Europe, it should ever be departed from, all the cabinets of Europe will be agreed as to the course to be adopted.

The relations of England, with the other countries of Europe, are on as good a footing as the friends of peace could desire, and it is highly cheering to reflect that what has been founded upon the earnest wish of all the sovereigns of Europe has an additional guarantee in the strength of the party at the head of affairs here. Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are as desirous of peace as England can be, but considering the important influence which England must ever have in the equilibrium of Europe, it is for them, as well as for the people of England, a vital point that our government should possess the moral force requisite for the direction of the physical energies of the country towards the maintenance of peace.

The domestic policy of the British government is however more difficult, and perhaps of even greater importance than the foreign policy. The great questions which they have to solve are the corn laws, the poor laws, and the general question of population. Of these the latter is by far the most important; in fact, the problem of the equilibrium of food and numbers has in every age of the world, even in the days of Confucius, Solon, and Lycurgus, been considered the first and greatest point of legislation, and perhaps of all human science. At the present moment it presses with ten-fold force upon our country. Mr.

Wayland, in his *Principles of Population and Production*, says, "It is a subject of the utmost importance, and one upon which no British gentleman or legislator should be permitted to go forth into the world without clear and decided views. The happiness of the people derived from their comfortable subsistence, and from their moral conduct upon all those points which are connected with the principle of population, is the only solid foundation of national prosperity. Without it all the pains bestowed in the higher departments of policy are only so many fruitless efforts to adorn a superstructure which the first blast of adversity must level with the ground. With it, the edifice of the state is founded upon a rock, against which the waves will beat in vain; for it will be firm enough not only to be preserved from overthrow, but even to escape those temporary shocks which might injure the more minute arrangements for the comfort of the inhabitants. The mind of a British statesman especially must be ill-furnished, and his efforts comparatively unsuccessful, who is ignorant of the principles upon which this essential foundation is to be laid." About two centuries ago Gregory King and other contemporary statisticians calculated that our population would double only every four hundred and fifty or five hundred years. We have seen however that our population has been doubled within the last fifty years, and that notwithstanding an emigration of at least twenty thousand persons annually to our colonies, and an infinite sum of what is called, in the language of political economy, vice and misery curtailing the mean period of human life. Had these causes not been in operation, particularly if we take into calculation the children who might have been born from those who have emigrated to the colonies, and capital could have been found (here we use the word capital in the sense also of the political economists) our population might have been fifty-four instead of twenty-seven millions. Population in a fairly governed country will however always keep up to the means of food, and supposing that the country is relieved annually by an emigration of three or four hundred thousand persons, it will not in the end in the present state of society do us any extensive good. The average period of marriage of women in England is considered to be twenty-five years. The result, if capital be as much developed as it has been for the last ten, twenty, thirty, or forty years, will be simply, that the age of marriage in women will be reduced to twenty-two or twenty-three years as an average, with as great a surplus population in 1851 over 1841, as 1841 was over 1831. This is practically exemplified in the emigrations which have been promoted of late years by several noblemen and gentlemen, the vacuum will always be filled up by the *vis a tergo* of procrea-

tion. Upwards of forty years have past since the doctrines of Mr. Malthus were promulgated. "Food," said he, "is produced only in old settled countries every twenty-five years in the arithmetical ratio, or as the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; population every twenty-five years has a tendency to increase in the geometrical ratio, or as the figures 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64." His remedy to keep these two ratios equal was to postpone the period of marriage for both sexes to the ages of twenty-eight or thirty. The doctrines of Mr. Malthus are admitted by every sound thinking man in the country as indisputably correct. In fact they have never been answered. They were admitted by a solemn act of parliament, which changed the old into the new poor law bill, a law which at the present moment is the cause of so much irritating and unpleasant discussion. The corn law question is looked forward to with much anxiety; but it is, in reference to the question of population, a matter of insignificance. We may have perhaps a transient benefit by the opening of the ports, and transient it will only be, for supposing that two out of the three millions which may be added to our population in the next ten years, were all to be employed in manufactures, they would, in all probability, with the improvements made and still going on in machinery, be sufficiently numerous to manufacture for the entire world, whilst at the same time the tendency to manufacture is becoming greater in each state abroad. The advantages of peace may enable each kingdom to be more and more independent of one another, and after all what is to be done with the eight and-twenty or thirty millions which may be added to our population in the next fifty years? The question of the poor law is infinitely more important, nay a hundred times more so, than that of the corn law. The poor law question, however, is but a part of the population question.

We confess that matters look grave and serious in whatever aspect they are viewed. Every one sees the evils, and yet where is the remedy? Mr. Malthus's remedy, although the pet cure of Lord Brougham, Dr. Chalmers, Mr. Senior, and the present school of political economy, is but a remedy calculated to make the whole kingdom a scene of bastardy, promiscuous intercourse, or even something more vile, and is admitted by all to be contrary to the principles of natural and revealed religion. Accustomed to read books on this subject, we look back with the utmost horror on this question of population. It was, in the days of Moses, the cause of infanticide, a crime adopted by almost every nation of the world, until a comparatively short time ago. We, at the same time, revert with horror to the remedies for repressing numbers in the works of Plato and Aristotle, and indeed on all the inhuman plans which expediency, and the

wickedness of the human heart, have invented to keep population equal to food. The press, for the last forty-five years, has been teeming with works on population, and yet the subject is just where it was, in utter darkness, and Mr. Malthus's doctrines are, for want of more correct views as to the remedy to be applied, triumphant. Our opinions as to the positions laid down by Mr. Malthus, which we in common with others considered unanswerable, have been somewhat staggered by the perusal of a forthcoming work from the pen of Dr. Loudon, an English physician of high repute in Paris, who has devoted eight or ten years of his life to the study of this question. We do not however pledge ourselves to the correctness of his views, but they are based upon such deep research, and are backed by such extraordinary arguments, derived from comparative and human physiology, that they are entitled to and will, no doubt, receive the deepest consideration from every well-wisher to the human race. Dr. Loudon, from his studies on the mammiferous animals, and his observations on the human species, has endeavoured to demonstrate that the great mistake made by all physiologists and political economists is, in supposing that the *possible* number of births is the *natural law* of births. So far from this being the case, the author contends that the providential course of society, as established by the Almighty on the creation of man, has ever been that births should take place not every year, every second year, or every third year, but every *fourth* year; for nature, he says, intended that every mother should nurse her child for three years.* Independently of the arguments which he adduces from comparative and human physiology, his historical references on this subject are exceedingly striking, and we find in the writings of some of the most eminent German and French physiologists reason to think that, startling as his doctrine may appear, it is not to be treated as a mere dream. If the discovery should prove correct it is more important than the discovery of vaccination or that of the circulation of the blood, or indeed any other discovery in physiology, for it would be a remedy for the evil of which all complain.

Every person acquainted with the elements of the sciences of political economy must see that if this physiological fact be established, marriage for both sexes, and in all ranks of society, may

* There is some difference of opinion amongst physiologists as to the fact that the prolongation of the period of lactation in the human species prevents conception, but it is admitted by all, that the exceptions to the general law of conception during that period, in this respect, are comparatively few. We cannot agree with Dr. Loudon on this head, we believe the reverse to be the fact; the generality of mothers are also incapable of supporting such a period of lactation, their milk leaves them in the majority of instances at the end of a few months.—*Editor*.

take place at the age of seventeen or eighteen; that a small moral restraint of a year or two will be all that is necessary to keep population equal to subsistence; that morality, in every sense of the word, will be a great gainer; that we shall be able to carry out the great principles of the Christian religion; that wages will rise from the absence of that excessive competition of labour which grinds the poor to the earth; the poor laws will no longer threaten to absorb the rental of the land, for the really industrious poor may be provided for without much expense to the state; and the idea that a nation, or the whole world, may sink under the weight of its own population will be for ever at end.

There is something so delightful in a doctrine which has the laws of natural and revealed religion as its basis, that we sincerely trust it may turn out to be as possible in practice as it may be true in theory. If something be not done, whether on the recommendation of Dr. Loudon or that of any other man, to change the bases upon which society now rests, all legislation as to the poor will be vain; but we may fairly hope that if a great pacific revolution as to society cannot be effected, the present government will at least provide all the palliatives which it would be in the power of any cabinet to contrive. That the existing poor law, viewed abstractedly from the great question of population, if indeed it can be so viewed, is susceptible of modification, we do not deny. The refusal of out-door relief may certainly be reformed, and be found economical, since many would slightly aid a party to shield him from utter pauperism. Much is also to be done as to a regulation for a general and perfect dietary system, the variations in which have been justly remarked upon by the press. It is also to be desired that the remuneration to medical officers should be placed on a more humane scale. There are crying defects in the present system. We are sure that the disposition to reform them is not wanting, and that reform will take place.

We have alluded briefly to the question of the Corn Laws, because it is really one on which opinion is of no value. It can be solved only by facts. On the one side we hear persons declaiming against those laws as the cause of all the evils with which the country has to contend; as the incubus of national prosperity and the demon which is to starve the people of England, and lay us prostrate before the whole of Europe; on the other, we hear it asserted that the abolition, nay, the modification of them, will bring ruin upon the country. In presence of such conflicting opinions, what is the duty of the government?—To pause, to collect the facts which bear upon the question, to ascertain how far they are applicable to our state, and then to act. If ministers

should convince themselves that changes are called for in the interest of the country without reference to this or that party, to this or that interest, they will we are sure be bold enough to propose them; but if all the facts which they are collecting should confirm their former views, they will be equally bold in resisting clamour, for to comply with its demands in such case would be to betray their duty to the State.

The situation of Ireland is another great question, and considering the successful delusion which has been practised there by Mr. O'Connell and his disciples, it is not one that can be hastily settled to the satisfaction either of the Irish as a people, or of those who have ventured to differ from the Agitator as to the extent of the evils of which the Irish complain, the causes from which they proceed, or the remedies which should be applied. The most infamous part of the conduct of Mr. O'Connell is the attempt to describe the Conservative ministry as making the religion of the majority of Irish people a barrier to the enjoyment of civil rights. If any persons have a right to complain of the men now in office on religious grounds in relation to Ireland, they are not Mr. O'Connell and his supporters, they are the friends of Protestantism who fear that the Conservative ministry have carried the principle of toleration too far. Mr. O'Connell cannot surely have forgotten that his friends, the Whigs, did not grant Catholic emancipation; he cannot have forgotten that by no act of the Conservative ministry now in power was religious liberty in Ireland attacked even before the great question of Catholic emancipation was conceded. Can he adduce a single instance of religious persecution in Ireland under the administration of Sir Robert Peel, and does he not know that the Duke of Wellington, whom he at times describes as the abettor and supporter of Orangeism in Ireland, refused, even at the entreaty of the late Duke of York, to join the Orange Society in England, lest he should be supposed to have intolerant views?* If Mr. O'Connell

* About sixteen or seventeen years ago, an Orange Lodge was set up in England of which the Duke of York was the grand master and Lord Kenyon the deputy grand master. The Duke of Wellington was earnestly solicited by the Duke of York to become a member of the society. His reply to the gentleman who waited upon him in the name of the Duke of York was characteristic of the independence and good sense of the illustrious warrior; he said, "The affectionate respect which I entertain for his Royal Highness renders it painful to me to refuse his request, but I must be guided by my own conscience; I believe that the principles of Orangemen are founded in true religion and loyalty, but I do not think that it is wise to keep up religious differences by the perpetuation of sects and parties which have already created ill blood." The Duke of York subsequently withdrew from the society, and at a meeting at the house of a noble lord where his resignation was announced, the society was formally dissolved. It was revived a few years afterwards, and was then put down by law.

hopes that the Conservatives will, by religious persecution in Ireland, provide him with food for agitation, he will be deceived. The Irish have not yet broken out into open rebellion against England, notwithstanding all the excitement which the popular leaders have given to them; and sure we are that if they are to be deterred from rebellion by good government, they will not rebel. Mr. O'Connell calls himself the representative for all Ireland; that he represents only the worst part of it is evident from the failure of his attempts to rouse the people *en masse*. He will say, perhaps, that his exhortations have kept them from rising. It might as well be said that a firebrand thrown amongst dry straw prevents it from bursting into a blaze. If the fire of revolution has not broken out in Ireland, it is not because Mr. O'Connell did not apply the torch, but because the materials were damp.

Whatever may be the difficulties with which a government has to contend as regards its foreign or domestic policy, it is evident that under a representative system the country must suffer if the ministers be unable to carry their measures by a respectable, not to say a large, majority, such majority being founded on principle, and not the mere result of concessions to this or that party in order to obtain a temporary triumph. When the sovereign, yielding to public opinion as manifested at a general election, dismisses one set of ministers, and receives another set chosen from the party in which the public place confidence, the new ministry must, if there be any meaning in words and any reality in our boasted constitution, be a national ministry, and the nation must be weak or strong according to the strength or weakness of its government. In despotic countries, where the will of the sovereign is above both ministers and people, the latter may be indifferent as to the degree of respect inspired by the government. In such cases, a breath has made and a breath may unmake; the guarantee lies solely with the monarch. But this is not the case in a free country with representative institutions. Although the national voice only is supposed to be effective in placing this or that set of men at the head of affairs and of permanently maintaining them in that position, yet intrigue and a vacillating system of concession may keep them in office to the injury of the country; for a ministry which exists upon intrigue and concession must be a weak ministry, incapable of upholding the dignity of a foreign policy, or of carrying important measures connected with domestic policy. So long as a government represents the feelings and opinions which first established it, so long it is important that it should be powerful in both houses of parliament; when those feelings and opinions have undergone a change, or ministers have

ceased to represent them, the sooner they are replaced by another set of men the better.

Now what was the position of the late Whig cabinet during the greater portion of the time that it existed? We will not say that it was never a national government; for whatever delusion was practised to bring about the accession of the Whigs, they, like the Conservatives at the present moment, came into office on the wings of public opinion. Was that opinion founded upon wrong bases; did it undergo a change soon after the Whigs were entrusted with the government of the country, or did they violate the principles which placed them in office? These are all questions which may be fairly asked, but not one of them bears upon the true question, viz. Did the Whig cabinet possess the confidence of the country during the last three or four years of its existence; and can any representative government, not possessing that confidence, maintain the dignity and promote the prosperity of a nation? What respect could be inspired abroad by a government which was believed by foreign powers to be without a real majority in parliament, and respecting which it was said that dissension reigned amongst its members on all great questions of foreign policy? We all know that the late cabinet was not homogeneous, and that three or four of its members had their separate tails in the House of Commons. If Lord Melbourne, for instance, wished to carry a measure in domestic policy too Conservative to please the Radicals, their votes were given out of respect to Lord John Russell, who would exclaim, "If you abandon us, we fall to pieces!" And this was the case on almost every occasion, although the supposed want of union amongst ministers on questions of foreign policy was the most striking. How nearly was Lord Palmerston defeated, and the country placed in danger of a collision with France, by the sympathy manifested by Lord Holland for the French republicans on the Eastern Question. M. Thiers would not have armed and menaced as he did, if he had not thought that the British ministry of that day was divided in itself and without the power of getting its policy adopted by the House of Commons. The Whig government had ceased to be a national government in the eyes of foreigners; and if such a state of things had continued much longer, England would have ceased to be a nation.

It is very important then, whether a ministry be Whig or Conservative, that it should have a hold upon the people through its representatives. No country can be truly great and powerful in which, upon all vital questions, a parliamentary majority, instead of being commanded by principle, is obtained only by concession to party. We have not to look far for an instance of the evils

produced by a contrary state of things. France has a representative government, but it seems as if she were doomed to experience all the evils and none of the blessings of the representative system. And why? Because, from the nature of parties in the Chamber of Deputies, ministers can at no time be said to represent what is sound, and control what is unsound, in the opinions of the nation. The patching up and party concession system is in full vigour in France, and as regards the means of keeping a cabinet together for a short period, it is found to answer; but how does it answer as regards the country? Ministers are unable to carry any measure upon principle; they have one day to conciliate one party, another day the opposite party must be conciliated. The foreign policy of France is weak, because foreign powers know that the elements of strength are wanting, and the domestic policy scarcely admits of improvement; for no ministry has sufficient hold upon public opinion to triumph over the monopoly of private and particular interests. What the present ministry is, that of the Whigs was becoming. They did not represent the country, and were consequently without power over parties in the House of Commons; they had not the confidence of the House of Commons, and they were therefore powerless over the country. Is this the case with the Conservatives? We think not. Do the men in power, we care not a rush what they be called, form what may be fairly called a National Government? We think they do. They are strong in themselves, and the strength of the nation lies with them. So long as their conduct shall be proper, the parliament and the country will be identified with them. If they should betray their trust, they cannot be driven from office too soon. A government without the confidence of parliament and of the country can only be a dead weight upon the country. When it has that confidence, it is capable of any effort for the welfare and prosperity of the nation.

CRITICAL SKETCHES

OF RECENT CONTINENTAL PUBLICATIONS.

ART. X.—*Neuere Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen.* Von G. G. Gervinus. Zwei Bände. (The Modern Literature of the Germans. By G. G. Gervinus. Two Volumes.) Leipzig: 1840-1842. Engelmann.

THESE two volumes form a continuation of the same author's work on the development of the national literature of the Germans, in three volumes. Many of the views and opinions which Professor Gervinus holds are opposed to the sentiments of some of the ablest writers in Germany; but all have done justice to the ability and talent which he has displayed. Independent in his judgment, little caring to flatter the prejudices or even the feelings of his countrymen, his work has the merit, if not of always commanding assent, at least of exciting to reflection. Very different from the mass of literary histories, it is not to be idly skimmed over, nor does it by any means supply the want of a *Conversations-Lexicon*. We do not always learn when a writer lived, but we are sure to be entertained by much ingenious speculations concerning his writings, and the prevailing tone and colour of the times in which he lived. These speculations and a too great love of antithesis sometimes degenerate into mannerism. But although his work will be useless to fine ladies and gentlemen who wish, with little trouble, to chat about German literature, we can strongly recommend it to those who, with some previous knowledge of the subject, wish to follow out their studies in an independent spirit. Omitting the three first volumes (on which we shall probably give an article shortly, since the national MSS. on which they are based are most important), which, although very interesting, are less calculated for the general reader, we will confine our observations to the two last, which very properly form a complete work of themselves. They embrace the period from Gottsched to the deliverance of Germany from the French yoke. The author closes his work without bringing it down to the present time, for reasons not very flattering to his contemporaries.

"More recently our literature has become a stagnant marsh filled with such noxious matter that we must wish for some hurricane from without. Our literature has *had* its time; and if German life is not to stand still, we must decoy the talents which have now no object, to real life and to politics, where a new spirit may be cast into new matter. As far as my powers permit, I follow this warning of the time."

His scorn of the present writers warms him into a multitude of expressive epithets which almost defy translation in our colder language. In conclusion he calls up Harry Hotspur.

"Shall I quote his catechism? I find it exceedingly beautiful: those who know nothing may call me a barbarian if they please.

'I had rather be a kitten and cry — mew
Than one of these same metre balladmongers.'"

We have no very great affection for many of the writers of the new school, nevertheless we think this somewhat hard measure.

In a work which consists principally in reasoning and reflections, it is difficult in a limited space to find passages which will convey a just idea of the merits and peculiarities of the writer. Perhaps the following remarks, which form but a small part of his observations on Wieland, will show how far superior he is to the majority of writers on similar subjects.

“Wieland defended himself (1775) in *The Conversations with the Vicar of ****, and confessed that he had gone too far; though with his usual *halfness* he tried a hundred excuses, none of which were very happy, whilst the objections against which he advances no answer remain in their full force. He comforts himself for the evils which his tales may have caused by the good they may likewise have produced. Moreover, he says that if he had foreseen such a result, that he would not have written them, although he declares that caution in a poet in a moment of genius is a weakness. He soothes himself with Pope’s maxim—‘Whatever is, is right;’ and ‘as Ariosto and Boccaccio already existed, his productions would not make the world much worse!’ He will not be responsible for the accidental evil which he produced, but he is silent respecting the necessary evil, which was easily to be foreseen. He would not put his Idris into the hands of his own daughter, but he intended to educate her so that it would do her no harm if she read it. This is in connexion with the aristocratical maxim of Shaftesbury, that the heart must be in unison with the head—that the virtue and goodness of man were dependent upon wisdom, true enlightenment the only means of true amelioration; and that a fundamental morality must supply the place of a superstitious religion.

“*Naïf* sentiments and innocence exist in Wieland’s personal and moral character. In the honeymoon (since 1765), which extended to honey years, he published his joys in his different writings with antique *naïveté*, but in these writings themselves there is nothing of innocence or of *naïveté*. False guides had corrupted his taste and style, although they could not corrupt his life. Here lies the contradiction in Wieland’s conscience—the contradiction between his pure consciousness in his course of life, and the voice of the time—the difference of judgment between his domestic character and his works. Wieland is always full of moral tendencies even in those licentious tales; and he afterwards brought his poetry into still closer connection with history and philosophy than he had formerly done with religion. But—and this is the grand point—his grace was not real, his art not beautiful; it offended against the nature of the new principle; for, independently of moral allusions, all the above tales, considered as works of art, are thoroughly insipid and contrary to sound taste. Some extreme or caricature, in the beginning of this new direction, would have done no harm, if Goethe’s assertion were but true, that they were daring attempts at genius, in which he had tried to compete with Aristophanes!! or if Wieland had had a genius for poetry. But how little this is the case he himself shows in his *Excuses to the Vicar of ****. He expressly opposed his inventions and men to the romances and characters of Richardson; saturated with the nothingness of these figures, which stood in no relation to human nature, he would describe men as they are; he again forgot that the object of art is the Beautiful. He did not even oppose real men to those virtue-heroes of Richardson, but caricatures, if we consider them materially, or beings who, in their ideal and real relations, partook of human nature in his own too peculiar manner. His celebrated knowledge of mankind is far removed from Lessing’s knowledge of mankind and of life; it is often derived from the suspi-

cious sources of Rousseau and Voltaire; it is, where it is real nature and experience, only knowledge of himself, and this is the reason why Wieland's personality is a much more interesting subject than his works in themselves."—vol. i. pp. 286-290.

In this tone of philosophic chit-chat our author continues to dilate on Wieland for some thirty pages; but although long, we seldom find him tedious. Although German literature has not till now been treated in this manner, it cannot be denied that it is peculiarly calculated to throw light upon, and, by exciting opposition, to promote a deeper study of, the different writers and their times. For German literature, by which we mean its developments in the last hundred years, has this peculiarity, that it has within a short period gone through those phases which with us extend through a much longer period of time. Contemporary with a rising spirit of criticism and reflection, almost all the writers of note had promulgated their own peculiar philosophical system; and thus acting, as it were, under a double principle, the creative power does not soar so unimpeded; and a striving of the mind after some particular aim diminishes the freshness and singlemindedness (if we may be allowed the expression) which we find in the works of a vigorous but less reflecting and philosophical period. The rapid change of systems, too, in Germany has essentially contributed to lessen the duration of their influence; and of all the elder writers so loudly bepraised in the last century, Lessing is perhaps the only one who still retains a hold on the national affection; and to this he is indebted to the manly vigour of his mind. Our English writers, till within a comparatively recent period, followed rather their inward impulse than the gradual developments of theory, whilst the Germans strove to unite the somewhat discordant characters of poet and critic, each in equal perfection; but it is not given to men to be at once an Aristotle and a Homer. Fortunately for England, she possesses writers of surpassing excellence, who will serve as beacons to recal the nation, after periodical wanderings, to those models that will command admiration as long as our language shall exist. We by no means agree with our author in the desponding view which he takes of German literature; on the contrary, we consider the preceding appearances in that country but as harbingers of a brilliant and perhaps not very distant future.

ART. XI.—*Opere utili ad ogni Persona Educata.* Torino. 1840.

ITALY seems at last determined, if she can effect nothing from her own resources, to avail herself of the best from other parts of the world. The work before us starts with the avowed intention of maintaining the same basis as the Cabinet Cyclopædia, the Family Library, and the Library of Useful Knowledge. Among translations from the above works we find Herschel's Discourse on Natural Philosophy, and Newton's Life by Brewster. It will also contain original papers; such as *Storia di Firenze*, *Vite di Celebri Italiani*, and the best and most popular works on Botany, Geography, Astronomy, Optics, Hydrostatics, &c.

We wish the spirited association success in their varied schemes for the intellectual improvement of their country.

ART. XII.—*Atlante Linguistico d'Europa*. Di B. Biondelli. Vol. I. Milano. 1841.

THIS is a work undertaken with the express design of combining under one head a classification of all the nations of Europe, in regard to their character and to the relations of their languages. The blunders so frequently made in confounding the Slavic with the German nations or with the Finnish, and the Turco-Tartaric with the Slavic, and many other errors, have induced the bold enterprise before us. The author trusts to be enabled to classify all the European idioms and dialects. Following Malte Brun and Balbi, he extends his researches from the Caucasus to the Caspian Sea and the Ural Mountains; and as he approaches European Russia, he includes Samoieds, Finnish, and Turco-Tartaric tribes near the Icy and Black Sea. On the conclusion of his labours he trusts to have completed a work that the celebrated Klaproth commenced in his "*Asia Polyglotta*."

ART. XIII.—*Annali di Fisica, Chimica, et Matematiche*. Dal Professore Majocchi. Milano. 1841.

WE can do little more than announce this work, which we expected would long since have reached us. It contains, among others, the following Dissertations: "On the Electric Telegraph of Professor Wheatstone, by Quetelet;" "On a Spark produced by simple tension from a Volcanic Battery, by Crosse;" "On the Determination of the mean Density of the Earth, by Professor Giulio;" "An Exposition of a new Nomenclature, expressing Atomic Affinities, by Luigi Luciano Bonaparte di Canino;" "Some Observations on a Soap for making Cloth and Stuff water-proof, without removing the circulation of air;" "On the best mode of constructing Magnets," &c. It is evident from the above, that the Italians are not quite slumbering through existence.

ART. XIV.—*Enciclopedia Chirurgica, o Dizionario Universale di Chirurgica Teorica e Pratica*. Del Dottor Giuseppe Coen. Venezia. 1840.

THE following remarks on the defects of the well-known work of Professor Ruggieri and that of Samuel Cooper on the above subject, will be perused with interest by our medical readers.

"L'Enciclopedia di chirurgia, voltato in italiano ed annotato dal prof. Ruggieri, è una efficace dimostrazione dell' avanzamento della chirurgia in questi ultimi anni; il suo disegno è vasto per verità e bene ordinato, ma

parecchi articoli sono meschini oltremodo, varii argomenti rimangono affatto dimenticati o troppo superficialmente trattati. Quello di Samuele Cooper manca di molti di questi inconvenienti, ma ne ha parecchi di proprii, inerenti al disegno troppo ristretto che l'autore si era fatto; l'anatomia occupa uno spazio troppo limitato; l'ostetricia e la medicina legale nelle sue attinenze colla chirurgia sono passate sotto silenzio, la biografia non c'entra; gli ultimi perfezionamenti introdotti in molti argomenti chirurgici, come sarebbero quelli dell'ortopedia, della litotrizia, dell'autoplastica, sono troppo recenti perchè nell'opera di Cooper abbiano quel posto che si sono meritati; poche sono le malattie cutanee accennate, e queste non sono neppure tutte le mancanze che si potrebbero notare."

The object of Dr. Coen is to give a useful abstract of the art, to simplify the larger treatises, to throw in all fresh discoveries, and to bring up the subject from the stationary point at which it remains necessarily in many modern works, which have not kept pace with inventions, to the full development of all the modern successful treatment of club-foot, lithotrity, the various cutaneous maladies, and also its bearings upon forensic questions.

ART. XV.—*Storia della Pittura Italiana*. Pisa. 1841.

THIS work, which is intended to comprise an entire illustrated History of Italian art, has already commenced the first era, from Giunta to Masaccio; the second will speedily follow, from Filippo Lippi to Raphael. It will be complete in 56 parts, and will contain monumental illustrations of great value, independent of vignettes and plates illustrative of the subject. The first part contains the following plates:

1. A miniature of Pisa, of unquestionably 1242, A.D.
2. Bas Relief of Niccola Pisano.
3. The Christ of Giunta Pisano.
4. The Virgin of Guido da Siena of 1221; Virgin of Cimabue, painted about 1276.

By this our readers will be enabled to gather the scope of the work, and the beneficial influence such a production must have on the arts in general, in which exactness of detail is combined with precision and elegance of illustration. We cannot close these Italian notices without regretting the great want of punctuality in fulfilling their engagements on the part of the Italian booksellers, who ruin the sale of their works in this country by sending them over when all interest has waned as to their contents. We also intreat the distinguished Professors at the various Italian universities to bestow some pains on expediting the passage of their numerous valuable scientific and classical researches to England. The very life of this publication, in which they are all interested, consists in a vigorous and faithful picture of collective science throughout all parts of the globe. To no portion do we feel deeper disposed to concede ampler space than to Italy, which has lost all dominion save that of the "eternal spirit of the chainless mind."

MISCELLANEOUS LITERARY NOTICES.

AUSTRIA.

Population.—In 1840 the births were 837,040, the deaths 659,840; exhibiting an increase of 177,200 inhabitants,—9491 more than the increase in 1839. The greatest mortality was in children of the first year, 212,462—and in old men from 60 to 80, 106,246. 475 persons attained the age of 100; 8403 died of epidemic disorders; there were 861 cases of suicide, 53 of hydrophobia (these three last numbers are greater than in the preceding year). There were 473 cases of murder; 5369 died of various accidents; and 28 were executed: in 1839 there were 39 executions. We are unable to account for the discrepancy between the number of executions and the alleged cases of murder.

FRANCE.

A collection of the Letters of Henry IV. is about to be published, under the auspices of the Minister of public instruction. The number of original letters of this Sovereign (who carried on a most extensive correspondence) which have been found in the French archives and in those of other nations, amounts to 2,500, of which more than 1,500 have never been printed. M. Villemain has intrusted this publication to M. Berger de Xivrey, whose work is to be laid before Messrs. Mignet and Monmerqué. The letters are addressed to persons in different countries, and represent this distinguished monarch as warrior and statesman, in retirement as well as in the different periods of his eventful life. Besides possessing all the advantages of authentic memoirs, they will be considered of additional value as an interesting monument of the language of the period.

The public attention has been drawn to an important work now in course of publication at Paris, under the auspices of the Government, "The History of Dumont d'Urville's Expedition to the South Pole, undertaken by command of his Majesty Louis Philip, in the vessels *L'Astrolabe* and *Zélée*, during the years 1837, 1838, 1839, and 1840." It will extend to fourteen volumes, which are divided into six sections,—viz.

1. History of the Voyage, in 5 vols., illustrated with 200 lithographic engravings.
2. Zoology, in 3 vols., illustrated by 150 coloured engravings.
3. Botany, in 2 vols., illustrated by 80 engravings.
4. Anthropology, or Human Physiology, in 1 vol., illustrated by 50 lithographic engravings.
5. Mineralogy and Geology, in 1 vol., 20 plates.
6. Philology, in 2 vols., with comparative tables.

A smaller edition of this work in 10 volumes, at a reduced price, is also preparing for publication.

Kant's Philosophy has found another opponent in the person of professor Steininger of Trèves, who has lately published a work in French, entitled *Examen Critique de la Philosophie Allemande depuis Kant jusqu'à nos Jours*. He gives only a short sketch of Fichte's System and of Hegel and Schelling, partly because he has treated of them in reviewing Kant, partly, he affirms, because Fichte and Schelling have abandoned their own systems. The immediate cause of the essay was the prize offered by the French Academy in 1840, which directed attention to the subject in France.

GERMANY.

Several of Schiller's and Goethe's dramas have lately been published on the continent translated into English. Mary Stuart has been translated by Mr. Peter; the Maid of Orleans by Mr. Lucas, and Goethe's Iphigenia by Dr. Hartwig.

Prince Maximilian's Travels in the Interior of North America is proceeding rapidly through the press. The second volume and eighteen numbers of the Atlas have already appeared.

BONN.—Welker has left this town for Greece, where he is to continue the researches that the unexpected death of Carl Otfried Müller put a stop to for a time. He has, previous to departure, superintended the publication of a volume of Philological Writings by Naeke, which hardly needed his recommendation to commend them to all scholars.

A new translation of Spinoza's works is about to be published at Stuttgart by Berthold Auerbach.

Schoell, the companion of K. O. Müller during his last journey to Greece, is going to publish a diary from the journals of his friend, in which are collected the memoranda of all his latest discoveries; and we hear that his brother Dr. Ed. Müller has just published the History of Greek Literature, which was published some years ago in an English translation, by G. C. Lewis, Esq. in the Library of Useful Knowledge.

The Michaelmas fair Catalogue of books, just published, contains many that will be highly interesting to the learned in every civilized nation, and do honour to the enterprize of the Germans. Pertz has published the sixth folio volume of his "*Monumenta Germaniæ Historiæ*," which contains the fourth volume of the *Scriptores*. A splendid work is also appearing by subscription on the Costumes of the Christian Middle Ages; the editor is Heffner, assisted by numerous contributors, amongst whom we notice Passavant, Ph. Veit and Count Pocci. Jahn is bringing out in numbers a new series of Ornaments, copied from Pompeii, which are printed in oil colours from stone by Asmus in Berlin. Poeppig, with the assistance of Professor Endlicher, has published several new numbers of his *Flora of Chili, Peru, and the country bordering on the Amazon*. Lepsius is going to publish an account, with fac-similes of Umbrian and Oscean Inscriptions, and is preparing a work to be entitled the *Book of Death of the Egyptians, from the Papyri in the Turin library*.

Another volume has been added to Bretschneider's edition of Melanchthon's works, and two more volumes to the Bonn edition of the Byzantine Historians.

Among the works preparing for publication we may mention a Dictionary of the Pali Language, with Pali-Sanscrit index, edited by Dr. H. Brockhaus; also by the same learned editor, a Collection of Oriental Fables and Tales, and an edition of Prahodha Chandrodaya's System of Vedanta Philosophy, with the Scholia of Rama Dasa. At Bonn we perceive the announcement of new editions of the *Cacuntala*, by Böhtling Malavika, and *Aquimitra*, by O. F. Tullberg, and *Meghadicta and Cringazatilaka*, by Gildemeister; also the completion of Westergaard's *Sanscrit Radices*, which will be welcome news to many who have felt the inconvenience of the scarcity of Rosen's works. An edition of *Alciphron*, by Seiler, and of *Seneca the Philosopher*, by Fickert, are also announced as forthcoming; the new volumes in the *Bibliotheca Græca* will contain the *Phœnissæ*, by Klotz, and the first section of *Thucydides*, by Poppo. Professor Becker, of Leipsic, the talented author of "*Gallus*" and "*Charikles*," has another work almost ready for publication, a *Manual of Roman Antiquities*, or a *Description of Roman Life*, with reference to the State, Religion and Manners, in two volumes. Gabelentz and Lache's edition of *Ulfilas*

will also shortly be completed; the second part, containing the remainder of the text and glossary, and a Grammar of the Gothic Language, is announced as nearly ready.

Ternihe is publishing, in a series of beautiful drawings, copies of the principal paintings on the walls of Pompeii. A sixth volume of *Memoires*, by Varnhagen von Ense, is also promised.

The house of Cotta in Stuttgart are preparing for publication a number of their classics, with the most highly-finished illustrations, to be uniform with Herder's "*Cid*," published a year ago; the volumes in the press comprise Schiller's *Bride of Messina*, the *Thirty Years War*, and Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* and *Faust*. The same publishers also contemplate a new abridged edition of Plattner and Bunsen's description of Rome in one large volume.

A collection of old German works, published in Quedlinburg, entitled *Bibliothek der Deutschen National Literatur*, is proceeding rapidly; twenty-three volumes are already published, and the new volumes will contain the *Gesta Romanorum*, edited by Adalbert Keller, *Titarel*, edited by Hahn, and the *Legend of King Arthur*, and the *Red Book of Hergest*, edited by San Marke, the learned editor of *Percival*.

Kanneygeisser is at last going to publish the new edition of his excellent translation of Dante's *Lyric Poems*, announced for so many years, and Freiligrath, a poet hitherto very little known, and still less appreciated in England, has been translating some of the most beautiful Scotch ballads and songs.

The National Songs of the Vandals.—A collection of the Songs of this ancient race is now publishing in Saxony; they have been gathered from the mouths of the people, who still continue to use them. The melodies are to be added in music, and the work accompanied by a German translation of the songs, and a collection of the legends, fairy tales, fables and proverbs, with numerous notes and explanations; and a *Dissertation on the Manners and Customs of the People*, by Leopold Haupt and J. E. Schmalzer.

SAXONY.—An enterprising publisher in the little town of Grimma in Saxony has lately completed the publication, by subscription, of a Catalogue of the MSS. in the library of the corporation of Leipsic. It is divided into four sections. The first part, containing the MSS. and European languages, is edited by Dr. Naumann, the diplomata by Bose; Dr. Delitzsch and Dr. Zung have described the Hebrew and Chaldee and a few Slavonian MSS., and Professor Fleisher, the editor of the Catalogue of Oriental MSS. in the King's Library at Dresden, has furnished the part containing the Arabic, Persian and Turkish works.

The same publisher has lately brought out a new edition of *Martial*, in two volumes, edited by Professor Schneidurinn, which is very highly spoken of by several of the first German critical journals.

STUTTGART.—An *History of English Deism*, by Lechner, lately published here, is attracting the notice of the theological and philosophical circles in Germany. He has divided the history into three periods, the commencement of Deism in 1624 to 1689; secondly, its most flourishing period to 1742; and thirdly, the decay of scepticism. These three periods are considered as a continued process of development in the leading persons and ideas, and these again as figures or periods in the history of the times; it also gives a complete review of all the principal English deists, closing with Hume. The author in many of his arguments and investigations has followed closely what Schlosser has written in his *History of the Eighteenth Century*.

The peculiar tendency of the negative writers on religious subjects develops itself more distinctly. Whilst Strauss continues his attack in one direction, Bruno Bauer advances with his hypothesis, that every thing in Christianity is of human origin; and if we understand his reasoning (if his crude observations deserve this honourable appellation), the good faith of the Evangelists would seem, according to him, to rest upon a weak foundation. His book, however,

notwithstanding attempts have been made in some quarters to puff it into notice, has been received with merited indignation. As in the case of Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, the opinion of the faculties has been asked respecting the propriety of prohibiting his work; and a similar verdict has been given, that it is advisable to let the work stand upon its own scientific merits. One of the favourite assertions of the neophilosophers, viz. to believe only what they know, must necessarily limit, if not endanger the existence of religious faith. The apotheosis of the human mind, the assertion that God himself is but the sum of human intelligence, and therefore is himself in a constant state of development as this latter progressively advances—an assertion deduced from the philosophy of Hegel—is at the bottom of these lamentable errors. Whilst Strauss and Bauer accuse those who are not with them of blindly following their own individual wishes and fancies, they do not perceive that they themselves are subject to the same reproach in a still higher degree, inasmuch as they profess to be the teachers of mankind. Yet, notwithstanding the activity of these writers and others of a similar class, we suspect that their influence will be but shortlived, and that it is already on the wane. Their extravagant theories, like every other disease, must culminate before they can be eradicated. The human mind, when puffed up with pride, arrogates to itself the claims of Divinity; but when restored to a healthy state, will bow down in humility before the Creator of all things, in just consciousness of its own weakness. The greatest writers have always approached holy subjects with awe and reverence. Nor is the rash and venturesome tone of the Germans confined to their discussions on religious subjects. Within the last ten years we have seen a similar exhibition in literature; but as the ebullition in this latter instance died away, so we doubt not that the ferment in religious matters will evaporate. The appearance of such works may be useful as leading through the phases of incipient scepticism and absolute denial to purified renovation and reformation. We are no friends to persecution, but we think the Government perfectly justified in rejecting such men as Strauss and Bauer as academical teachers. Let them publish their opinions; but if they are sincere they must wish them to be examined by men of riper judgment, for in a Christian State it is rather too much to expect that the Government should appoint as teachers men whose avowed object it is to overturn the established institutions.

A work is now being read with great interest by high and low, and is creating quite a sensation in literary as well as political circles, the title is *Erinnerungen eines Lebenden aus den Freiheits Kämpfen*.

ITALY.

FLORENCE.—Professor Welker from Bonn has arrived here, and enlivened several of the weekly sittings of the Archæological Institute by his presence. He intends to pass part of the winter in this place, and then proceed to Naples, Sicily and Greece.

FLORENCE.—The Government has published an official list of the visitors at the last meeting of the Association in that city,—viz. from North America 3, Austria 1, Baden 2, Bavaria 1, Belgium 1, Bohemia 1, Brasil 1, Corsica 1, England 24, France 36, Francfort on the Main 1, Greece 1, Hungary 1, the Ionian Islands 2, Ireland 1, Lombardy and Venice 1, Lucca 21, Modena 8, Parma 15, Poland 1, Papal States 32, Prussia 8, Russia 4, San Marino 1, Sardinia 88, Saxe-Coburg Gotha 1, Scotland 2, Sicily and Naples 11, Spain 4, Sweden 2, Switzerland 7, Tuscany 509.

ROME.—The architect Canina in Rome, who lately received the orders of the Queen Dowager of Sicily to superintend the excavation of the ancient Tusculum, has printed a splendid work on the subject of his discoveries, and being only for private distribution, has presented copies to the principal universities of the continent.

PRUSSIA.

BERLIN.—Tieck has left this place to spend the winter in Dresden, but it is understood that he will return in the spring, and enter upon the light duties of a post that the king has provided for him, which will place him quite at his ease for the remainder of his life. An association is forming here, and will be shortly called into life, which, in many respects, is an imitation of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. They have, we hear, taken the "Sing Academie," and will deliver the lectures in the large hall of that building. These will comprise history, philology, natural history, and every thing that may turn to the advancement of knowledge in every direction. One of the chief features of these lectures will be their popularity; they must be intelligible to every educated person.

KONIGSBERG.—Voigt is publishing an abridgment of his celebrated History of Prussia to the Reformation, to form three octavo volumes. A new series of astronomical observations is also just announced by Bessel, containing those made in 1834. This is the twentieth year that Bessel has published.

JENA.—The *Literatur-Zeitung*, published for so many years by this university, is to be given up at the end of this year, and Brockhaus, the great publisher of Leipzig, is expected to continue it in conjunction with several of the professors of this university.

A work of infinite value to the historian has just been published at Berlin by the well known bookseller Nicolai; the work is entitled, "*Denkwürdigkeiten des Freiherren Achatz, Ferdinand von der Asseburg*," who was employed on several diplomatic missions during the years 1744 to 1797; it contains many curious and interesting particulars respecting the houses of Hesse Cassel and Hesse Darmstadt, and some useful information respecting the empress Catherine the Second and the most celebrated men of that period.

The following work, lately published at Berlin, will be highly interesting to many persons studying the variations of the many dialects of the different countries of Europe: "*Tableau synoptique et comparatif des Idiomes populaires ou patois de la France, contenant des notices sur la littérature des dialectes, leur division territoriale, ainsi que celle de leurs sous-espèces des indications générales et comparatives sur leurs articulations et sur leurs formes grammaticales, le tout composé d'après les meilleures sources et les observations faites sur les lieux, et accompagnée d'un choix de morceaux en prose et en vers dans les principales nuances de tous les dialectes ou patois de la France*," par J. F. Schnakenberg. The selections are accompanied with very copious notes, which will make them very valuable to the student; and the addition of the parable of the Prodigal Son in twenty of the principal dialects of France, at once shows their different variations. The author must have spent much time, and used still more diligence, in collecting a volume of such interesting matter.

Statistics of capital convictions and pardons in Prussia.—The following remarks are taken from official sources for the years 1818-1840. The reports for the Rhine provinces are wanting for the years 1833-1838, and we must therefore consider that part of the kingdom separately. In these 23 years the number of capital convictions in Prussia (the Rhine provinces excepted) was 234 males, 78 females, making a total of 312, or 13 per annum. Of the males 99 were pardoned; of the females 63. If we take the number of inhabitants at 10 millions, we have about 4 executions for every 3 millions. The number of

capital convictions in England and Wales, since the diminution of capital crimes by the recent law of Queen Victoria, was, in 1839, 56; and in 1840, 77 persons were capitally convicted.

In France, previous to the law of 28th April, 1832 (by which the jury have the right of adducing extenuating circumstances in favour of the accused) in the seven years preceding, viz. 1825-1831, the number of capital convictions was 771, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ convictions yearly for every million of inhabitants. Since the introduction of extenuating circumstances, there have been 267 capital convictions (1833-1840), or 38 convictions yearly, which gives about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to each million of inhabitants.

The number of capital convictions in Prussia (the Rhine provinces excepted) is on the decrease. In the first $11\frac{1}{2}$ years there were 171 convictions; in the second half there were only 140, or about one-fourth less; and as this diminution is not the consequence of legislative measures, as in France and England, it is to be presumed that the number of capital crimes is diminishing.

In 1840 all the criminals were pardoned; in the first 11 years 89 were executed, and 76 pardoned; in the last 11 years 54 were executed, and 77 pardoned.

Statistics of capital crimes and pardons in the Rhine provinces.—The official accounts for 1833-1839 are wanting; during the remaining 17 years 102 males and 27 females were capitally convicted, being $7\frac{1}{2}$ for each year. Assuming the population at two millions, we have more than three condemnations yearly for one million of inhabitants,—nearly three-times as many as in the other parts of Prussia. In France, the criminal law of which still remains in the Rhine provinces, the proportion was the same until 1831, that is, before the introduction of extenuating circumstances.

Of these 129 only 11 were executed; so that for 17 years there was one execution yearly for every two millions of inhabitants,—the same proportion as in the other provinces. The number of capital crimes does not, as in the rest of Prussia, exhibit an annual decrease; on the contrary, in the latter half of this period there has been an increase of one-fourth. The French law in operation in these provinces is much more severe than in the rest of Prussia. Thus false coining, theft, and robbery, which form more than one-fourth of the whole number condemned (33), are not capital in the other provinces, four cases in New Pomerania excepted. Arson (22 cases) in 17 years produced as many capital convictions as in the rest of Prussia during 23 years. Yet it is a singular circumstance that for three years there was no execution for this crime, whilst in other provinces of Prussia the contrary occurred.

In the old Prussian provinces, among 311 condemned were 60 for blows which produced death; whilst in the Rhine provinces, amongst the 129 capitally convicted only 6 were for this crime, forming a proportion of one-fifth in the former case, and only one in 21 in the latter. The French law requires proofs of an intention to kill; and blows which cause death must be accompanied by some other crime to produce a capital conviction. The proportion of cases of murder is nearly the same as in the other provinces; robbery attended with murder, by no means so frequent; the proportion for the Rhine provinces being one-eighteenth of the whole number of capital convictions, and in the other provinces one-sixth; but infanticide is more frequent, forming one-sixth of all the convictions, whilst in the other provinces it is only one-tenth.

In the Rhine provinces the number of women executed was as 1 to 25; in the other provinces, as 1 to 5. Of the women pardoned, the proportion was one-fifth of the whole number of capital convictions in all parts of Prussia (the Rhine provinces included).

POLAND.

The emperor of Russia has issued an ukase of great importance to this poor country by which it is ordered that from and after the 1st of January, 1842, the Mint at Warsaw shall make use of the Russian weight in the weighing of gold, silver, and copper. The Russian silver ruble is to be taken as the standard for all coins circulated in the kingdom. The Warsaw mint is directed to coin gold pieces by the name of half imperials, of the value of five rubles, and silver coins of the value of rubles, half rubles, twenty-five, twenty, ten, and five copecs, and all conformably to a prescribed model. From the same day all the accounts of the Government and the local authorities, and likewise those between private persons, are to be kept in Russian silver rubles, copecs. and half copecs. The accounts of the Polish banks, relative to the loan of 1841, are to be kept in florins as heretofore; but in all the new coupons which may be issued in subsequent years, the value is to be stated both in florins and silver rubles. All stamped paper to be used in the kingdom is to have the imperial lines both in the water mark and the stamp. The words describing the price, as well as the words in the water mark, to be in the Russian and Polish languages. The prices of the stamped papers are to be expressed in rubles and copecs. Cards and almanacks are to have a stamp like that of stamped paper. By an ukase of the same date, the Polish bank is to issue notes, the relative value of which is to be expressed in print both in words and in figures, in the Russian and Polish languages, and on the back likewise in figures and in words in the English, French, and German languages.

RUSSIA.

By an Imperial Rescript dated the 18th of October of the present year, the Russian Academy has been incorporated with the Academy of Sciences, and forms a separate Section for the Russian language and literature. The Imperial Academy of Sciences is at present divided into three Sections:—1. Physical and Mathematical Sciences; 2. Russian Language and Literature; 3. Historical Sciences and Philology. The newly formed second Section has for its object—1. The investigation of the peculiarities of the Russian language, the establishment of the most simple and popular rules for their application, and the publication of a complete Dictionary; 2. The investigation of the Slavonic Dialects in their elements and grammatical forms, and the publication of a comparative Etymological Dictionary of the Slavonic Languages; 3. Slavonic-Russian philology in general, and the history of Russian literature in particular.

LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL NEW WORKS

PUBLISHED ON THE CONTINENT,

FROM OCTOBER TO DECEMBER, 1841, INCLUSIVE.

THEOLOGY AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

- Barth, A., Vorlesungen über das katholische und protestantische Kirchenrecht, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die religiösen Orden deren Geschichte und Einrichtungen. Part I. 8vo. *Augsburg*. 4s.
- Beelen, J., Chrestomathia rabbinica et chaldaica, cum notis grammaticis, historicis, theologicis, glossario et lexico abbreviatarum, quae in hebraeorum scriptis passim occurrunt. Vol. I. Part I. Vol. II. Part I. 8vo. *Mayence*. 3 Vols. in 6 Parts, 1*l.* 11s. 6d.
- Diedrich, Dr., Hülfsbuch für den Religionsunterricht in den untern Gymnasialclassen, Volks- und Bürgerschulen. Part I. 8vo. *Halle*. 7s.
- Die neuesten Zustände der katholischen Kirche beider Ritus in Polen und Russland seit Katharina II. bis auf unsere Tage. Mit einem Rückblick auf die Russische Kirche und ihre Stellung zum heiligen Stuhle seit ihrem Entstehen bis auf Katharina II. 8vo. *Augsburg*. 15s. 6d.
- Du Christianisme en Allemagne au 19e Siècle; par Clevé. No. I. 8vo. *Paris*. 6d. Will be complete in 40 or 50 Nos., forming 2 Vols.
- Estii, G., In omnes B. Pauli Epistolas, item in Catholicas commentarii. Ad optimorum librorum fidem accuratissime recudi curavit F. Sausen. Vol. I.:—Qui complectitur Epistolam ad Romanos a Cap. I. usque ad Cap. XIII. 8vo. *Munich*. 5s. 6d.
- Fragmenta theotisca versionis antiquissimae evangelii S. Matthaei et aliquot homiliarum. E membranis Monseensibus bibliothecae palatinae Vindobonensis, edid. S. Endlicher et H. Fallerslebens. Editio II. aucta et emendata, curante J. F. Massmann. 4to. *Viennae*. 9s.
- סדר העבודה, Gebetbuch für die öffentliche und häusliche Andacht der Israeliten, nach dem Gebrauch des Neuen Israelitischen Tempels in Hamburg. 8vo. *Hamburg*. 8s. 6d.
- Histoire abrégée de l'Eglise; par Lhomond. Edition continuée jusqu'à l'avènement de Léon XII. au Trône Pontifical. 12mo. *Nantz*.
- Histoire de l'Education depuis Jésus-Christ jusqu'à la grande Migration des Peuples. 8vo. *Strasbourg*.
- Histoire des Institutions d'Education ecclésiastique; par Augustin Theiner. 8vo. *Paris*. 12s.
- Ligorio, D., Homo apostolicus instructus in sua vocatione ad audiendas confessiones, sive praxis et instructio confessoriorum, auctore illustriss. et reverendiss. etc. Editio nova. Vol. I. 12mo. *Munich*. 11s.
- Monumenta Germaniae historica inde ab anno Christi quingentesimo usque ad annum millesimum et quingentesimum; auspiciis societatis aperiendis fontibus rerum germanicarum medii aevi edidit G. H. Pertz. Scriptorum Tom. IV. Folio. *Hanover*. Vellum paper, 3*l.*; Vols. I. to VI., vellum paper, 17*l.*
- O Nasladowaniu Jezusa Chrystusa. 18mo. With 2 Engravings. *Paris*.

- Riffel, Dr., Christliche Kirchengeschichte der neuesten Zeit, von dem Anfange der grossen Glaubens- und Kirchenspaltung des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf unsere Tage. Vol. I. 8vo. Mainz.
- Schenk, Geschichte der deutsch-protestantischen Kanzelberedsamkeit von Luther bis auf die neuesten Zeiten. 8vo. Berlin. 6s.
- Swedenborg, E., Arcana coelestia, quae in scriptura sacra, seu verbo Domini sunt, detecta: Hic quae in Exodo, una cum mirabilibus quae visa sunt in mundo spirituum, et in coelo angelorum. Ad fidem edit. princip. 1749 ss. Londini excusae denno castigatius edidit Dr. Tafel. Pars VII. seu totius operis Vol. XI. 8vo. Tübingen. 15s.
- Thesaurus spiritualis soliloquiorum sanctorum, tum in praeparationibus ad missam et SS. Eucharistiam, tum ad beatissimam virginem in suavissima expositione antiphonarii salve regina. Libellus vere aureus. 12mo. Regensburg. 1s. 6d.
- Ubahis, G., Theodiceae seu theologiae naturalis elementa. 8vo. 7s. 6d.
- Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie. In Verbindung mit der historisch-theologischen Gesellschaft zu Leipzig, von Dr. C. F. Illgen, 1841. 4 Parts. Leipzig. 18s.
- Zeitschrift für Theologie, in Verbindung mit mehreren Gelehrten, vom Dr. Hug, Dr. Werk, Dr. v. Hirscher, Dr. Staudenmaier und Dr. Vogel. Vol. VI. 2 Parts. 8vo. Freiburg. 10s.

LAW, JURISPRUDENCE, STATISTICS.

- Dictionnaire général et raisonné de Législation, de Doctrine et de Jurisprudence en Matière civile, commerciale, criminelle, administrative, et le droit public; par A. Dalloz. No. 10, Supplement. 4to. Paris.
- Dönniges, W., Die deutsche Reichsverfassung und das deutsche Staatsrecht historisch entwickelt seit Karls des Grossen Kaiserkrönung bis auf das 14ten Jahrhundert. Berlin. 12s.
- Les Lois de la Procédure civile. Ouvrage dans lequel l'Auteur a refondu son Analyse raisonnée, son Traité et ses Questions sur la procédure; par Chauveau Adolphe. (2e Tirage.) Vols. I & II. 8vo. Paris. Complete, 1l. 7s.
- Manual de Droit et de Jurisprudence spéciale pour les Architectes. 16mo. Paris. 3s.

PHILOSOPHY AND HISTORY OF LITERATURE.

- Histoire des Lettres aux cinq premiers Siècles du Christianisme. Cours de Littérature, par Amédée Duquesnel. Vol. III. 8vo. Paris. 7s. 6d.
- Ideler, Biographien Geisteskranker in ihrer psychologischen Entwicklung dargestellt. Liv. II. & III. 8vo. Berlin. 3s. 6d.
- Laube, H., Geschichte der deutschen Literatur. 8vo. Stuttgart. Vols. I. to IV., 1l. 11s.; Vols. III. & IV., 15s.
- Neues Jahrbuch der Berlinischen Gesellschaft für Deutsche Sprache und Alterthums-kunde. Enthaltend: sprachwissenschaftliche und geschichtliche Abhandlungen, Abdrücke und Erläuterungen kleiner Stücke Altdeutscher Sprache und Poesie; durch F. H. von der Hagen. Vol. IV. 8vo. Berlin. 4s. 6d.
- Zeitschrift für Philosophie und katholische Theologie. In Verbindung mit vielen Gelehrten herausgegeben von Dr. Achterfeldt, Dr. Braun und Dr. Vogelsang. 1841. 4 Parts. 8vo. Köln. 18s.
- Monumens de la Littérature Romane; publiés sous les auspices de l'Académie; par M. Gatiien Arnoult. Vol. I. 8vo. Toulouse. 7s. 6d.

MEDICAL AND NATURAL SCIENCES, PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY.

- Considérations Générales sur l'Histoire de la Médecine et sur le Traitement des Maladies Chroniques et des Maladies Nerveuses; par Pinel de Golleville. 8vo. Paris.

- Dietrich, Dr., Deutschlands ökonomische Flora, oder Beschreibung und Abbildung für Land- und Hauswirthle wichtigen Pflanzen. 8vo. 50 Plates. Vol. I., 13s. 6d.; Vol. II., 9s.
- Heer, Fauna Coleopterorum Helvetica. Pars I. 12mo. Zurich. 7s. Part I., 16s. Iconographie Descriptive des Cactées, ou Essais systematiques et raisonnés sur l'Histoire naturelle; par C. Lemaire. Liv. I. Folio. Paris. With 2 Plates each No., 5s. (Will comprise 100 Nos.)
- Clavis analytica zur Bestimmung der Mineralien nach einer einfachen und sichern Methode, nebst einer vollständigen Charakteristik. 8vo. Prag.
- Mémoires de la Société Géologique France. Vol. IV. 2 Parts. 4to. Paris. 15s.
- Rapport Annuel sur les Progrès des Sciences Physiques et Chimiques, présenté le 31 Mars 1840 à l'Académie des Sciences de Stockholm; par J. Berzelius. 8vo. Paris. 5s.
- Steudel, Nomenclator botanicus, seu synonymia plantarum universalis etc. Editio II. etc. Pars II.: L—Z. 8vo. Stuttgart. 3s. 2 Vols., 1l. 16s.
- Sturm, J., Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen nach der Natur, mit Beschreibungen. 1ste Abth. 81stes, 82stes Heft. 16mo. Nürnberg. 8s.
- Winkler, Vollständiges Real-Lexikon der medicinisch-pharmaceutischen Naturgeschichte und Rohwarenkunde. Part II. Leipzig. Complete in 11 Parts, 3s. 6d. each.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, VOYAGES, TRAVELS, &c.

- Archives Historiques de l'Albigeois et du Pays Castrais, publiées par Roger. Livr. I. to IV. Paris. 1s. 6d.
- Atlas de Géographie historique universelle; par V. Duray. 1st Sect. of 3rd Part:—Atlas Historique du Moyen-Age. Paris. 5s.
- Beautés des Victoires et Conquêtes des Français, fastes Militaires de la France, depuis 1792 jusqu'en 1815, contenant, etc.; par La Bedollière. 2 Vols. 8vo. 9s.
- Böttiger, Die Weltgeschichte in Biographieen. Vol. V. 8vo. Berlin. 9s.
- Bretagne, La, Pittoresque, etc. No. 7—9. Folio. Nantes. Price, complete, 1l. 10s.; India, 2l.
- Curiosités Naturelles de la France; par M. C. Delattre. 18mo. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- Denkwürdigkeiten des Freiherrn Achatz Ferdinand von der Asseburg, Erbherr auf Falkenstein und Meissdorf, u. s. w. 8vo. Berlin. 11s. 6d.
- Deux Années du Règne de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre, (1173—1174); par Michel. 8vo. Poitiers.
- Duc, Le, et la Duchesse de Marlborough; par Simon, gérant du Breton. 8vo. Nantes.
- Dumas, A., Une Année à Florence. 8vo. Paris. 15s.
- Etudes Historiques et Documens inédits sur l'Albigeois, le Castrais et l'ancien Diocèse de Lavaur; par M. Compayré. Livr. I. & II. Albi. The Work complete, 16s.
- Guerre de Grenade, entreprise par le Roi Philippe II., pour punir la Révolte des Maures; par D. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. 12mo. Paris. 3s.
- Guibert, A., Dictionnaire géographique et statistique sur un plan entièrement nouveau. 1e Livr. 8vo. Paris. 2s. 6d.
- Gurowski, Graf A., Russland und die Civilisation. 8vo. Leipzig. 7s.
- Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland und den österreichischen Kaiserstaat. 8vo. Prague. 9s.
- Harnisch, W., Briefe an seine Tochter, auf einer Reise durch Böhmen, Oestreich, Tyrol und die Lombardei, wie durch die Schweiz, einige Rhein- und Mainländer, geschrieben. 12mo. Essen. 4s.
- Hetman Ukrainy powies historyczna. Michala Czaykowskiego. 18mo. Paris.
- Histoire d'Alger et de la Piraterie des Turcs dans la Méditerranée, à dater du seizième Siècle; par Ch. de Rotalier. 8vo. Paris. 15s.
- de la Conquête et de la Fondation de l'Empire Anglais dans l'Inde; par le Baron Barchou de Penhoën. 6 Vols. 8vo. Paris.
- Histoire d'Espagne, depuis les premiers tems jusqu'à nos jours; par Ch. Romey. Vol. V. 8vo. Paris. 5s. Will be complete in 8 Vols.

- Histoire de France ; par M. Michelet. Vols. V. & VI. 8vo. Paris. 7s. 6d. each Vol. Will be complete in 12 Vols.
- Histoire générale du Languedoc, avec des Notes et les Pièces justificatives, composées sur les Auteurs et les Titres originaux, et enrichie de divers Monumens ; par Dom Claude de Vic et Dom Vaissette. Vols. III. & IV. 8vo. Toulouse. 2s. each Vol. Will be completed in 10 Vols.
- de toutes les Noblesses, sous la direction littéraire de M. Fournier. No. 1. Second Series. 8vo. Paris. 1s. each No.
- Humboldt's, W., gesammelte Werke. Vols. I. & II. 8vo. Berlin. 18s.
- Journal Historique de la Compagné de Portugal entreprise par les Français sous les ordres du Maréchal Masséna. 8vo. Paris. 6s.
- Kruse, Anastasis der Waräger, oder Probe und Ankündigung zweier Werke über die Geschichte der Alterthümer der Kaiserlich Russischen Ostsee-Gouvernements Liv-, Esth- und Curland. 8vo. Reval. 3s. 6d.
- Le Manuscrit de Froissart, de la Bibliothèque d'Amiens. Dissertations et Extraits particulièrement en ce qui concerne les Batailles de Crécy et de Maupertuis ; par Rigollot de Cayrol. 8vo. Poitiers.
- Memoria Dirigida al Gobierno Espanol, sobre los planes y operaciones, puestos en ejecucion, para aniquilar la rebelion en las provincias nel norte de Espana. Por don Eugenio de Aviraneta. 8vo. Fac-similes. Toulouse.
- Mémoires inédits du Maréchal de Vauban sur Landau, Luxembourg, et divers Sujets, extraits des Papiers des Ingénieurs Hue de Caligny ; par M. Augoyal. 8vo. Paris. 7s. 6d.
- Quinze Ans d'Exil dans les Etats Romains pendant la Proscription de Lucien Bonaparte ; par Comte de Chatillon. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- Ramshorn, Dr. K., Geschichte der Deutschen von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf unsere Tage. Part I. 16mo. With Plates. Leipzig. 1s.
- Recherches et Notes sur la Portion de l'Algérie au Sud de Guelma depuis la Frontière de Tunis jusqu'au Mont Aouess compris, indiquant les anciennes routes Romaines encore apparentes, avec Carte sur matériaux entièrement nouveaux ; par Duvivier 4to. Paris.
- Relation d'un Voyage dans l'Yémen, entrepris en 1837 pour le Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle de Paris ; par Paul-Emile Botta. 8vo. Paris. 3s.
- Schild en Oriënt 1302, 1303, Charles le Mauvais 1356—138, par H. Bruneel. 18mo. Paris. 1s. 6d.
- Spindler, Die Mauren in Spanien. Historisch-romantisches Gemälde in drey Rahmen. 8vo. Wesel. 1l. 7s.
- Syrie, Le, sous le Gouvernement de Méhémet-Ali jusqu'en 1840 ; par F. Perrier, Aid-de-Camp de Solimon-Pacha. 8vo. Paris. 7s. 6d.
- Valery, Italy and its Comforts. Manual of a Tourist. With an Index Map. 12mo. Paris. 6s. 6d.
- Vie d'Alexandre ; par Plutarque, avec Notes en Français, par E. Hamel et J. B. Darolles. Texts Grec. 12mo. Toulouse.
- Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique du Nord, exécuté pendant les Années 1832—1834 ; par le Prince Maximilian de Wied-Neuwied. Vol. II. 8vo. Paris. 12s. each ; coloured, 16s. The Work comprises 3 Vols. in 8vo., and an Atlas of 22 Nos., 17 of which are now published.
- en Islande et en Groenland exécuté pendant les Années 1835 et 1836 sur la Corvette la Recherche, commandée par M. Tréhouart. Part II. 8vo. Paris. The Atlas to this Work will consist of 40 Nos., 29 of which are published, price 14s. each Number.
- au Pole Sud et dans l'Océanie sur les Corvettes l'Astrolabe et la Zélée, exécuté par ordre du Roi pendant les Années 1837—1840, sous le commandement de Dumont d'Urville. Vol. I. Part I. 8vo. Paris. 6s. Atlas No. I., with 5 Plates, Folio, 12s. 6d.
- sur la Côte Orientale de la Mer Rouge, dans le Pays d'Adel et le Royaume de Choa ; par C. Rochet, d'Héricourt. 8vo. Paris. 16s.
- Wergeland, H., Carl Johann, König von Schweden und Norwegen. Eine geschichtliche Darstellung. Nach der zweiten, im Jahre 1839, in Christiania erschienenen Auflage aus dem Norwegischen übersetzt. 8vo. Kiel. 2s. 6d.

Weyl-Liew, Dr., Wegweiser für Eisenbahn-Reisende durch Berlin, Potsdam, Dessau, Cöthen, Halle, Magdeburg Leipzig und Dresden. 18mo. *Berlin*. 2s. 6d.
Zeittafel zur Geschichte von England. Folio. *Leipzig*. 1s.

ARCHITECTURE AND THE FINE ARTS.

- Choix de Monumens du Moyen-Age, érigés en France dans les 12^e, 13^e, 14^e et 15^e Siècles. Etudes d'Architecture dite Gothique; par Emile Leconte. Notre-Dame de Paris. Livr. X. Folio. Plates. *Paris*. 6s.
Essai sur la Construction Navale des Peuples extrà Européens, ou Collection de Navires et Pirogues construits par les Habitans de l'Asie, de la Malaisie, du grand Océan et de l'Amérique. No. 1. Folio. *Paris*. 12s. This Work will contain 130 Folio Plates in 16 Nos.
Herder, XXXV [lith.] Tafeln Abbildungen der vorzüglichsten Apparate zur Erwärmung der Gebläseluft auf den Hüttenwerken in Deutschland, England, Frankreich, Schweden und der Schweiz. Aus dessen Nachlasse. 8vo. *Freiberg*. 2l. 14s.
Il Vignola de Propietarj, owerà i cinque ordini d'architettura. Secondo Barozzio da Vignola de Moisy, co dettagli, etc., da Thiollet. 4to. *Paris*.
Rettberg, R. v., Chronologische Tabelle der Maler seit Cimabue's Zeiten bis zum Jahre 1840. Imp. Fol. *Hanover*. 13s. 6d.
Thierry, M., Neue Zeichnungen für den Treppenbau. With Plates. 4to. *Weimar*.
Vies des Peintres, Sculpteurs et Architectes; par Giorgio Vasari. Traduites par L. Leclanché, et commentées par J. Leclanché. Vol. VII. 8vo. *Paris*. 6s. Will be complete in 10 Vols.
Zahn, W., Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae. 2te Folge. Part 1. Imp. Fol. *Berlin*. 1l. 6s. Fine Edition, 2l. 10s.

BELLES-LETTRES, NOVELS, POETRY, &c. &c.

- A Nolere Veneziana, ou Amor, imprudencia e infortunio. Historia verdadeira. 18mo. *Paris*.
Balafié, Le, 1572; par M. J. Brisset. 2 Vols. 18mo. *Paris*. 15s.
Britannicus. Tragédie en cinq actes; par J. Racine. 18mo. *Paris*. 6d.
Charlemagne; par M. Capefigue. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
Charles, J., Schöne Welt. Roman. 2 Vols. 12mo. *Leipzig*. 11s. 6d.
Constança, ou a Filha Maldita. Novela Hespanhola. 12mo. *Paris*.
Das Nibelungenlied. Aus dem Altheutschen metrisch übertragen und mit Anmerkungen versehen von Dr. E. Wollheim. 16mo. *Hamburg*. 1s. 6d.
Dziesiec Orbazow z Wyprawdy Polski 1833 r. 1834, 1835. Paema. 8vo. With 32 Pages of Music. *Paris*.
Femme, La, du Notaire; par Maximilien Perrin. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
Frick, Ida, Der Dualist. Roman. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Leipzig*.
Galatea, el Viaje al Parnaso, y obras dramaticas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Nueva edition. 8vo. *Paris*. 7s. 6d.
Heinrich Monte, der Preussen Heerfürst. Dramatisches Gedicht in fünf Aufzügen. 8vo. *Rastenburg*. 2s. 6d.
Immermann, K., Tristan und Isolde. Ein Gedicht in Romanzen. 8vo. *Düsseldorf*. 11s. 6d.
Lau, G., Die Flüchtlinge. Novelle. 12mo. *Hamburg*.
Laube, H., Die Bandomire. Eine Kurische Erzählung. 2 Parts. *Mitau*.
Le Mie Prigioni, memorie di Silvio Pellico da Salluzo, con note, etc. Edizione curatamente corretta con pochi cenni sulla vita di Silvio del professore Moretti. 18mo. *Paris*. 3s. 6d.
Michel Nostradamus. 24mo. *Paris*. 1l. 5s.
Oramaika. Nouvelle Indienne. 18mo. *Paris*. 1s. 6d.
Physiologie du Poète. 32mo. *Paris*. 1s.
——— du Bourgeois. 8vo. *Paris*. 1s.

- Physiologie de la Grissette. 32mo. *Paris*. 1s.
 ——— du Parapluie; par deux Cochers de Fiacre. 32mo. *Paris*, 1s.
 Rosenau, W., Abdelmelik, König von Grenada; oder, Leicht sinkt der Mensch. Eine Geschichte aus der Zeit der maurischen Herrschaft in Spanien. 8vo. *Nordhausen*. 5s. 6d.
 Schiller, Mary Stuart. A Tragedy from the German. With other Versions of some of his best Poems, by W. Peter. 8vo. *Heidelberg*. 5s. 6d.
 Sorcière, La, des Vosges; par T. Dinocourt. 2 Vols. 8vo. *Paris*. 15s.
 Souvenirs d'Angleterre et Considérations sur l'Eglise Anglicane; par M. R * *. 18mo. *Lille*.
 ——— Historiques du Château de Henri IV. et de ses Dépendances; par L. T. d'Asfeld. *Paris*.
 Tante, La, Marguerite, ou Six Mois en Normandie; par Mlle. Eulalie Benoit. 18mo. *Paris*.
 Tieck, L., Vittoria Accorombona. Ein Roman in fünf Büchern. 2nd Edition, with Addenda. 8vo. *Breslau*. 13s.
 Théâtre Choisi de G. de Pixérécourt, précédé d'une Introduction par C. Nodier, et illustré par les Notices littéraires dues à ses Amis Membres de l'Institut de l'Académie Française et autres Hommes de Lettres. Vol. I. 8vo. *Nantz*. The Work will be complete in 4 Vols.
 Uhland, L., Gedichte. Neueste Auflage. Mit dem Bildnisse des Verfassers. 8vo. *Stuttgart*. 11s.
 Volkslieder der Wenden in der Ober- und Nieder-Lausitz. Aus Volksmunde aufgezeichnet und mit den Sangweisen, deutscher Uebersetzung, den nöthigen Erläuterungen, von L. Haupt und J. Schmalzer. Part I. 4to. *Grimma*. 4s.
 Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode. 1841. Redacteur: Friedrich Witthauer. 12 Parts. 8vo. *Vienna*. Published in weekly Nos. Annual Subscription, 2l. 10s.

CLASSICAL LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY.

- A Complete Dictionary English-German-French; on an entirely New Plan, for the Use of the Three Nations. 3rd Edition. 8vo. *Leipzig*. 7s.
 Ausgewählte Bibliothek der Classiker des Auslandes. Mit biographisch-literarischen Einleitungen, von Frederike Bremer. Vols. VI. & VII. 2 Parts. 12mo. *Leipzig*. 3s. 6d.
 Bibliotheca scriptorum latinorum, curis virorum doctorum emendata et commentariis instructa, consilio God. Bernhardy instituta. Pars V. Tom. I.:—Annales continens. 8vo. *Halle*. 9s.
 Ciceronis, M., De finibus bonorum et malorum libri V. 8vo. *Regensburg*. 2s.
 Dictionnaire de Conversation à l'Usage des Dames et des Jeunes Personnes. Publié sous la direction de M. W. Duckett. Vol. V.: EN—FOY. 12mo. *Paris*.
 Euripidis Hecuba, versio latina. 12mo. *Paris*. 2s.
 Fragmenta comicorum graecorum. Collegit et disposuit A. Meineke. Vol. IV.:—Fragmenta poetarum comodiae novae continens. 8vo. *Berlin*. 18s. The 4 Vols., 3l. 12s.
 Horatius Flaccus, Q., Die Episteln des u. s. w., von J. Merkel. 12mo. *Aschaffenburg*. 4s.
 Platonis opera quae feruntur omnia. Recog. Io. G. Baiterus, Io. Orellius, A. Winckelmannus. Fasc. VIII., IX. 4to. *Zürich*. 13s. 6d.
 Vol. XVI.:—Platonis Parmenides. 16mo. 1s. 6d.
 Vol. XVII.:—Platonis Symposium. 16mo. 1s. 6d.
 Vol. XVIII.:—Platonis Phaedrus. 16mo. 1s. 6d.
 Vol. XIX.:—Hippias major, item Epistolae. 16mo. 1s. 6d.
 Plutarchi Vitae. Vol. II. 8vo. *Regensburg*.
 Proschek, Kurzgefaszte praktische böhmische Grammatik für Deutsche. 8vo. *Eger*. 3s. 6d.
 Schott, G., De lingua Tschuwaschorum. Dissertatio. 8vo. *Berlin*. 1s. 6d.

- Xenophontis convivium, Hiero, Agesilaüs. In usum discipulorum quum publicum tum privatum edidit G. Sauppe. 8vo. *Helmstad.* 2s.
 Xénophon. Entretiens Mémorables de Socrate. No. I. Texte Grec, avec Sommaires et Notes, par C. V. 12mo. *Paris.*

ANNUALS.

- Almanach de Gotha, 1842. 24mo. *Gotha.* 4s. 6d.
 Aurora. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1842. 16mo. *Vienna.* 11s.
 Cornelia. Taschenbuch für deutsche Frauen auf das Jahr 1842. 16mo. *Heidelberg.* 10s. 6d.
 Cyanen. Taschenbuch für 1842. 16mo. *Vienna.* 10s. 6d.
 Gedenke Mein! Taschenbuch für 1842. 16mo. *Vienna.* 10s. 6d.
 Historisches Taschenbuch, von Friedrich von Raumer. 12mo. *Leipzig.* 10s.
 Immergrün. Taschenbuch für das Jahr 1842. 16mo. *Vienna.* 12s.
 Rosen und Vergissmeinnicht dargebracht dem Jahre 1842. 16mo. *Leipzig.* 10s. 6d.
 Souvenirs d'un Grand Homme, Almanach Journalier pour l'an 1842. 24mo. *Paris.* 1l. 5s.
 Taschenbuch für die vaterländische Geschichte, von J. Freiherrn von Hormayr. 31ster Jahrg. der gesammten und 13ten der neuen Folge. 1842. 12mo. *Leipzig.*
 Urania. Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1842. Mit dem Bildnisse Victor Hugo's. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 7s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

- Allgemeine Polytechnische Zeitung und Handlungs-Zeitung, von J. Carl Leuchs. Sammlung der neuesten und nützlichsten Erfindungen und Beobachtungen in der Chemie. 12 Parts. 4to. *Nürnberg.* 8s.
 Berghaus's physikalischer Atlas. 7te Lief., mit 4 illuminirten Karten, nebst Text. Folio. *Gotha.* 9s.
 Cours d'Economie Politique; par Rossi. Vol. II. *Paris.* 15s.
 Dürnberger, Elementar-Lehrbuch der Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre. 8vo. *Linz.* 5s.
 Hackewitz, F., Handbuch des Fortification, bearbeitet innerhalb der Grenzen, welche durch die Allerhöchsten Bestimmungen für das Officier-Examen der Infanterie und Cavallerie in der Königl. Preussischen Armee festgestellt. 8vo. *Berlin.* 9s.
 Hallische Jahrbücher für deutsche Wissenschaft und Kunst. 1841. Redaktoren: Echtermayer und Ruge. 4to. *Leipzig.* 312 Nos., 2l. 14s.
 Hartmann, Dr., Handbuch der Papierfabrikation. 8vo. *Berlin.* 10s. 6d.
 Jahrbuch für 1841; von H. C. Schumacher, mit Beiträgen von Dove, Kämtz, Lehmann, Mädler, Olbers und Quetelet. 8vo. *Stuttgart.* 9s.
 Lobstein, J., Beiträge zur Geschichte der Musik in Elsass und besonders in Strassburg, von der ältesten bis auf die neueste Zeit. 8vo. *Strassburg.* 6s.
 Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. Année 1840. *Poitiers.* 10s.
 Schmid, G. V., Historisches Taschenbuch oder chronologische Uebersicht der Welt- und Culturgeschichte. 16mo. *Dresden.* 1s. 6d.
 Stunden der Andacht in poetischer Form, mit Originalbeiträgen von Tiedge, Hohlfeldt, Agnes Franz, Friederike Beckert, W. Förster, Manitiüs, Julie v. Grossmann u. A. m. dargeboten von Carl Geissler. Ausgabe mit 6 Stahlstichen. 8vo. *Leipzig.* 10s.
 Towarzystwo Demokratyczne Polskie. 8vo. *Paris.*
 Volks- und Gesellschafts-Liederbuch. Eine Sammlung der bekanntesten und beliebtesten, alten und neuen vaterländischen Gesänge. No. 1. 16mo. *Crefeld.* 1s.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH AND SONS, BELL YARD,
 TEMPLE BAR.

INDEX

TO THE

TWENTY-EIGHTH VOLUME

OF THE

FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A.

- Abyssinia*, Rüppell's Travels in, 164—
[See *Reise in Abyssinien*.]
Anecdote of Louisa Ulrica, sister of Frederick the Great, 148.
Antioch, siege of by the Crusaders, 32—
captured by the treachery of a renegade, 35.
Arabs, their influence upon European literature, 191.
Assizes of Jerusalem, or Letters of the Holy Sepulchre, nature and spirit of, 42.

B.

- Baktshisaraï*, capital of the Tatars of the Crimea, description of, 138.
Begas, the German portrait painter, account of by himself, 456.
Bernadotte, Charles John king of Sweden, his interview with Baron von Strombeck, 158.
Boleslaus the Great, king of Poland, reign and character of, 316—his wars with the Germans, 320—defeats Jaraslaus, duke of Novogorod, 323.
Brahmins, anecdote of their influence in India, 47—rites performed on the death of, at Cashmere, 57—anecdote of a Brahmin hermit, 63.
Buddhism, antiquity of, 62.
Burgundy, History of the Dukes of, by Barante, 287. [See *Histoire des Ducs*, &c.]

VOL. XXVIII.

C.

- Cashmere*, Travels in, by Baron Von Hügel, 45. [See *Kaschmir*.]
Champollion, Egyptian Antiquities, 264.
Considérations sur l'Angleterre, 469—
difference of party struggles in England and France, 470—Sir Robert Peel's relations with the landed and manufacturing classes, 472—composition of the present Cabinet, 475—
foreign policy of England, 479—probability of war with the United States, 480—relations with Spain, 483—domestic policy of Great Britain, 485—strength and principles of the present Ministry, compared with the last, 493.
Crimea, Kohl's Travels in, 116. [See *Reisen in Süd-Russland*.]
Crusades, history of, by Dr. Sybel, 22—
character of the chiefs of the first crusade, 29.

D.

- Darstellungen aus einer Reise durch Schweden und Dänemark im Sommer des Jahres 1833*, &c. (Notes on a Journey through Sweden and Norway in the Summer of 1833,) by Baron von Strombeck, 143 and 434—
description of the park of Stockholm and Swedish women, 157—
interview with King Charles John (Bernadotte), 158—house of correction for

NN

females at Stockholm, 160—names of Swedish families, passion for decorations, 162.

Devil's Codex in library at Stockholm, 147.

E.

Egypt (Lower), description of the scenery of, by Dr. Rüppell, 67.

Egyptian antiquities, character of the alphabet, symbols, 265—difference between the Coptic and the hieroglyphic, 268—different styles of the inscriptions, specimen of the sepulchral, 273—epithets and similes in the text, 274—catalogues of Egyptian antiquities, 279—Sir Gardner Wilkinson's Manners and Customs of the Egyptians, 280—local deities, the god Chnouphis, 281—Mahsi, Typhon, Netpe, 282—festivals and Egyptian calendar, 285.

Essai sur le Texte Grec de l'Inscription de Rosette, par Charles Lenormant, 263.

F.

Famiglie Celebri di Italia, del Conte Pompeo Litta, 363—patrician families of Venice, and in the Libro d'Oro at Genoa, 365—four distinct classes of the aristocracy of Italy, 367—the Massimi of Rome, 368—the Cesarini and Cesi, life of Frederico Cesi, 371—Dante's ancestry, 372—family of the Candiano, 373—of the Giustiniani, their numbers and influence, 375—antiquity of the existing family of the Tiepoli, 376—the Erizzi and Foscari, decline of the descendants of this last name, 379—antiquity of the Genoese aristocracy, 380—feudalism in Italy, *ib.*—the Guelphs and Ghibelines, rise of the house of Este, 382—Sir Horatio Pallavicino, 385—the Visconti, and Lords Della Scala, 387—origin of the Carrara, Bonaccolsi, and Gonzaga families, 389—the Corregios, Rossi and Sanvitali, 391—families of Modena, 392—the Sforza, 394—the House of Savoy, 396—descent of the Colonnas, 397.

France, disarmament of, in accordance with the wishes of the great powers, 207—popularity of Louis Philippe in the French army, 208—composition and influence of the army in France,

209—number of men under arms, 211—effect of the treaty of July, according to the *Courier Français*, 213—power of Russia overrated, 217—naval force of France too great, 218—policy of M. Guizot, 223—negotiations of the English Government for commercial treaty with France, 224—treaty between France and Belgium, 226—advantages to be derived by Belgium, 227—postage between England and France, 232.

G.

Geijer (Professor), his plan of universal suffrage for Sweden, 445.

Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs, von Heinrich von Sybel, Doctor der Philosophie und Privatdocenten der Geschichte an der Universität zu Bonn, 22—opening of the crusades, 22—history of them by Tudebode, 25—character and adventures of Peter the Hermit, 26—character of the crusading chiefs, Godfrey, Tancred, Bohemond, Raimond, Robert of Normandy, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois, and Hugh de Vermandois, 29—policy and conduct of Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor, 30—hostilities between the Latins and the Greeks, 31—siege of Antioch, 33—famine in the camp of the crusaders, 34—Antioch taken by the treachery of a renegade, 35—events following the capture of the city, 37—Jerusalem invested and carried by storm by the crusaders, 38—dreadful massacre of the garrison and inhabitants, 40—Godfrey elected Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, 41—nature of the Assizes of Jerusalem, 42—death of Godfrey, 44.

Geschichte Polens, von Dr. Richard Röpell. Erster Thiel. (History of Poland, by Dr. Röpell. Part I.), 307—treatment of Poland by Russia, *ib.*—geographical description of Poland, 308—province of Podolia, 310—extent of the empire of Poland, *ib.*—origin of the Poles from the Slavonians, 311—their constitution, manners, &c., 312—elevation of the Piast dynasty, 313—conversion of the Poles to Christianity, 314—vassalage of Mieczyslaus to Germany, 315—total separation of Poland from Russia by her adoption of the Latin ritual, 316

—reign of Boleslaus the Great, 317—Dantzic acquired by Poland, *ib.*—visit of Otho III. to Boleslaus, 318—successful wars of Boleslaus, 319, 321—disastrous campaign of the Germans in 1017 . . 322—Duke of Novogorod defeated by Boleslaus, 323—splendour of the Polish court, 324—division of the country into Castellannies, 325—decline of Poland after the exile of Boleslaus, 326—partition and losses of Poland, 328—invasion of the Tatars, 330—internal government of the barons, 331—rise and gradual decline of Poland, 333.

Godfrey of Bouillon, elected Protector of the Holy Sepulchre, 41—his death, 44.

Gondar, its site, population, &c., by Dr. Rüppell, 83.

Grammaire Egyptienne; ou Principes généraux de l'Ecriture sacrée Egyptienne, par Champollion le Jeune, 263.

H.

Henry II., Emperor of Germany, his unsuccessful wars with Boleslaus the Great of Poland, 320.

Hensel, account of his pictures by Count Raczyński, 459.

Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature, depuis leur Origine jusqu'au 14me Siècle, par M. A. Bruce Whyte. (History of the Romance Languages and of their Literature, from their Origin to the 14th Century, by M. A. Bruce Whyte), 173—uncertain origin of the Romance languages, 175—principal theories on this subject, 177—interpretation of the Arval hymn, 180—Basque dialect of Spain, 183—the Romaunch or Rhetian or Tyrol, 185—specimen of the Romaunch in the Engadine dialect, 187—Gallicanus, a religious drama of the 10th century, and *Babio*, a comedy of the 14th, 189—influence of the Arabs on literature, 191—Abulfeda's description of the reception of a Greek ambassador, *ib.*—mistaken opinion as to the Arabian origin of chivalry, 193—influence of the Provençal in the south of Europe, 195—the Langue d'Oïl, 196—lays of the Trouveres, 198—rise of the Italian literature, 199—Brunetto Latini and his pupil Dante, 201—Petrarca and Laura, 204.

Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne, par Barante, 287—origin of the Burgundians, *ib.*—distinction and subdivisions of the Goths and Vandals, 288—hostility of the Burgundians to the Romans, 289—their settlement in Alsatia and Switzerland, 292—reign of Gondioc, or Gundecarius, first Burgundian king, 293—their wars with the Huns, and conversion to Christianity, *ib.*—verses of Sidonius Apollinaris, 294—dissensions in family of Gundeuchus, 295—Gondebald, king of Burgundy, 297—Clotilda, niece of Gondebald, married to Clovis, 298—laws instituted by Gondebald, called Les Gombettes, *ib.*—disastrous reign of his son Sigismond, 299—Burgundy subdued by the Franks, 300—Mayors of the Palace, 301—division of the kingdom of Louis le Debonnaire, 303—independence of the Dukes of Burgundy, 304—reign and death of Charles the Bold, 305.

Histoire de l'Art Moderne en Allemagne, parle Comte Raczyński, 455—account of Begas, the portrait painter, and of Wach, 458—of Hensel and Schinkel, the Prussian architect, 460—of Charles C. Rauch, the sculptor, 462—the three living sculptors of Germany, 466—account of Schadow, Frederick Tieck, and Wichmann, 468.

Hügel's Travels in Cashmere, 45.

Humboldt, entire works of, 334. [See *Wilhelm von Humboldt*.]

I.

Inscription Grecque de Rosette, par M. Letronne, 263.

Italy, female authorship in, 100—celebrated families of, by Count Pompeo Litta, 363.

J.

Jerusalem, siege and capture of by the crusaders, 38.

K.

Kaschmir und des Reich der Sieh, von Carl Freyherrn von Hügel, 45—description of the scenery near Cotoa, 47—Von Hügel enters the territory of Runjeet Singh, 48—city of Cash-

mere and the Cashmerians, 49—description of the earthquake in 1828, 50—of a deserted village, 51—manufacture and price of Cashmere shawls, 52—method of bargaining for them, 53—ruins of Koran Pandu, 54—tradition concerning the vale of Cashmere, 55—Durma sitting and Suttee of Cashmere, 57—religion of the Cashmerians, *ib.*—rock crystal of Iskandu, 58—revenue, resources, mines, &c., *ib.*—fruit trees, cultivation of rice, 59—hemp, water chesnut, and perfume of roses, 60—horses, birds, the Bulbul, 61—antiquity of Buddhism, 62—introduction of the potatoe into Cashmere by Von Hügel, 63.

Khutors, or gardens of the Ukraine, round Odessa, 129.

Kohl's travels in Southern Russia, 116.

[See *Reisen in Süd Russland.*]—Pictures and Sketches of St. Petersburg, 398. [See *Petersburg im Bildern*, &c.]

L.

La Donna Saggia ed Amabile, libri tre di Anna Pepoli, Vedova Sampieri, 91—female writers in different countries, 92—female authorship in Italy, 94—Italian female education, monasteries in Italy, 97—self-education of the enlightened and independent young women of New England, 98—of an Italian girl, 100—influence of the Roman Catholic religion on Italian females, 105—effect of public opinion upon morality in Italy, 112.

La Convention de Juillet 13, par M. Duvergier de Hauranne. *Revue des deux Mondes*, 206.

Lettres écrites de l'Égypte en 1838 et 1839, avec des Remarques de M. Letronne, par Nestor l'Hôte, 263.

Libellus Aurarius, sive Tabulæ Ceratæ et antiquissimæ et unicæ Romanæ in Fodina Auraria apud Abrudbanyam, oppidulum Transsylvanum, nuper repertæ, quas nunc primus enucleavit, depinxit, edidit J. F. Massmann. (The Golden Book or Waxen Tablets, both of high antiquity and the only Roman Tablets extant, recently discovered in a gold mine at Abrudbanya, a village in Transylvania, which are now for the first time explained, described, and edited by J. F. Massmann), 1—description of the triptychs, 4—sense of the writing, 5—

office of Tabellarius or Tabellio, significance of Statio, 7—antiquity of these waxen tablets, 8—and of others extant, 9—tablets honestæ missionis, 10—ancient writing materials, 11—characters in these tablets, 12—forms of the twenty-four Roman letters, 14—contractions and orthography in the tablets, 15—sense of the words Magister and Collegium, 17—history of the province of Dacia, 19—character of Verus, 20—interest and importance of this discovery, 21.

Limans of the steppe of the Ukraine, how formed, 120—supply of salt collected from them, 122.

M.

Mayors of the Palace, origin and power of, 301.

Modat, valley of in Abyssinia, description of by Dr. Rüppell, 70.

Music at home and abroad, 233.

N.

Neuere Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen (The Modern Literature of the Germans) by G. G. Gervinus, 494—character of Wieland, 495.

Nile, height of it in the province of Senaar, 78.

O.

Odessa, trade, buildings, quarantine laws, surrounding country, &c., 127.

On the Moral and Political Union of Sweden and Norway, in answer to Mr. S. Laing's Statement, by General Count Björnstjerna, Swedish ambassador at the Court of St. James, 143, 434.

Otho III., Emperor of Germany, his visit to Boleslaus the Great of Poland, 318.

P.

Pallavicini (Sir Horatio), account of the life of, 385.

Peter the Hermit, character and adventures of, 26—flies from the camp of the crusaders before Antioch, 34.

Petersburg im Bildern und Skizzen, von J. G. Kohl, (Pictures and Sketches of St. Petersburg), 398—extent of ground covered by the new city, 399—the Admiralty and Palaces, 400—dress and food of the lower classes, 401—houses in St. Petersburg, 402—annoyance of the melted snow, and absence of street lamps, 405—water of the Neva, 406—ceremony of announcing to the Emperor the breaking up of the ice, *ib.*—process of cutting and packing the ice of the Neva, 408—bridges of boats, 409—danger to St. Petersburg of an inundation at the breaking up of the ice, 411—summer nights, 412—promenades and street population, 413—the Nievkoi Prospekt, 414—summer gardens, 415—bridal exhibition on Whit Monday, 416—the hackney coachmen of St. Petersburg, 418—variable climate, degrees of the thermometer, 420—etiquette of rubbing noses with snow when frost-bitten, 421—deaths from the intense cold, 422—markets of the Tshukin Dvor and Apraxin Ruinok, 424—the money-changers and sellers of pies, 426—sedition during the cholera in 1832.. 427—the hay market and Tshornoi Narod or Black People, 428—the Foundling Hospital, 429—literature in Russia, 432—Russian cuisine, *shtshi*, and quass, 433.

Poland, History of, by Dr. Röpell, 306. [See *Geschichte Polens*.]

Prussians, overpowered by the Knights of the Teutonic Order, 329.

R.

Rauch (Charles C.), the sculptor, account of, by Raczyński, 462.

Recueil des Exposés de l'Administration du Royaume de Suède, présentés aux Etats-Généraux depuis 1809 jusqu'à 1840, traduit du Suédois, par J. F. de Lundblad, 143, 434.

Reise in Abyssinien, von Dr. E. Rüppell (Travels in Abyssinia, by Dr. E. Rüppell), 64—landscape in Lower Egypt, 67—voyage to and description of Massowa, 68—scenery of the valley of Modat, animals, trees, &c., 70—articles useful for trade or presents to travellers in Abyssinia, 74—an Abyssinian caravan, *ib.*—journey from Arkiko to Ategerat, 75—

curious ceremony in the valley of Saheta, 77—Mahometans and Christians of Abyssinia, *ib.*—height of the Nile in Senaar, 78—passage of the Takazze, *ib.*—an Abyssinian church at Enquetschab, 80—slavery in Abyssinia, 81—Gondar, its site, population, &c., 83—list of persons to whom presents must be given, *ib.*—geological account of the sea coast of Abyssinia, 85—formation and productions of the mountains, 86—peculiarities of the different races of inhabitants, 87—early history of Abyssinia, 88—present distracted and demoralized state, 89.

Reisen in Süd-Russland, von J. G. Kohl (Travels in Southern Russia), 116—a Russian postilion, *ib.*—inns of the Ukraine, 117—uniformity of the grassy plains, 118—hunting in the steppe, 119—roads in the south of Russia, description of Nikolayeff, 120—Limans of the Black Sea, 121—their influence on the climate, salt collected from them, 123—trade of Odessa, 125—strict quarantine regulations, 126—trees and natural productions of the steppe, 128—khutors or gardens round Odessa, 129—vegetables, water, snow storms, and climate, 131—character of the scenery of the steppe, 133—herds of wild horses, tabuntshiks or herdsmen, 135—deceptions practised upon government commissioners, 136—Russian pleasure farms in the Crimea, 137—description of the town of Yalta, *ib.*—Baktshisaraï, ancient capital of the Tatars, 138—constitution of Sevastopol, 141.

Reise durch Schweden im Sommer 1836 (Travels through Sweden in the Summer of 1836), by Baron F. von Gall, 143 and 434—description of the lake Mælar, legend connected with it, 146—Devil's Codex in the library of Stockholm, 147—Midsummer's day in Sweden, 148—loquacity of Swedish peasants, 149—character of Swedish scenery, 150—production of timber, crops, 152—tables of agricultural produce of Sweden, 154.

Roman waxen tablets, discovery of in Transsylvania, their nature and contents, 2, 4.

Romance languages, 173. [See *Histoire des Langues*, &c.]

Rüppell, Travels in Abyssinia, 64. [See *Reise in Abyssinien*.]

S.

- Saheta*, valley of in Abyssinia, curious pagan ceremony still practised in, 77.
Schadow and *Schinkel* (the Prussian architect), account of by Count Raczyński, 460.
Schwanthaler, character and talent of, 466.
Sevastopol, in the Crimea, recent construction and population of, 141.
Slaves, in Abyssinia, different classes of, treatment of, 81.
Slavonians, early history of, 311.
Statistik öfver Sverige, grundad pao offentlig Handlingar. 3dje Upplagan, betydligt tillökt och förbättrad &c. (The Statistics of Sweden grounded on Public Documents, 3rd edition, considerably enlarged and improved), by Colonel C. A. Forsell, 143, 434—morals and manners of the people, 169—tables of criminal offences in 1837, 38, and 39, 169—corporal chastisement of the serfs, and taxation in Sweden, 171.
Steppe of Tartary, landscape of, 118—Limans on the sea shore, 121—salt collected from them 122—desolate aspect from the want of trees, 127—different classes of snow storms, 131.
Stockholm, description of the park, and women of, 156—house of correction for females, 160.
Sweden, political state of, power of popular influence, 145—table of criminal offences in 1837, 38, and 39, 169—taxation in Sweden, 171—progress of manufactures, 435—import and export list, custom dues, 436—commercial treaties with different European nations, 439—Professor Geijer's plan of reform, 445—criminal jurisprudence of Sweden, 446—table of accidents, statistics connected with marriage, 449—extract from M. Lundblad's work, 451.
Sybel (Dr.), History of the Crusades, 22.

T.

- Tabuntshiks*, or herdsman of the steppe of the Ukraine, 135.
Tatars, inroads of into Poland under Genghis Khan, 330.
Thorwaldsen, character of as a sculptor, by Count Raczyński, 466.
Tour through Sweden in 1838.. 143—bias of this work, 164—answered by Count Björnstjerna, 167.
Tudebode, his account of the crusades, 24.

U.

- Ukraine*, travels in by M. Kohl, 116.
 [See *Reisen in Süd Russland*.]

W.

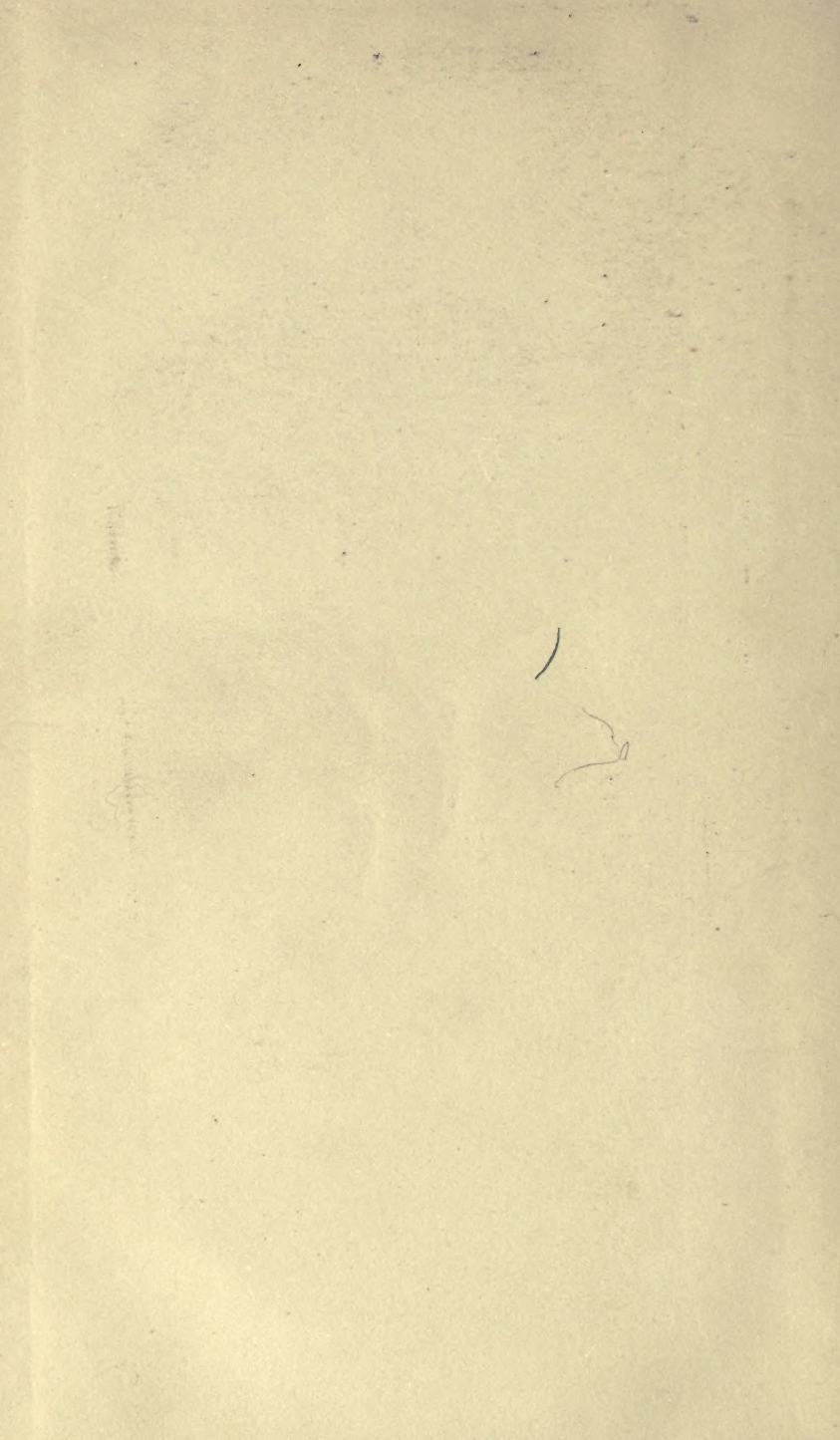
- Wach* (German painter), account of by Raczyński, 458.
Wieland, character of, 495.
Wichmann (Ludwig), the sculptor, account of by Raczyński, 468.
Wilhelm von Humboldt's gesammelte Werke, 2 Band, 334—difference between the male and female mind, 335—the Hellenic Venus the type of perfect female character, 337—the Diana of the Greeks, 338—Juno or Hera, 339—Humboldt's remarks upon the Greek Bacchus, 341—his idea of the utility of war, 345—of the Greek and Roman republics, 346—extract from concerning ancient Spanish names, 348—the Celtic language, 349—extract from his work on Basque etymology, 350, 354, 357—peculiarities of the Basque dialect, 352—prevalence of the Iberian language in the peninsula, 355—modern method of reviewing, 360.











P
LE
F

Foreign Quarterly Review
v.28(1841/42)

**PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET**

**UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY**

